HISTORY OF ENGLAND

UNDER

HENRY THE FOURTH

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

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HENRY THE FOURTH

BY

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One of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools

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PREFACE TO VOL. III.

I REGRET that I have not been able to complete this work in three volumes, as I had hoped to do when publishing Vol. II. last year. To have put in all the remaining material would have made the book too bulky; so that I have no alternative but to publish this instalment separately, reserving the concluding chapters, with the Index and Appendices, for a subsequent volume, which I hope will not be long delayed.

HEREFORD, *Nov.* 18*th*, 1895.

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND UNDER HENRY THE FOURTH.

CHAPTER LXV

THE SCHISM.

THE death of Henry Le Despenser, Bishop of Norwich, forms one of the noteworthy events of the summer of 1406. He was a passionate and impulsive man, of high lineage,[1] always wanting to fly before he had wings; and his constant conflicts, his military zeal, his campaigns and expeditions in Lombardy, Flanders and England entitled him the "Church's champion,"[2] or the "fighting priest."[3] His exploits have been often told, and belong to earlier reigns. In his old age he settled down to the quieter task of exterminating Lollards, and it was his favourite boast that no heretic could live amongst his people.[4] During his 36 years' tenure of the rich manufacturing see of Norwich[5] he neglected his diocese; his palace was dilapi-

[1] FROIS., x., 213, 252. MEYER, 193 b. WRONG, 10. [2] WYCL. (A.), II., 89, 255, 258. CHAUC., MAN OF LAW, 5051. [3] Pugil ecclesiæ, Vol. I., p. 177. ROY. LET., I., 422. Antistes belliger.—WALS., II., 7, 84, 274; cf. Episcopis guerrantibus.—WYCL., LAT. SERM., IV., 110. It fallith in this tyme that prestis fyzting is preised.—WYCL. (A.), I., 314. For "fiztir" = pugnator, bellator, see *ibid.*, III., 19, 28. The fyztyng Churche. —*Ibid.*, III., 102. "Batelous,"—*Ibid.*, III., 165. Batailous.—HALLIWELL, I., 149. [4] CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR. HENR., 172. WALS., II., 189. [5] For his seal see NORF. ARCHÆOL., I., 317. COLL. TOP., VII., 341. A volume now in the British Museum (CLAUD. E., VIII.) was written for him and bears his arms. It contains various versions of metrical prophecies, see CATALOGUE OF ROMANCES, I., 317.

dated, and his manors were tumbling to ruin.[1] He died peacefully in his bed at 69 years of age on August 23rd, 1406,[2] murmuring that the earth was the Lord's.

A *congé d'élire* was issued on September 3rd.[3] The Norwich Chapter met at daybreak on September 14th, and chose their Prior, Alexander Totington, [4] to be Bishop in his stead. Their choice was backed by the authorities of the city of Norwich,[5] but for some reason the King treated it as a defiance. He sent for Totington, and locked him up for a year in Windsor Castle. The temporalities were taken charge of by Sir Thomas Beaufort,[6] and the diocese was administered under the care of William Mitton (or Milton), Archdeacon of Buckingham.[7] At length, through the intervention of Archbishop Arundel, the King's scruples were removed, and Prior Totington was consecrated Bishop of Norwich at Gloucester, October 23rd, 1407.[8]

A memoir of Bishop Spenser[9] was written by John Capgrave,[10] whose instincts as a Norfolk man prompt him to praise the Bishop's dash and daring, though as a priest he cannot say that his life was Christ-like. His excuse must be that he did his fighting against schismatics and rioters and enemies of the faith. Capgrave looks on with admiration at the spectacle of this "good shepherd" mowing down his Lollards, or laying

[1] ANGL., SACR., I., 416. [2] For his epitaph see CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR. HENR., 175. ANGL. SACR., II., 361. BROUGHAM, 362. WRONG, 13. [3] PAT. 7 H. IV., 2, 6. [4] ANGL. SACR., I., 415. [5] BLOMEFIELD, II., 373. [6] REC. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., May 9th, 1407. [7] PAT. 8 H. IV., 2, 7, July 18th, 1407. In ROY. LET., BOX 15, PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, is a letter from Thomas Erpingham to the Chancellor, dated Norwich, August 26th, while the temporalities were still in the hands of the King, *i.e.*, 1407. [8] LE NEVE, II., 465. GODWIN, II., 18. RYM., VIII., 502. [9] For "Spenser" see WYCL. (M.), 413. [10] CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR. HENR., 170. ANGL. SACR., II., 359.

about him like a foaming boar[1] at the Listers[2] and Trunches and others of the "pestilent mob"[3] of Norfolk Stoutherries[4] committed to his spiritual care.

But the "schismatics" against whom he warred were surely deserving of more respect. For the last 30 years all western Christendom had been divided. The Church's fair front was decked with bright clothes,[5] but behind she was rent and fouled[6] and wasted of worms.[7] The head was sick, the limbs ached;[8] Peter's boat[9] had lost his steer,[10] and was wagging[11] and wallowing in very troubly water.[12] The pilot's head was cleft in two;[13] confusion reigned on board; the chiefs were hitting out blind blows in the murk,[14] and everybody was for pitching everybody else into the sea.[15] To Englishmen every Frenchman, Scot and Spaniard was a schismatic,[16] excommunicate, accursed and liable to be burned as a heretic;[17] while these in turn looked on the English as dogs[18] in their religion and beyond hope of salvation.[19] If Popes and Anti-popes had had their way, no Christian man would

[1] STOW, 291. Plus fiers que senglers hericiés.—PASTORALET, 669. [2] PROMPT. PARV., 307. "Litestere."—CHAUCER (S.), I., 380. [3] CAPGR., 172. WRONG, 16. [4] ELMHAM, AUG., 140. [5] WYCL. (A.), III., 275. [6] Cf. Foule the worthi suyt of Crist. *Ibid.*, II., 226. [7] Vidi dorsum vermibus plenum putridum et fetosum. BONET, 213, 218. [8] POL. SONGS, II., 11. [9] *Ibid.*, II., 10. GOWER, CONF., 36, 239. WYCL. (M.), 307, 319; *ibid.* (A.), II., 45. Cf. Al the boot of Peter flocced in uncerteyn. *Ibid.* (A.), III., 252. Navicula Petri.—CHRON. DES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE, III., 215. [10] And with a wawe brosten was his stere. CHAUC. (S.), III., 164. For "steresman" see CHAUC. (S.), III., 14. DERBY ACCTS., 104. PRUTZ, 97. GOWER, CONF., 420. [11] P. PLO., XI., 35, 46. [12] WYCL. (A.), I., 14. [13] CLAMENGES, Ep. 3. LENFANT, I., 65. [14] P. PLO. XX., 206; cf. "myrknes."—POLLARD, MIRACLES, 6. [15] GERSON, II., 83. SCHWAB, 160. RAYNALDI, XVII., 287. Al oure west lond is with that oo pope or that othir; and he that is with that oon hateth the tothir with alle hise. WYCL. (A.), II, 401.

[16] Ilz les prisent moins que néant
Car ilz les ont pour scysmatiques.
BONET, APPARITION, 20.

[17] RAYNALDI, XVII., 290. [18] FROIS., X., 205. [19] GERSON, II., 70.

have been allowed to supply his neighbour with food or fuel,[1] the dead would have remained unburied, war would have been sanctified in its fiercest frenzy,[2] and trade and intercourse between states and cities would have been swept away.[3] In August, 1391,[4] a priest refused to celebrate Mass in St. Mary's Church at Danzig[5] because Sir William Douglas of Nithsdale was present, and they had no Mass that was meet for a Scot.[6] Douglas was therefore ejected, and the Mass was sung. But his friends waited outside the church; and when the service was over, orthodox and schismatics cleared up their theology by stabbing each other on the wharf known as the Long Bridge, beside the Motlau.[7]

When Bishop Spenser reared his croisery[8] with "great foison of priests"[9] against the "schismatics"[10] of Flanders, he wrought atrocities which would have shocked[11] the whole civilized world had they not been done against the "enemies of the Cross" in the name of "the Lord Mighty in Battle."[12] Without a note of warning he assailed the most industrious community in Europe, laid waste their lands, reft their goods,[13] and destroyed their cities.[14] At Gravelines[15] he pillaged a monastery, and spared[16] not a soul in the town. At Dunkirk

[1] WALS., II., 71-76. [2] BUDDENSIEG, II., 459. WYCL., LAT. SERM.' IV., 39, 59. WYCL. (A.), I., 243. [3] Cum quibus participare et tractare non licet nisi super reducendo eos ad fidem; quod nulla alia sit vestra cum illis communio.—MALVERN, in HIGDEN, IX., 253. [4] HIRSCH, II., 644; III., 172. [5] BOECE, 334. PRUTZ, XXVI., LXXIX. Called Königsberg in MALVERN, 258; BOUCICAUT, 232; DERBY ACCTS., XVI. [6] BUIK OF CHRON., III., 57460, following SCOTICHRON., II., 416. [7] *i.e.*, the Lange Brücke. BAEDEKER, NORD-DEUTSCHLAND, 128. [8] WYCL. (A.), I., 116, 367; II., 115, 395, 401, 416; III., 140, 361. [9] FROIS., X., 209. J. MEYER, 193 b. [10] DEVON, 222. Cf. And soudeth them that sleeth such as he sholde save.—P. PLO., XXII., 430. [11] And so men seyn in Engeland that whanne preestis goon to bataile as princis or kyngis, thanne shal chivalrie faile there.—WYCL. (A.), II., 103. [12] WALS., II., 90. [13] WYCL. (A.), I., 115, 367. [14] J. MEYER, 197 a. [15] FROIS., X., 214. [16] WALS., II., 89. WRONG, 61.

3000 of the schismatics were killed,[1] and the murderous business would have been much prolonged had not the heroic defence of Ypres given time for the French to come up and drive the fanatical Bishop back to England in disgrace. And yet the Flemish people,[2] against whom all this religious zeal was spent, so far as they heeded the papal quarrel at all, were every bit as orthodox as the Bishop himself.

It was calculated that the Schism had already caused the death of 200,000 Christians.[3] But 28 years had rolled away since it began, and the common sense of the world was asserting itself against the madness of the Popes. Clement might call Urban a "Mahound"[4] or a "cursed Anti-Christ,"[5] and Urban might call Clement a "viper"[6] or a "child of everlasting damnation,"[7] and his followers "foul lying priests," but all this heated language made little impression on the ordinary flow of civic and commercial life in the work-a-day world.[8] Eastern cynics thought that the Christians had improved;[9] once they had only one God on earth to forgive sins, now they had two; and if one would not forgive

[1] KNIGHTON, 2671. This is the lowest estimate. WALS., II., 93, gives 12,000; others give 5000, 6000 or 9000. J. MEYER, 194 b. He (Spenser) killed hem by many thousandis and made hem oure enemys.—WYCL. (M.), 152. LEWIS, 99. Cf. WRONG, 63. [2] Pauci erant nobiles qui non essent Clementini sed *maxima pars multitudinis* Urbanistæ erant.—J. MEYER, 210 a. Cf. WRONG, 45, 56, 57, 62, 90. [3] HARL., 431, 86 (47 b.), 1408.

Par ce cisme est tout li mondes perdus
Guerre en descent entre foibles et fors.
DESCHAMPS, v., 177, 409.

Many thousend markes of rewmes ben dispended for Urbanus' cause, and many thousend men slayne.—WYCL. (A.), II., 314, 319; III., 329. DESCHAMPS, VI., 117, reckons that in 50 years the wars between England and France caused the death of 100,000 men. Cent mille hommes sont mors pour vo pouoir. [4] HARDT, II., 98. [5] RAYNALDI, XVII., 24. GERSON, I., 5. [6] WALS., II., 72. [7] RAYNALDI, XVII., 128. For other specimens see SPONDE, I., 681. [8] WYCL., LAT. SERM., III., 161, 509. [9] "Sich gebesrot."—JUSTINGER, 210.

them they could go to the other. The general Christian public looked upon the Popes as moles grubbing in the ground,[1] and considered them both wrong in the head.[2] It mattered not whether the one devil was more malignant than the other.[3] In England the question of union excited but a very languid interest.[4] Officially the country "damned Clement with his fautours,"[5] but when diplomacy required, the English court sent envoys to Rome or Marseilles[6] indifferently. John of Gaunt[7] would have had both Popes deposed; Wycliffe[8] thanked God for cleaving the Church's cursed head, and making the two halves fight, and urged that Christians should destroy the primacy of both, or at least that the secular power should stand aside and leave them to confound each other;[9] and when the Whitsun plays came round, the holiday folks were entertained with the sight of a papelard Pope[10] flaming "hard and hot" amongst the damned in the swallow[11] of hell, and then haled off by devils to be tortured for his silver and his simony. No wonder that the offices and the

[1] WYCL., LAT. SERM., IV., 156. *Ibid.* (A.), III., 315. [2] Malo capite es.—POGGIO, 428, quoted in SHEPHERD. [3] BOUCICAUT, 310. Writing in the summer of 1408 this author (p. 312) calls both Popes "les faulx damnez," "ces deux maudits," &c., &c. [4] Modicum hucusque laborare curavimus.—CONC., III., 307. RAMSAY, I., 115. [5] WYCL. (A.), I., II, 192. [6] MURATORI, III., 2, 800, shows English envoys at the court of Benedict at Candlemas, 1407. [7] BONET, 201, 210. [8] WYCL. (M.), 457, 461, 463; *ibid.* (A.), II., 423; III., 247; LAT. SERM., IV., 136, 164; BUDDENSIEG, II., 604; VAUGHAN, II., 5; *ibid.*, TRACTS, 64; CONC., III., 348; GRAES, I., 273. [9] WYCL., DE BLASPH., 109. [10] CHESTER PLAYS, II., 184, 197; CHAUCER (S.), I., 252; IV., 88. For "papelardy" or "popeholy" (=hypocrisy) see CHAUCER, ROM. OF ROSE, fol. 147 a; CHAUCER (S.), I., 111, 419.

Cf. And God amende the Pope that pileth holichurche
Imparfit is the Pope that all the peuple sholde helpe.
P. PLO., XXII., 430, 444.

It is binethe bileve that thes popis ben in hevene.—WYCL. (A.), 314. [11] CHAUC. (S.), III., 123; HIGDEN, II., 360; V., 139; WYCL. (M.), 24, 97, 149, 246; *ibid.* (A.), III., 390; HOCCL., DE REG., 161.

censures of the Church had fallen into contempt, and that men would rather trust a foot-pad than a clerk.[1]

The persons most damaged by the scandal were the Popes themselves and all whose interest[2] lay in preserving a decent external respect for the authority of the keys[3] in face of these incitements by Christ's vicars to mutual hatred in the Christian fold. The names of Urbanists[4] and Clementins[5] were by this time happily forgotten. Their successors, Boniface and Benedict, bore names too tempting for mediæval punsters,[6] and they were dubbed Maleface and Maledict[7] accordingly. Yet pious souls did not cease to pray[8] that the universal Church might some day be brought back to unity, and that there might be again one herd and one flock.[9] At one time the secular arm had been raised very smartly to force both Popes to resign, but all to no purpose. "You put down your Pope first," said Wenzel to Charles VI., "and then I'll put down mine."[10] The Avignon Pope had been barked at,[11] preached at, threatened and cajoled, but he held his ground by mere *inertia*, "solid as flint,"[12] sheltered by the play of

[1] MART., COLL., VII., 876. [2] MONTREUIL, 1332. [3] MART., ANEC., II., 1470. [4] MART., ANEC., II., 1158. [5] DESCHAMPS, III., 273. [6] Cf. Non Clemens sed pene Demens.—WALS., I. 393. A paucis Gregorius a multis Errorius appellaris.—MART., COLL., VII., 838, 850; NIEM, 139, 141, 152, and *passim*. HÖFLER (433) takes Errorius as a play upon Corrarius. Rectius Disgregorius a disgregando nomen assumsisses. —MART., COLL., VII., 880. For Benefictus see ST. DENYS, IV., 212. Cosmatus (*i.e.*, INNOCENT VII.), mundanus sonat.—SALUTATO, II., 16. Comes vitiorum (*i.e.*, Gian Galeazzo).—PERRENS, VI., 52. Gallicantina ecclesia.—MART., ANEC., II., 1505, 1511, 1520. Carnales (*i.e.*, cardinales). —RTA., VI., 688. Unum ex carpidinaribus (*i.e.*, cardinalibus).—NIEM, 455. Puisque je voy vouloir regner *la lune* (*i.e.*, Peter de Luna = BENEDICT XIII.).—DESCHAMPS, V., 165. Regiminis *lunæ* orbitatem.—*Ibid.*, VI., 281. [7] ZANTFLIET, 360; MART., COLL., VII., 849, 876; GOBELIN, 331; WYCL., LAT. SERM., IV., 499. [8] EXCH. ROLLS, SCOT., III., 579, 607-640; IV., 31, 63, &c. [9] WYCL. (A.), I., 176. [10] FROIS., XVI., 119; WINDECK, 1077. [11] GERSON, II., 74, 101. [12] MONTREUIL, 1344, quoting ÆN., VI., 471. See also pectus saxeum in MART., ANEC., II., 1298.

political factions,[1] and proof against sermons, disputations and embassies;[2] while the Roman Pope, though pressed[3] by the Kings of France,[4] England, and Castile, and all the Archbishops, Bishops, and Electors of Germany, was too far from the centre of squeeze to feel the weight of the attack. Meantime the churches were beggared,[5] the mysteries mocked,[6] the universities[7] starved in their bursaries and drained of students; indulgences[8] had to be sold to bring money to both Papal Courts; Christians held the faith "like dogs in a poke,"[9] brother was regarded as a heathen man by brother, and friend by friend,[10] heresies[11] were all abroad "like jangling pies,"[12] and the spirits[13] of unbelief were roystering with peculiar malignity.

The "men and women of religion"[14] suffered like the rest. The military[15] Order of St. John of Jerusalem was split under divided allegiance to a Grand-Master and an Anti-Grand-

[1] MART., COLL., I., 1560; GERSON, I., XIV.; DESCHAMPS, VI., 198. [2] GERSON, II., 43, &c. [3] MART., ANEC., II., 1253, 1258. [4] ST. DENYS, II., 448. [5] MART., ANEC., II., 1228. [6] WALS., II., 12. [7] ST. DENYS, 82, in MILMAN, V., 422; BAYE, I., 102; MART., ANEC., IV., 1543; GERSON, V., 636. [8] MART., ANEC., II., 1303; SPONDE, I., 692; PLATINA, 277. [9] WYCL. (M.), 319; *ibid.* (A.), II., 358.

Mais comme chas et chiens
Tiennent aucun presentement la foy.
DESCHAMPS, I., 296; VII., 115.

[10] RTA., VI., 682.

[11]
This braunche
Of scisme causeth for to bringe
This newe secte of Lollardie
And also many a heresie.
GOWER, CONF., 38.

[12] GERSON, II., 86; CHAUCER (S.), I., 345; II., 56. Cf. une pie jangleresse.—DESCHAMPS, VI., 154; janglant comme une pye.—*Ibid.*, VI., 210; pie janglant.—*Ibid.*, VII., 5; thy mind is lorne, thou janglest as a jay.—CHAUCER, MAN OF LAW, 5194; to blabre alle day with tonge and grete criynge as pies and jaies.—WYCL. (M.), 194; (A.), III., 479; prestis speken as pies.—*Ibid.* (A.), I., 165; CHAUCER (S.), IV., 21. [13] MART., ANEC., II., 1252; DESCHAMPS, V., 231. [14] YORK MANUAL, 123; WYCL. (A.) I., 38; III., 351; LAT. SERM., II., 51; III., 275. [15] ECOLE DES CHARTES (1879), XL., 525; VERTOT, I., 313; BARANTE, II., 25.

Master. The Dominicans[1] had to choose between two Masters General, one at Nürnberg and the other at Bergerac. The Carthusians[2] kept neutral in the fray for two years; but so soon as the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse declared for the Avignon Pope, those of the Roman obedience chose another Prior General at Zeitz in Saxony. Then followed confiscations,[3] excommunications, and ejectments, with the natural result that the people, not knowing where the headship really lay, began to "judaize"[4] and mock at the Church altogether. In the Benedictine abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer some inconvenience arose. Being on French soil the monks adhered to the Avignon Pope; but one of them, James Scotellar,[5] looking upon the others as schismatics, ran off with what property of theirs he could, sold all the rest for three lives to the English, and lived in England on the proceeds.

Such singular divisions must have had a damaging effect upon the claims of the Church on the obedience of the faithful. The States of Béarn,[6] though under the suzerainty of the King of England, had to regard their sovereign as accursed because they still held to the Avignon Pope. In countries such as France and Flanders, separated only by an arbitrary line, it must have puzzled ordinary minds to find that the Pope, whom they were taught to look to as the Vicar of Christ, was held by their neighbours over the brook as a "profane alien,"[7] and their Bishops as "wallowing in a wretched mire of muck." In Northern Italy the cities of Forli[8] and Bologna subtracted

[1] MART., COLL., VI., 342, 386, 387, 417, 506. See apology for the great Spanish Dominican preacher, St. Vincent Ferrer, in SPONDE, I., 689, though Ranzani, who wrote his life about the time of his canonization in 1455, conveniently treats Benedict as the orthodox Pope.—ACT. SANCT., Apr. 5th, p. 491. [2] MART., ANEC., II., 1439. [3] MART., COLL., VI., 619. [4] *Ibid.*, VI., 207; VII., 687, 730. [5] *Ibid.*, VI., 620. [6] FLOURAC, 200. [7] MART., ANEC., I., 1232. [8] RAYNALDI, XVII., 284, 285.

themselves from submission to the Church altogether. In Liége[1] the people had decided for neutrality. Their Prince-Bishop,[2] John the Pitiless, had never[3] even been ordained a priest, for he had an eye[4] to succeeding his brother some day as Count of Holland, and when they pressed him to take full orders he would not dance to their piping. Upon this the townspeople had the "detestable and enormous presumption" to elect a Bishop of their own (in 1406), a young man 23 years of age,[5] without leave of Pope or Chapter. After this "misruled election,"[6] they not only subtracted their obedience[7] from both Popes, but broke into the Cathedral of St. Lambert and the houses adjoining, plundered the relics,[8] subtracted the Canons' property, and sold it in the market-place to the highest bidder.

But even the Popes themselves were wearying of the profitless wrangle. The gale[9] of the schism-storm was lulling at length, and those who had once barked[10] like Cerberus now stood still as any stone.[11] As each Pope was cut off by death, a special effort was made to heal the "incurable cancer,"[12] and extricate the Church from her desperate deadlock. Any sort of Pope, "a Turk or a Tartar,"[13] would be better than this

[1] SPONDE, I., 698; LENFANT, I., 94, 157; DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 265; ST. DENYS, IV., 54. [2] MONSTR., I., 371. In 1402, 2 knights brought letters from him to King Henry at Kingston-on-Thames.—Q.R. Wardrobe, $\frac{2}{4}$, App. B. [3] Leye und ungewihet.—TWINGER, II., 911; TRITHEIM, II., 324. [4] JUSTINGER, 203, 453. He resigned May 28th, 1418, and married Elizabeth of Luxemburg, widow of Anthony, Duke of Brabant (POSILJE, 377), and died of poison, Jan. 1425.—L'ART DE VER., III., 124. [5] MONSTR., (I., 141), says 18. [6] WYNT., III., 3209. [7] CHRON. DES DUCS DE BOURGOYNE, III., 337. [8] NIEM, 464. [9] MART., ANEC., II., 1245; *ibid.*, COLL., VII., 700. [10] MONTREUIL, 1331. [11] GOWER, CONF., 107, 132; CHAUC. (S.), III., 20, 48, 89, 169. [12] GERSON, II., 86; ST. DENYS, IV., 26. [13] MART., ANEC., II., 1246. The phrase has a special significance, as the Tartars were then expected to overrun Europe at any time.—RAYNALDI, XVII., 282; SPONDE, I., 687. They were believed to be "manie mo thou-

constant scandal, where the Church was between the hammer and the stithy.[1] On the death[2] of Boniface IX., the new Pope Innocent VII.[3] set matters in train for calling a council, and summoned the leading Archbishops of the countries where his authority was recognized to assemble in Rome on Nov. 1st, 1405.[4] His next step was to deal with the envoys[5] who had come from Benedict. As they were attempting to leave the city they had been seized and imprisoned[6] in the Castle of St. Angelo, and only obtained their release on pay-

sandis than Cristen, and ben richere and betere men of werre and kunnen lyve hardere than we. Therfore thei myghten lightli ouirrenne us Cristene if God made hem not peesible to us withouten oure deservyage."—PURVEY, REMONSTR., 62. For an interesting description of the Turks written in 1398 see MART., ANEC., II., 1159.

[1] WYCL. (A.), I. 407. [2] Oct. 1st, 1404.—Vol. I., p. 484; RTA., VI., 557; POSILJE, 275; WALS., II. 268; MARIANA, I., 332; PLATINA, 277; MART., COLL., VII., 783; HARDT, III., 1240. Not Oct. 6th, as DELAYTO, 1003. "Par la maladie de gravalle."—STAVELOT, 77; "morbo petræ."—SOZZOM., 1182; "morbo calculi."—NIEM, 106; "ex pleuritide."—TRITHEIM, II., 321; "ex dolore iliorum."—ECCARD, I., 1531; MURATORI, III., II., 832; "febre et calculo."—ZANTFLIET, 365; MART., COLL., VII., 432, 762. NIEM, (80, 515), says that he was 45 years old when elected in 1389. Others say 34, as HÆUSSER, I., 208; or 30, as PLATINA, 273; MURATORI, III., II., 832; or juvenis admodum, as NEUSS, 595. For miniature representing him blessing pilgrims from the balcony of St. Peter's in 1400, see WEISSER, 99, 7, 8. [3] Earlier in his life he had been Provost of the Church of St. Seurin at Bordeaux, and would thus be familiar with English life and government.—LOPES, II., 281. His name is given as Cosimo di Migliorati in CHRISTOFERI, XLVIII., 81, 318. [4] Vol. I., p. 486; MART., COLL., VII., 693; POSILJE, 275. Not May 1st, as HÖFLER, RUPR., 409. [5] One of them was Pedro Zagarriga, Bishop-elect of Lerida.—GERSON, I., XVII.; MART., COLL., VII., 686; SURITA, 270. Another was Pierre Ravat (called Ravaut, BAYE, I., 194; or Ravot, GALL. CHRIST., XIII., 47), Bishop of St. Pons de Tomières in Languedoc—a see created by John XXII. in 1317 (NIEM, LIB. CANC., 30). Ravat was a devoted supporter of Benedict, who made him a Cardinal in 1408 (SURITA, 276; not 1409, as CIACONIUS, II., 742), and would have made him Archbishop of Toulouse if he could.—MONTREUIL, 1344, 1382; A. THOMAS, 40; SPONDE, I., 691; LENFANT, 114; FLEURY, XXI., 8. USK (85) calls him an Archbishop. For the riots at Toulouse, Nov. 1406, see BAYE, I., 188, 194. [6] D'ACHERY, VI., 170-174; ST. DENYS, III., 248; MONTREUIL, 1381; HEFELE, VI., 876; SCHWAB, 179; CREIGHTON, I., 162; CHRISTOPHE, III., 197; REUMONT, II., 1111; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 240.

ment of 5000 florins. Pope Innocent let it be known that he "judged it superfluous to hear them further,"[1] and all safe-conducts were refused unless they were prepared to lower their colours to the "new intruder." After staying for a while at Florence, they reached Nice on April 11th, 1405, and gave an account of their mission, which Benedict forwarded to the French King on June 27th.[2] This did not promise well for success, and the subsequent flight of Innocent (Aug. 6th)[3] and the disturbed[4] state of Rome made the proposed meeting of the Archbishops impossible. The English reply to the invitation was sent from Worcester,[5] in October, 1405; but as the Archbishop of Canterbury was ill, and the Archbishop of York was dead, there was little chance of England being fitly represented. When the day came, the Pope was still a fugitive,[6] and the meeting was postponed till May 1st, 1406;[7] but, as the difficulties still increased, the proposal had to be practically abandoned; and the prospects of union again vanished, to the immense disgust of the French, who railed rancorously against "that Roman"[8] for his shiftiness and bad faith. To keep him to his word was like trying to grip a tiger without gloves.[9] On June 16th, 1406, came the eclipse of the sun. Following a fortnight after a lunar eclipse it offered a rare chance for the prophets; but as no subsequent

[1] RAYNALDI, XVII., 288. [2] MART., COLL., VII., 686; SCHWAB, 180. For letter of Innocent VII., dated April 23rd, 1405, denying the truth of their account, and charging them with "obvious evasions," see MART., COLL., VII., 702; RAYNALDI, XVII., 287; SPONDE, I., 694. [3] CREIGHTON, I., 167. [4] DELAYTO, 1003, 1034. Eyn gros krik was czu Rom.—POSILJE, 278. [5] RYM., VIII., 381; not Winchester, as Vol. I., p. 486. [6] He returned to Rome Mar. 13th, 1406.—MURATORI, III., II., 118; A. PETRI, 978; REUMONT, II., 1125; not the beginning of May, as DELAYTO, 1037. [7] ST. DENYS, III., 360. [8] MONTREUIL, 1333, 1336, 1342, 1346; MONSTR., I., 317, 318. [9] Cf. Nec tales catuli sine cyrotecis ferreis sunt capiendi.—ST. DENYS, I., 278; WRONG, 83.

disasters fitted in, the clerical mind concluded that both the sun and moon had been mourning[1] over the Schism.

During his short term of office Pope Innocent VII. had well-nigh lost his hold on England by excommunicating the King for the execution of Scrope. But Archbishop Arundel saw the danger with a nearer eye, and by his timely resistance to the precipitate haste of Rome put off the reformation[2] of the Church in England for another century. He was being strongly urged by the University[3] of Paris to preach "subtraction" or "neutrality" in England, *i.e.*, to refuse recognition to either Pope, and to withhold payment of aids, first-fruits, tenths or fees to the Court of Rome, until the schism was healed and "hell-fire died out for lack of fuel."[4] He knew that Innocent was an easy-going,[5] well-meaning, wrong-headed old[6] man, just wanting to be left alone with his singing[7]

[1] GOBELIN, 324, with a reference to REV., XII., 1.

Cf. The sonne and mone eclipsen both
And ben with manne's sinne wroth.
GOWER, CONF., 45.

[2] See the threats to Benedict XIII., in MONTREUIL, 1345, 1347; LENFANT, I., 64, 73, 84. [3] See letter dated Oct. 23rd, 1406, in CONC., III., 291; HARL. MS., 431, 56; also letter from Simon de Cramaud, Patriarch of Alexandria, who visited England about 1401, in the interests of Benedict.—MART., ANEC., II., 1230; *ibid.*, COLL., II., 1371. [4] GERSON, II., 105; ZANTFLIET, 354, 360; ST. DENYS, IV., 24.

Cf. Plus ne seront come chien et chat,
Quant il ne sera plus d'argent.
DESCHAMPS, VII., 240.

[5] "Cupidus otii, mitis et pacificus."—ARET., 254; EPIST., I., 9; SOZZOM., 1184; NIEM, 133; RAYNALDI, XVII., 280, 301; ANTONINUS, III., 124; "Placidum et valde affabilem."—ECCARD., I., 1532. [6] Ein aldir herre.—POSILJE, 275. NIEM, (55), reports that he was 65 years old when elected (*ut audivi*); followed by SPONDE, I., 692, and PASTOR, I., 129. Vir senex et multum expertus.—TRITHEIM, II., 322. He was in England in 1394, when he was called upon to decide a dispute between the Bishop and the Convent of the Holy Trinity at Norwich.—R. H. MASON, I., 213, quoting MS., DEAN OF CANTERBURY, N. 28, dated St. Mary-in-the-Fields, KAL. AP., 5 Boniface IX. [7] Canendi et scribendi peritus, bonarum literarum apprime doctus.—NIEM, 133. For his bull in reference to the new University of Rome see PASTOR, I., 129.

and his books, and not likely to be long for this world. He was plagued[1] with gout and pleurisy, and while at Viterbo he had had a stroke, which left him cross and irritable. He became silly[2] in the tongue, and his mouth and face were all awry. His end came[3] soon and sudden, on Nov. 6th, 1406,[4] as he was working himself into a new quarrel about the bishopric of Norwich; and the Papacy was thus probably saved from a series of disasters.

The news of Innocent's death reached Benedict on Nov. 14th, 1406,[5] at St. Honorat de Lerins, one of the islands off Cannes, as he was returning from Nice to Marseilles. It was nearly a month before it was known in England, and Pope Innocent's name appears in official documents as late as Dec. 1st.[6] For a short interval there were hopes that the friends of union might get the upper hand, and keep the vacancy open

[1] Pedibus æger et lateris dolore nonnunquam cruciabatur.—ARET., EPIST., I., 30. [2] Blæsus.—NIEM, 515; ARET., EPIST., I., 31; LENFANT, I., 136; REUMONT, II., 1129. This was considered as a judgment for having done nothing to heal the schism.—ANTONINUS, III., 126; SOZZOM., 1189. Cf. the story of Wycliffe's tongue told by Gascoigne on the authority of John Horn, who was parish priest at Lutterworth.—LEL., COLL., II., 709; also Archbishop Arundel's tongue.—GASC., 61. [3] Paralyticus.—MURAT., XVI., 206; NIEM in RAYNALDI, XVII., 301. Ex apoplexia.—ECCARD, I., 1533. Subitâ et improvisâ morte.—MART., COLL., VII., 756. Four days before he died Bruni introduced the envoys from Florence to announce the capture of Pisa. He put out his naked foot from under the coverlet for them to kiss, and showed himself *perfacilis et perhumanus*. Various rumours were circulated as to the cause of his death.—ARET., EP., I., 31. [4] Ante unam horam pulsationis campanarum Sancti Petri de urbe.—A. PETRI, 980; MART., COLL., VII., 721, 727; *ibid.*, ANEC., II., 1280, 1286; CONC., III., 285, 291; GRIFFONI, 215; MURAT., XVIII., 592; RTA., VI., 175; ZANTFLIET, 380; MONSTR., I., 147; CIACON., II., 714; JANSSEN, 133; POSILJE, 283; SAUERLAND, 80; CREIGHTON, I., 173. The date is given as Nov. 5th in DELAYTO, 1040; SOZZOM., 1182; CHRISTOPHE, III., 226; ALZOG, II., 851. Nov. 7th in GOBELIN, 324; INFESSURA, in MURAT., III., II., 1118. Nov. 13th in MILMAN, V., 443, and Nov. 24th in ST. DENYS, III., 488. The official account at the Council of Constance wrongly gives Dec.—HARDT, III., 1241. [5] MURAT., III., II., 794. [6] PAT., 8 H. IV., I., 19.

till a conference had been arranged. All were anxious[1] for the schism to end; books and tracts had been written about it which would load more than 100 camels,[2] but it seemed to be nobody's business to begin.[3] Schism "pestiferous and damnable"[4] there certainly was, but who should say which were the schismatics? All went on cawing "Peace! peace!" like a flock of crows;[5] but the most alarming symptom for the zealous churchman was the indolent torpor and indifference[6] that was gathering round the question. From 1398 to 1403[7] the French had got on with the sweet Jesus for their Pope, and Mary the sweet Virgin as acting Popess;[8] and they were now on the point of trying the experiment again; while the notion of salvation without[9] any Pope at all was shaping permanently in many earnest minds among the borel[10] folk. A few enthusiasts were sanguine enough to hope that Benedict would go through some "door of repentance,"[11] and be accepted by all as the one Pope of an undivided Church. But

[1] MURAT., XVI., 1044; ÆN. SYL., EP. XVIII.; MONTREUIL, 1314, 1319. [2] NIEM, 159, [3] SOZZOM., 1183. [4] ST. DENYS, III., 488. [5] Comment osent-ils croasser, Paix! paix! comme des corbeaux en public.—JEAN DE VARENNES in MOLAND, 202. [6] Negligens torpor, inertia querendi pacem.—GERSON, II., 71, 84. [7] Pendente neutralitate.—D'ACHERY, VI., 168. For letters of subtraction dated July 27th, 1398, recalled May 28th, 1403, see ORDONNANCES, VIII., XVIII., 431, 593; D'ACHERY, VI., 155; MART., COLL., VII., 599; *ibid.*, ANEC., II., 1263; DUPIN, XII., 40; ZANTFLIET, 364. When a Frenchman taunted an Englishman with having deposed his King, the Englishman retorted that the French had deposed their Pope, which was far worse.—LENFANT, I., 147; MOLAND, 227. [8] Le doulx Jhésus est notre vray Pape et chief de l'Église, et la très doulce Vierge Marie fait le metier de Papesse.—JEAN DE VARENNES in GERSON, I., 914; II., 224; AUBERTIN, II., 360-362; MOLAND, 200-204. [9] Potest absque Papa mortali stare salus.—GERSON, II., 72, 224, 435; RAYNALDI, XVII., 304; WYCL., LAT. SERM., II., 352; POLEMICAL WORKS, II., 676; DE BLASPH., 8; PASTOR, I., 141. For the Defensor Pacis of Marsiglio, see CREIGHTON, I., 36. [10] CHAUCER, WIF OF BATH, 5938; SOMPNOUR, 7254, 7256; HOCCLEVE, DE REG., 49; SHARPE, II., 141. "I which am a borel clerke."—GOWER, CONF., 34. For "drap ne burel," see DESCHAMPS, VI., 159. [11] GERSON, II., 79, 95.

such hopes were soon dashed. When the customary interval of nine days had elapsed after the death of Innocent, 14[1] cardinals entered the conclave[2] (or, as the other side put it, "went into their den"[3]) in the Vatican (Nov. 18th), and after 12 days'[4] deliberation elected one of their number to be Pope (Nov. 30th, 1406).[5]

Their choice fell upon a Venetian,[6] Angelo Corraro,[7] lately appointed[8] Cardinal-Priest, of the title of St. Mark, and Patriarch of Constantinople.[9] He took the usual[10] oath that he would abdicate if the other Pope would do the same, in order to make way for a regular election upon which all could agree; and he promised that he would use every effort to bring this about within three months from the date of his

[1] Not 7, as WALS., II., 275; nor 12, as ST. DENYS, III., 488; nor 15, as MILMAN, V., 444. For their names see CONC., III., 286; A. PETRI, 980; RAYNALDI, XVII., 302; ST. DENYS, III., 496; REUMONT, II., 1130. [2] Apud Basilica S. Petri uti moris est.—NIEM, 141; MART., COLL., VII., 722. [3] MART., COLL., VII., 690; *ibid.*, ANEC., II., 1476; cf. "reclusorium," TRITHEIM, II., 328. [4] MART., ANEC., II., 1289. [5] CONC., III., 288; HARL. MS., 431, 8, 9, 89; SURITA, 272; CORNER, 1189; MART., ANEC., II., 1281; *ibid.*, COLL., VII., 722; ECCARD, I., 1535; RTA., VI., 175; SAUERLAND, 86; HEFELE, VI., 886; CHRISTOPHE, III., 252. Nov. 14th is given in ECCARD, II., 1870; Dec. 2nd in SCHWAB, 190. The Frankfort envoys arrived in Rome, Nov. 15, 1406. They reported that the Cardinals entered the conclave on Nov. 18th, and came out in the morning of Dec. 1st.—JANSSEN, I., 133. In HARDT, III., 1241, the election, coronation, and enthronement are placed between Nov. 24th and Dec. 24th. The news reached Venice on Dec. 6th.—BEMBO, 522. [6] MART., COLL., VII., 877; RTA., VI., 680. [7] CONC., III., 288; MART., ANEC., II., 1386; CHRISTOFERI, 115, 319; not Cornaro, as PERRENS, VI., 170. [8] MART., COLL., VII., 722; ECCARD, I., 1532; MURATORI, III., II., 835, 837; PLATINA, 279; CIACON., II., 714; RAYNALDI, XVII., 285, 292. Not Cardinal of Aquileia, as SERCAMBI in MURAT., XVIII., 878; DELPHINUS GENTILIS, *ibid.*, III., II., 845; TRITHEIM, II., 325. RAMSAY, (I., 114), thinks that he had "long figured as the Cardinal of St. Mark." The Cardinals took their titles from some church in Rome.—HIST. TASCH., IV., 68. [9] Not "a Constantinopolitan," as J. COLLIER, I., 624. [10] ZABARELLA, 562; MART., COLL., VII., 1199. For similar oaths of Innocent and Benedict before election, see GERSON, I., XI.; MART., ANEC., II., 1274.

appointment. On Dec. 1st, 1406,[1] he was enthroned, and took the title of Gregory XII.; and on the same day[2] a packet was despatched to the collector[3] in England, in which was enclosed a letter to King Henry, announcing the election. Gregory was crowned on the steps of St. Peter's, at sunrise on Dec. 19th,[4] and those who were near him saw the tears[5] rolling down his cheeks. He was a long[6] lean man, more than 70[7] years old, and was chosen rather for his good intentions than for his ability. He was looked upon not so much as a Pope,[8] but rather as a commissioner elected to bring about the withdrawal of the rival Pope by means of a "cession,"[9] or double resignation. Those who knew him dwelt lovingly on the strictness of his life, and a kind of old-world[10] goodness that

[1] CONC., III., 291; HARL. MS., 431, 9 (7 b); not Dec. 5th, as CREIGHTON, I., 176; nor Dec. 10th, as CHRON. GILES., 53. WALS., II., 275, says Nov. 30th, *i.e.*, the day on which he took the oath as above; so also PETRI SUFFR., 78. [2] RYM., VIII., 488, 495; EUL., III., 409. [3] Called Peto in CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 2. Two Papal envoys were already in England, *viz.*, a knight, Nicholas Caraffa, and a Doctor of Laws, Marcellus di Strozzi. See their passport to return with cups, lids, &c., dated Nov. 22nd, 1406, in CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 30. [4] A. PETRI, 981; MURAT., XVII., 304; RAYNALDI, XVII., 304; GOBELIN, 325; HEFELE, VI., 888; not Nov. 30th, as POSILJE, 283; nor Dec. 6th, as CORNER, 1189; PETRI SUFFR., 78. [5] NIEM, 160. [6] MURATORI, III., II., 837. Multum extenuatus in facie et lividi coloris.—NIEM in SAUERLAND, 87; LABBE, XI., Pt. II., 3003 (= 2103); P. PLO., XI., 115. [7] NIEM, 304, 515; SOZZOM., 1189; EUL., III., 409; ANTONINUS, III., 126; ARETINUS in LENFANT, I., 193; HEFELE, VI., 888; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 243. Circiter septuagenarius.—ST. DENYS, III., 716. In maturâ etate immo in senectute constitutum.—RTA., VI., 175. Senex et doctus.—RATISBON, 2126. Ætate maturum.—CONC., III., 303. Valde senex, ætate octogenarius vel circa.—NIEM, 142, 151. Eyn aldir man unde eyn grosir theologus.—POSILJE, 283. Gar eyn selig man was und alt.—*Ibid.*, 290. Circiter octoginta.—WALS., II., 275, followed by MILMAN, V., 444; SCHWAB, 190; REUMONT, II., 1132. [8] Summo pontificatu sic utimur quasi eum protinus dimissuri.—MART., COLL., VII., 733, 1077; ARET., EPIST., I., 33; CHRISTOPHE, III., 229. [9] For cessio, compromissio, determinatio, &c., see GERSON, I., VIII.; MART., ANEC., II., 1162; *ibid.*, COLL., II., 1377; REPORT ON FÆD., D., 75. [10] Prisca quædam bonitas.—ARETINUS, 257; Recta et simplex natura.—*Ibid.*, EPIST., I., 55;

there was about him. He is said to have spent a great deal of money on sugar,[1] though he gave nothing away in alms.[2] His reputation for courage[3] was not high, and some that had dealings with him direct describe him as stiff-necked[4] and unyielding. He knew nothing of law, yet he would insist[5] on managing all Papal business himself, and was always suspecting that he was being over-reached. Cases would come in for settlement at the rate of 2000 a week, but he would stuff the papers away in a bag, and attend to about 10 of them taken at random; and, as a consequence, questions that were before settled in a few days, now took two or three months. He proved himself a born Venetian, who must be flattered and feed; but the pious victims would put up with any fleecing, if only God would grant that he might bring unity to the Church. He was lauded as an Angel[6] of God, a Jeremiah, a Paul, a Morning Star,[7] and everything that was promising. God, it was said, had rubbed the rust[8] from the silver, and the vase had come out in fullest purity. Henceforth the stars would take their true light from the One True Sun.[9]

The Roman[10] party were in high hopes that victory was already at hand, and that the golden age had come at last,

ein gotlicher biederber man.—JANSSEN, I., 133; gratus hominibus et tranquillus nauta.—NIEM, 407.

[1] Plus in zucaro consumebat quam sui prædecessores in victu et vestitu.—MURATORI, III., II., 838; SCHWAB, 190; which is not to be considered as a "childish luxury," as CREIGHTON, I., 182. For kinds and prices of sugar see DERBY ACCTS., 354. [2] Quod est signum damnationis. —NIEM, 515. [3] ANTONINUS, III., 126. [4] Vir duræ cervicis et inflexibilis. —NIEM, 205. [5] HISTOR. TASCH., 129, 151. [6] NIEM, 162; "Thei chosen on cleped Aungel," CAPGR., 294. For the story of the friars dancing before him and crying, "Angele! Angele!" see MART., COLL., VII., 832. Afterwards they called him an Angel of Satan.—*Ibid.*, 851. [7] RTA., VI., 176, 178. [8] WYCL. (A.), II., 39; III., 255; CHAUCER, PROL., 502. [9] CONC., III., 303. [10] MART., ANEC., II., 1282, 1291; *ibid.*, COLL., VII., 725; NIEM, in RAYNALDI, XVII., 303; erecti sunt cunctorum animi et qui ante mussabant nunc palam unitatem efflagitant.—ARET., EPIST., I., 35.

while in Paris[1] there was joy in many hearts that had striven for well-nigh 30 years to bring about the wished-for cession; though it must have been in all minds that the very same[2] exaggerated phrases had been used on the accession of Innocent VII., only two years before. On Dec. 10th, 1406,[3] the Roman Cardinals wrote off, announcing their proposals to King Rupert, to the Count of Cleves, and to those "shining stars of infinite learning,"[4] the Universities of Paris and Cologne; and the latter, as one of the smallest and the youngest[5] of the Church's sheep, answered with a "bleat of devout exhortation" to proceed. They likewise wrote to Benedict and the Cardinals of his obedience, urging them to seize the accepted time and the day of salvation. On Dec. 11th,[6] Gregory himself wrote letters to his rival and to the French King, offering to lay down his office if Benedict would do the like, and proposing that neither of them should appoint new Cardinals for the next 15 months, in the hope that some agreement might be arrived at in the meantime. He wrote in all friendliness, urging that it was no time for standing upon strict rights. The moments which delayed the settlement seemed as years[7] to his fevered zeal; and he vowed that, if

[1] ST. DENYS, III., 526; GERSON, V., 567, where his expression suits better with 1407 than 1394 or 1395. LENFANT, 81. [2] MART., ANEC., II., 1277; see also GERSON, II., 100, for Benedict XIII. [3] MART., COLL., VII., 719-723; RAYNALDI, XVII., 304; RTA., VI., 177, 179. [4] MART., ANEC., II., 1280, 1282, 1286-1291. [5] Its charter was granted by Urban V., May 21st, 1388.—DYNTER, III., 143; ENCYCL. BRIT., XXIII., 840. [6] CONC., III., 285; RAYNALDI, XVII., 353; RTA., VI., 178, 276; ante coronationis solemnia.—MART., COLL., VII., 726; not xii. Kal. Nov., as JUV., 444, wrongly copying from ST. DENYS, III., 502, where the date is xii. Kal. Dec. (*i.e.*, Dec. 12th). For letter from Gregory to Archbishop Arundel dated "the 12th day from our Assumption" (*i.e.*, Dec. 11th), enclosing copy of his letter to Benedict, see HARL. MS., 431, 10, (8). [7] ST. DENYS, III., 568; fervidus ultra modum.—MART., ANEC., II., 1429.

all else failed, he would himself go anywhere in an open boat,[1] or take a staff[2] and wallet, and trudge afoot to Ghent or Avignon to ensure the restoration of unity. The letter reached Benedict on Jan. 15th, 1407,[3] at Marseilles,[4] whither he had just returned after two years' absence in Genoa[5] and the Riviera. He replied on Jan. 31st,[6] accepting the proposal gladly; and his College of Cardinals embraced the Roman offer "with clasped hands."[7]

At Paris the arrival of the Roman messengers was welcome indeed. Before the news of the death of Innocent could reach France, a great National Council of nobles, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and representatives of the Universities of Paris, Orleans, Angers, and Montpellier had been summoned to take some definite steps in regard to the question of the hour. They met in the high[8] hall of the royal palace overlooking the Seine (Nov. 11th, 1406);[9] and the substance of

[1] NIEM, 151; ARET., 256; EPIST., I., 34; RAYNALDI, XVII., 303, 326; CONC., III., 296; MART., ANEC., II., 1353; ST. DENYS, III., 532, 664, 688; RTA., VI., 676; SAUERLAND, 90; PALACKY, III., I, 219; NEANDER, IX., 97. [2] WYCL. (A.), III., 495. [3] CONC., III., 288; ST. DENYS, III., 504; MART., COLL., VII., 734, 735; not 11th, as *ibid.*, 733. [4] DELAYTO, 1040; ST. DENYS, III., 586; GAMEZ (144), gives an interesting account of his attack on the corsairs who were in the Pope's pay at Marseilles. [5] From Dec. 2nd, 1404, to Dec. 8th, 1406.—MURAT., III., II., 796; FOGLIETA, 528; RAYNALDI, XVII., 289; BOUCICAUT, 295; SURITA, 271, 275; REUMONT, II., 1117; ORDONNANCES, IX., 60 (Apr. 6th, 1405), refers to Benedict as going to Italy. [6] MART., COLL., VII., 757-783; RAYNALDI, XVII., 305; ST. DENYS, III., 504, 538; HARL. MS., 431, 93; NIEM, 148; JUV., 444; SPONDE, I., 700, who suggests that the letter was written by Clamenges, who was present as a Papal secretary for Benedict at Marseilles. [7] MART., COLL., VII., 736. [8] ST. DENYS, III., 474; but "aula parva," *ibid.*, p. 466; AUBERTIN, II., 355. [9] JUV., 439; or 18th, as St. DENYS, III., 464, followed by HEFELE, VI., 882; CREIGHTON, I., 173; CHRISTOPHE, III., 220. Jean Juvenel, the father, was present as a King's Advocate (JUV., 441), and Gerson as Chancellor of Notre Dame (SPONDE, I., 697; LENFANT, I., 134; GERSON, I., XVIII.; LEROUX DE LINCY, 398).

their speeches may be still read in the actual[1] words in which they were delivered, forming a mine of racy anecdote and smart repartee. It is one of the greatest curiosities of mediæval reporting, and should long ago have been printed *in extenso*. One or two of the speakers complain that they have a cold[2] in the head, or that they are not so much at home in French as in Latin. For three weeks the talk flowed without any signs of progress. It was like the man[3] in the well. They were asking a hundred questions as to how he got in, without doing anything to get him out; one speaker suggesting that the two Popes should be pitted[4] against one another, the loser to be drowned and the winner burnt. But in the end some halting resolutions[5] were passed by majorities[6] of 10 to 1, asserting the independence of the French Church, refusing to pay any more annates,[7] or tenths, or other such "exactions," and threatening to regard Benedict as a schismatic if he did not at once agree to meet the new Pope prepared for the cession. This, it was thought, would soon bring him to his senses, for he would find that it was no fun[8] when the water was cut off from his mill.

But the forward party in the University of Paris, which had already borne the burden and heat of the day,[9] struck a bolder course, in spite of the caution of Master Jean Gerson,[10] the Chancellor of Notre Dame. Remembering their old

[1] BIBL. NAT., MS., ST. VICTOR, 266; MOLAND, 216-239; AUBERTIN, II., 355, 359. [2] MOLAND, 224, 411. [3] MOLAND, 230. [4] CRAMAUD, in MOLAND, 234. [5] Dated Jan. 4th, 12th, 21st, 1407. See the pleadings in LENFANT, I., 137-159; JUV., 440; GODEFROY, 612-629; MART., ANEC., II., 1307, 1312, 1383; SAUERLAND, 101; SCHWAB, 185-189. For royal decree dated March 23rd, 1407, in the Church of Notre Dame, condemning all who spoke against the cession, see GERSON, I., XX.; II., 74. [6] BAYE, I., 182. [7] MONSTR., I., 132. [8] MOLAND, 219. [9] WOOD, I., 201; HUBER, I., 326. [10] GERSON, II., 3; ST. DENYS, III., 346; IV., 416. For his portrait see LEROUX DE LINCY, 402.

grudge[1] against Benedict, they were for no more going round the pot,[2] but for repudiating him outright as an obstinate schismatic[3] and appealing to some future Council[4] against his expected censures. The Cardinals of the Roman obedience were therefore specially bland in approaching them, and Gregory's envoys were received in Paris with great respect.[5] A solemn procession was officially arranged to thank God for the prospect of peace—"at least in word and writing";[6] for sensible folks knew that there was about as much chance of the two courts agreeing as for a mud castle to stand in the middle of the sea.[7] The French king had greater joy[8] in his heart than he could put in writing. He bade the rival claimants not to waste their ink in logomachies or tricky cavillations[9] about their rights, but to go straight to the holy work at once.

On Feb. 6th, 1407,[10] a sermon was preached, partly in Latin and partly in French, before a vast congregation in the Church of the Franciscans at Marseilles, in which it was

[1] LENFANT, 89. [2] JEAN PETIT, in MOLAND, 219. [3] MART., ANEC., II., 1295, 1312. See the violent letter of Jean Mollet, dated Jan., 1407, but it is doubtful whether it was ever published.—BAYE, I., 172.

[4] Faictes un vray pappe apparoir,
Et par concile declarer.
DESCHAMPS, V., 277.

[5] MONSTR., I., 149. [6] Au moins par parole et par escrips.—GERSON, IV., 567, where the date should be 1407, not 1394.—SCHWAB, 194; PASTOR, I., 136.

[7] Quant les deux cours seront d'acort
Pour l'union de Saincte Église,
Je fonderay de terre glise
En my la mer un chastel fort.
DESCHAMPS, VII., 216.

[8] MART., COLL., VII., 739; ST. DENYS, III., 496, 640; D'ACHERY, VI., 175. [9] "Frauduleuses cavillations;" cf. doli, fraudes, simulationes, veritatis offuscationes, falsi palliationes, paralogismi, elenchi, sophisticationes, atque illusiones, &c.—NIEM, 251. For "cavyllacions," see WYCL. (A.), III., 198, 302, 484. [10] MURAT., III., II., 801.

officially announced in presence of Benedict XIII. that he agreed to the "cession," if the Roman Pope would do the same; and a bull in this sense was read, which he was about to despatch to his rival at Rome. Envoys[1] passed between Rome and Marseilles; and after much heated[2] discussion it was arranged on April 21st, 1407, that both Popes with their respective advisers should meet at Savona as a central[3] accessible spot on the Gulf of Genoa, by Michaelmas following, or Nov. 1st at the latest. Each was to be accompanied by eight armed galleys, manned with 200 men-at-arms and 100 cross-bowmen, and elaborate precautions were to be taken to guard against treachery at the meeting; while, in order to prevent such a *fiasco* as had occurred at Rome three years before, it was agreed[4] that no one should make use of irritating and offensive expressions, such as "Anti-Pope," or "Anti-Cardinal," or "Anti-Archbishop," or "Anti-Bishop," or anti-anything else.

As soon as the new Pope was elected, two English envoys had started to make their compliments at Rome. Arriving in Venice about the end of Jan., 1407,[5] they presented themselves before the Signory, and obtained further recommends to secure for them a good reception. On June 1st, 1407,[6] Antonio è Pireto, Minister General of the Franciscans, was despatched from Rome with a letter to King Henry in Eng-

[1] Three envoys left Rome on Feb. 27th, 1407.—RAYNALDI, XVII., 306; ST. DENYS, III., 540, 542; arriving in Marseilles Mar. 31st, 1407. MURAT., III., II., 803; cf. MART., ANEC., II., 1314 (Apr. 21st, 1407), and *ibid.*, COLL., VII., 757 (June 30th, 1407). [2] ST. DENYS, III., 530. [3] ARET., EPIST., I., 40. [4] ST. DENYS, III., 560; MART., ANEC., II., 1319, 1322-1328; SERCAMBI in MURATORI, XVIII., 880; RTA., VI., 676; SCHWAB, 196; HEFELE, VI., 891. [5] VEN. STATE PP., I., 43. [6] RAYNALDI, XVII., 308; EUL., III., 409. His safe-conduct is dated June 24th, 1407 (RYM., VIII., 488), and he arrived in London before July 28th (*ibid.*, 495).

land, begging for subscriptions to enable Gregory to carry out his part of the plan; and things remained in this friendly train so late as the middle[1] of June, when it was believed that if the Popes could once be got up to the meeting, pressure[2] could then be brought to bear so stiffly that they would be forced to yield.

But all too soon the word-fighting had begun. Soon after Easter[3] a great force of negotiators started from Paris to visit both Popes in the name of the French King. Their coming had been intimated by letters dated Feb. 18th, 1407.[4] The party[5] included an Archbishop, five Bishops, five Abbots, and a troop of knights and representatives of the University of Paris, amongst them being Jean Gerson,[6] Pierre d'Ailly,[7] Bishop of Cambrai, the second[8] founder of the Collége de Navarre, Simon de Cramaud,[9] Patriarch of Alexandria, Jean

[1] MART., COLL., VII., 755, June 13, 1407. [2] Rigidissimè prosequi contra Papam.—MART., ANEC., II., 1329; ST. DENYS, III., 580. [3] ST. DENYS, III., 528. [4] RAYNALDI, XVII., 306; ST. DENYS, III., 473; GERSON, I., XXI.; NIEM, 280. [5] See their instructions dated Mar. 13th, 1407, in ST. DENYS, III., 514; MART., ANEC., II., 1358-1363; SCHWAB, 193; HEFELE, VI., 890. [6] MURAT., III., II., 804; RAYNALDI, XVII., 310. For five unpublished letters addressed to him by Jean de Montreuil, see A. THOMAS, 38. [7] For his writings, see TRITHEIM, 102 a. For his portrait from the Collége de Navarre, see LEROUX DE LINCY, 402. For his poor birth and sudden advancement, see MART., ANEC., II., 1464; GALLIA CHRIST., III., 48; CLAMENGES, EP., 10; SCHWAB, 87; L. SALEMBIER, 1886. In 1887, I found his tombstone lying neglected in a yard behind the library buildings at Cambrai. [8] He was Grand Master of the College in 1384, and built twelve new rooms (the Domus Alliaci), leaving his books to the College at his death in 1420. Gerson and Nicholas de Clamenges were also students there.—FRANKLIN, 392. [9] HARDT, III., 1247; not Gramaud, as RTA., VI., 307. For his epitaph at Poitiers see GALLIA CHRIST., II., 1196. For a curious attack upon him by Boniface Ferrer, who calls him lucernam sulfuream ardentem et fumigantem in medio nebulæ, and laughs at his Commentary on Job, see MART., ANEC., II., 1451, 1453.

Petit,[1] Pierre Plaoul,[2] Guillaume Fillastre,[3] Jean Courtecuisse,[4] and others of the most learned[5] disputants and theologians of France. They set out by different routes, but all met at Villeneuve on the Rhone, opposite to Avignon, on April 30th, 1407.[6] Here they stayed three days to arrange their plans, and then moved forward together on May 2nd.[7] On May 4th they reached Aix, where they fell in with three envoys[8] who were on their way to Paris from Gregory. Continuing their journey they arrived at Marseilles on May 9th,[9] and at once had an interview with Benedict in the Abbey of St. Victor.

[1] He is said to have predicted the great frost of 1407-8; see extract from SIMON DE PHARES in NOUV. BIOG., s. v. PETIT. For a volume of his poems in MS. (20,000 lines) see BIBL. NAT. SUPPLÉMENT FRANÇAIS, 540, 3; ACAD. DE BELGIQUE, II., XI., 561. [2] Called "Plout" in JUV., 439, 441; "Plo," ST. DENYS, III., 360; "Plou," DENIFLE, PROC., LXXVI.; "Plaoul," MONTREUIL, 1363; MOLAND, 229; "Playes," FROIS., XVI., 69; "Plaoux," BRANDO, 135. He was made Bishop of Senlis Oct. 2nd, 1409 (MAS-LATRIE, 1488), and died April 11th, 1415 (not 1409, as MONSTR., II., 37). [3] MART., ANEC., II., 1357. For his journal at the Council of Constance see FINKE, 69. For letters addressed to him by Jean de Montreuil see A. THOMAS, 37, 82. [4] RYM., VIII., 554; called Cortohosam in J. MEYER, 229 a. For his treatise DE FIDE see GERSON, I., 805. In MONTREUIL, 1427; A. THOMAS, 83, he and Gerson are eloquentiæ sidera. He was sent as ambassador to England in 1395.—ST. DENYS, II., 326. For his translation of Seneca into French for the Duke of Berri in 1403 see CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 395; TRAISON, XXIV.; DELISLE, I., 60. He became Bishop of Geneva in 1422, and died March, 1423.—BESSON, 43. For account of him see J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 248. [5] ST. DENYS, III., 608. [6] ST. DENYS, III., 562; JARRY, 348. [7] ST. DENYS, III., 570. [8] MURAT., III., II., 803. One of them was Antonio della Butrio, the veteran jurist of Bologna, then in his 70th year.—ST. DENYS, III., 522, 528, 566, 576; SPONDE, I., 702; SURITA, 275; RAYNALDI, XVII., 331; NIEM, 162, 178, 292; SAUERLAND, 113; SCHWAB, 194; HEFELE, VI., 890; CREIGHTON, I., 178; CHRISTOPHE, III., 238. He reported the result of his mission to Gregory at Siena, but was harshly received. He then returned to Bologna, and died before March, 1409.—RAYNALDI, XVII., 355; ERLER, 158 (not 1417, as TRITHEIM, 104); BONIFACE FERRER (in 1411) in MART., ANEC., II., 1469, puts the fees of jurists at 20, 30, or 100 florins. [9] MURAT., III., II., 804; MART., ANEC., II., 1363; ST. DENYS, III., 584; CHRISTOPHE, III., 244; REUMONT, II., 1134; not 1406, as HARDT, III., 124.

They found the old man with his lithe little figure [1] always attended [2] by an armed guard even at the altar. He gave them all the kiss of peace,[3] called each by his name, and asked personally of their welfare, reproaching [4] them so sweetly and gently for having called him names, that he sometimes had them all in tears and rolling at his feet. But, compliments apart, they could get nothing but his usual [5] round-about replies. He would commit [6] himself to nothing in writing, so they returned to Aix on May 21st,[7] and went on their way to the other Pope, leaving two of their number, the Archbishop [8] of Tours and the Abbot of St. Michel, behind at Marseilles, to try and get something more definite out of Benedict after he had had time to reflect. These had a long interview with the Cardinals on June 3rd, but the Cardinals were in a great hurry to pack up and be off to Avignon. The next day (June 4th), the Frenchmen were invited to drink a voidy,[9] and had another audience with the Pope at a dessert or banquet [10] of wine [11] and spice.[12] Then there was a question whether "depriva-

[1] Brevis staturæ et gracilis homo.—NIEM, 120; CREIGHTON, I., 130. [2] ST. DENYS, III., 84, 626; LENFANT, 174. In palatio et alibi.—SURITA, 266; cf. Tu gladio temporali hoc est machinis et armis sine rubore procedis.—MART., COLL., VII., 850. Suæ professioni male convenientibus.—*Ibid.*, II., 1376; SCHWAB, 183. [3] LENFANT, 170, 172; USK, 73; WYCL., DE BLASPH., 4. [4] ST. DENYS, III., 602; CREIGHTON, I., 181. [5] Per multa verba more suo.—ST. DENYS, III., 530, 592; CREIGHTON, I., 181. Ingeniosus et ad inveniendum res novas valde subtilis.—NIEM, 120. [6] SCHWAB, 198; HEFELE, VI., 894. [7] MART., ANEC., II., 1363; ST. DENYS, III., 624; not May 29th, as GERSON, I., XXI. [8] ST. DENYS, III., 636. [9] CHAUCER (S.), II., 265, 478, 576; HOLT, 111, 167. [10] AS YOU LIKE IT, II., v., 64. [11] ANN., 191; G. OLIVER, 280; FROIS., XVI., 115, 148; WHARTON, II., 89. Boniface Ferrer notes as a reason for the unpopularity of Benedict with the French that he put too much water in the wine and did not give them enough to drink when they came to his court.—MART., ANEC., II., 1524. [12] For spicery, including pepper, see ROT. PARL., III., 662; WYCL. (A.), I., 89; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 80. And spyces parted and the wyn agoon.—CHAUCER (S.), II., 384; III., 123.

tion" would be the proper word to use when they came to actual business; and on June 6th they were told that the Pope was suffering from a frightful toothache,[1] "which was really true,"[2] as they slyly remark. And so they were kept waiting for eight days, the gibe of doorwards[3] and ushers,[4] who were offensively polite and drew[5] all eyes upon them, because they gave nothing in largess.[6] In the end they returned to Paris, and soon found that Benedict had fooled them again. For while their tears were flowing he had been drawing up "constitutions,"[7] unknown even to his Cardinals,[8] in which he threatened to excommunicate any one, King, Emperor, Archbishop, Patriarch, Cardinal, or whoever he might be, who should dare to subtract obedience from himself or his successors.

HOLT, 103. For des epices et de boire, see P. MEYER, 392. Species et vina.—BRANDO, 25.

And many a spyce delitable
To eten whan men ryse fro table.
CHAUCER (S.), I., 150.

For King's confectioner of spicery see Iss. ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 12th, 1406. In the Coventry Play, when Adam is created he is allowed "pepyr, pyan, and swete lycorys."—MONAST., VI., 1538.

[1] Il n'est doleur fors que le mal des dens.—DESCHAMPS, V., 4, 197. Couhes and cardiacles crampes and tothaches.—P. PLO., XXIII., 82. Of palasye and of toothake.—CHAUCER (S.), I., 139. For Charles the Bald miraculously cured of toothache, circ. 843, see D'ACHERY, XII., 619. For charms against toothache by writing texts upon the leads or on the walls, condemned in Council of Arboga, Sept., 1412, see SILFVERSTOLPE, II., 544. [2] Prout erat revera.—MART., ANEC., II., 1322. [3] For "gatewarde," see P. PLO., VIII., 243; XIV., 92; "porter," DERBY ACCTS., 268, 350. [4] PROMPT. PARV., 512; CATHOL., 405; APOLOGY, 35, 36; WYCL. (A.), II., 162. [5] Cf. GESTA ABB. S. ALBANI, I., 309. [6] CHAUC. (S.), IV., 39, 274. For beveragium see DERBY ACCTS., 110; PRUTZ, 102; in potu, ad potandum.—DERBY ACCTS., 26, 203. [7] Dated Marseilles, xiv. Kal. Jun., *i.e.*, either May 19th or June 14th, 1407, in D'ACHERY, VI., 187; GERSON, I., XXII.; HARDT, III., 1242, 1247; SPONDE, I., 701; LENFANT, I., 177; HEFELE, VI., 895; SCHWAB, 209; called March 23rd in MONSTR., I., 150, 255. [8] Quis ad illud arctissimum secretum nos admissos esse crediderit quæ intra cellulas, clausis diligenter ostiis, ne aliqua posset ratione ad nos usque pervenire, &c.—CLAMENGES, EP., 130; HEFELE, VI., 909.

By this time the main body of the envoys were well on their road to Rome. They set out from Aix on May 29th; and as the heat[1] was frightful and the plague was raging all along the coast, they took ship and sailed together to Genoa. Here they grouped into two companies. The land party travelled by Lucca[2] to Florence, where they had a "reception and a good welcome." Moving on they reached Viterbo on July 1st, and arrived in Rome on July 4th,[3] where the Patriarch, Simon de Cramaud, was lodged with one of the Roman Cardinals in the Apollinaris Palace. Those who had been left behind at Genoa started in three galleys gay with bunting, and called in at Leghorn (July 9th),[4] where the citadel was in the hands of their countryman, Boucicaut. Coasting along they sailed up the Tiber, and were in Rome by Saturday, July 16th.[5] But there was a snake[6] in the grass. The Unionists were going to sleep,[7] and such energies as were awake in Rome were already devising means how not to do it.

Even before their actual arrival the Frenchmen had learnt, by the experience of one[8] of their number who had gone on direct, that the language of the Roman Court was becoming "very double and captious." They soon found[9] that both Popes had a secret understanding to resist all interference from without, whether of Kings or Universities. They would

[1] MART., ANEC., II., 1359; ST. DENYS, III., 672, 694, 706. [2] ST. DENYS, III., 644. [3] MART., ANEC., II., 1349; or July 5th, as ST. DENYS, III., 648; followed by SCHWAB, 201, 202; CREIGHTON, I., 183; CHRISTOPHE, III., 254. [4] BOUCICAUT, 300; FOGLIETA, 529. [5] A. PETRI, 983; ST. DENYS, III., 650. [6] NIEM, 251.

Cf. Avise au venimeux serpent,
Qui en la douce herbe se trait.
DESCHAMPS, VII., 85.

[7] Hic plane dormimus.—ARET., EP., I., 41; written at Rome April 7th, 1407. [8] MART., ANEC., II., 1331, 1348; REUMONT, II., 1136. [9] MART., COLL., VII., 769; BOUCICAUT, 310.

settle their differences (if at all) entirely by themselves, holding on by the teeth[1] during their lifetime, and feeling that the Church had better remain divided than that Popes should act on compulsion.[2] Of course they kept it up in public like two buckler-players,[3] just to show what they could do, but they took care not to smite too smartly. They understood[4] each other's thrusts. "Don't you yield, and then I can refuse; and what you do won't bind me, and what I do won't bind you." It was quite true that Gregory had a great name for sanctity and for keeping his word; but the Prothonotary[5] at Mayence had seen how the new Pope's relatives were getting all the good things at Rome, and he very soon bet his Archbishop a pair of boots that nothing would ever make Gregory resign.

By the time they reached Rome the number of the French envoys had been thinned[6] down to 14. They were of course received with all respect; but after a short while they found that "incredible difficulties" were being raised, and they had to contemplate the possibility of a lengthened stay. On their first formal interview with Gregory he said decidedly that Savona would not do. The place had gone[7] over with Genoa to the French, and was no longer in his obedience, and he was the true Pope.[8] "That is what we do not admit,"[9] answered the envoys. He was tetchy[10] and peevish; and after

[1] Ipsa mordicus tenere.—NIEM, 158. [2] PLATINA, 281. [3] NIEM, 418; A. S. GREEN, I., 340; from SHILLINGFORD'S LETTERS (CAMD. SOC.), p. 68. [4] RTA., VI., 677, 688; LENFANT, 341, 345. L'un de nous ira et l'autre s'excusera.—COCHON, 138; WYCL. (M.), 334. [5] Evici vadiando a domino meo Maguntinensi unum par bonarum caligarum.—RTA., VI., 677, 678, 689; LENFANT, 340. [6] Gerson not now being among them. —MART., ANEC., II., 1335, 1350. [7] ANTONINUS, III., 124; ST. DENYS, III., 572, 630, 662. [8] MART., ANEC., II., 1384. [9] *Ibid.*, 1349. [10] Difficilem et morosum.—ARETINUS, 256; SOZZOMENO, 1191.

repeated interviews, in which they laboured[1] most elegantly, and continually, and instantly, urging him morning and evening, they found him growing every day more unmanageable. But though[2] he had few words, yet he had got up his lesson well. At times he would cry[3] out that they were all against him, waymenting[4] and sobbing out: "Don't leave me! Be kind! Be careful! Let us come to the point. I will give peace to the Church; but Savona must be changed."[5] Why were there so many precautions about the meeting if it was all above board? The King of France might guarantee his safety, but he was out of his mind,[6] and could not be depended upon. What about the French nobles? He suspected Boucicaut.[7] He had had hints that he meant to seize him and spirit him away, as he had tried to do before with Benedict. He could not trust himself out of Rome, or Ladislas[8] would seize the States of the Church. He could not get galleys;[9] he was too poor. The envoys offered him galleys, and money to pay for crews selected by himself to man them. They were ready to pay half the wages of troops to defend Rome while he was away. But he kept on "singing the same song," till their patience was nearly done. They did not hide their contempt,[10] and at one of the conferences with the Cardinals in the

[1] NIEM, 164, 287, who was often present (*me videnle pluries et præsente*). [2] LENFANT, 179, quoting ST. DENYS, XXVII., ch. XIV., but the reference seems to be wrong. [3] Quicquid sibi placeret illud eis displiceret, sibique in omnibus contrarii forent.—NIEM, 205. [4] PROMPT. PARV., s. v.; HOCCL., MIN. PO., 3; CHAUCER (S.), I., 114, II., 191; KNIGHT'S TALE, 997, 1922. For "waymentacioun" see HOCCL., DE REG., 128. [5] NIEM, 162 (*me præsente*); RAYNALDI, XVII., 308; MART., COLL., VII., 765. [6] MART., ANEC., II., 1350, 1353, 1379; MART., COLL., VII., 877. [7] ST. DENYS, III., 678; MART., ANEC., II., 1383; RAYNALDI, XVII., 313. [8] Called "Lanzilas" in DELPHINUS GENTILIS, in MURATORI, III., II., 845; or "Lancelot," BOUCICAUT, 301. [9] See NIEM'S argument against this excuse (p. 291), written July 1st, 1407 (p. 304). [10] Continuo dedignanter et fastuose.—RAYNALDI, XVII., 311.

Vatican Chapel an irreverent knight[1] among them said bluntly that both Popes ought to be pitched into the fire.

Finding that they were making no way, some of the Frenchmen tried to bring pressure to bear by negotiating[2] with the magistrates and the populace of Rome, with whom they had been in communication since their arrival; and they even sent a messenger[3] to Paris, announcing that the Romans were willing to put the city into the hands of the King of France, and accept a Governor appointed by him, as the Genoese had done with Boucicaut. But before long they got a significant warning that things were going too far. On July 31st,[4] a sack was left at the Patriarch's lodgings filled with garbage and the sweepings of the streets,—a pleasantry which boded extreme political excitement in a mediæval populace.[5] The man who left the filthy stuff was caught, but neither torture nor imprisonment could make him give up the name of the sender. Hearing that there was a prospect of their being arrested, the envoys left Rome on Friday, Aug. 5th,[6] and sailed to Genoa.[7] Thence they passed to Villa Franca[8] and Nice, and in company with Boucicaut reported their impressions of Rome to Benedict at St. Honorat. Some of them afterwards went with him to Savona, where they were arranging with messengers from Rome as late as Nov. 10th, 1407.[9]

[1] MART., ANEC., II., 1353. [2] *Ibid.*, 1351, 1383; RTA., VI., 375; SCHWAB, 203. [3] ST. DENYS, III., 670 (an eye-witness); MART., ANEC., II., 1345; LENFANT, 182. For previous intrigues (1391 and 1394) to establish a French kingdom in N. E. Italy with the Duke of Orleans as King, see CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 6-51, 105. [4] A. PETRI, 983; MART., ANEC., II., 1354. [5] Cf. BOUCICAUT, 289, for the Pisans in their hatred of the French; also ZANTFLIET, 388; FOULLON, I., 468, for the Liégois and their Bishop; cf. a "sak of drit."—WYCL. (M.), 206; (A.), III., 125, 387; "a foul sac and stynkyng."—*Ibid.* (M.), 156. [6] A. PETRI, 983. [7] For their letter to Gregory written at Genoa, Aug. 21st, 1407, see ST. DENYS, III., 700. [8] ECOLE DES CHARTES, L., 27. [9] MART., ANEC., II., 1357.

Five days after the departure of the French envoys, Pope Gregory set out from Rome in the early morning of Aug. 10th.[1] He was accompanied by eight[2] of his Cardinals, and rode beneath a silken baldachin,[3] the people thronging round with palm branches. But disagreement[4] was already rife amongst the party. All the "efforts of the utmost diligence"[5] had not succeeded in getting proper galleys for the voyage, so they started by land for Savona, or some other place to be afterwards decided upon. They reached Viterbo on Aug. 15th, and halted[6] for 20 days. On Sept. 5th,[7] Pope Gregory reached Siena, "a fugitive and a wanderer in a foreign land;"[8]—that is to say, he was resting comfortably some 20 miles south of Florence, protesting that he had bated not a "wrinkle nor a rush-knot"[9] of his good intentions, and wanted still to keep his promise if only he could get the place of meeting changed; and when Nov. 1st came, he was still at Siena,[10] asking what he ought to have done that he had not.

[1] MURAT., III., II., 839; MART., COLL., VII., 769; RAYNALDI, XVII., 310; NIEM, 172, 417, says the vigil of St. Lawrence, *i.e.*, Aug. 9th; ERLER, 161; HEFELE, VI., 902; CREIGHTON, I., 186. [2] SOZZOMENO, 1191. [3] NIEM, 172. [4] MART., ANEC., II.. 1373, 1383; RAYNALDI, XVII., 319; ST. DENYS, III., 698, 708. [5] MART., COLL., VII., 761; ANEC., II., 1355; RAYNALDI, XVII., 309; BOUCICAUT, 294. For the real value of this excuse, see the letter of Boucicaut in MART., ANEC., II., 1332, 1348. [6] NIEM, 172. They were certainly there on Aug. 25th, MART., COLL., VII., 759, though not so long as two months, as supposed by MILMAN, V., 446. [7] DELAYTO, 1042; MART., COLL., VII., 767; ANEC., II., 1339; RAYNALDI, XVII., 316; NIEM, 176, 417; or Sept. 4th, as ERLER, 162, quoting MS., Bericht über Gregor's Aufenthalt in Siena.—ROME, BIBLIOTH. CORSINI, COLL. 38B. 13f. 153ff. For a letter written from Siena Sept. 13th, 1407, see ARETINUS, EP., I., 43; and for bull dated Siena, Oct. 3rd, 1407, see SILFVERSTOLPE, I., 679. [8] MART., COLL., VII., 760, 763. [9] Cf. "that counteth not a ruysshe."—P. PLO., XIII., 196; XIV., 239; GOWER, CONF., 96, 208, 273; "al dere y-nough a risshe."—CHAUCER (S.), II., 280. [10] MART., ANEC., II., 1385. He remained at Siena till Jan., 1408.—LENFANT, 193.

The plague[1] being bad at Marseilles, Pope Benedict set out for Nice with his Cardinals on Aug. 4th, 1407.[2] He stayed awhile (Aug. 23rd to Sept. 2nd)[3] at St. Honorat de Lerins, to recruit his health with the sea breeze, and reached Nice on Sept. 5th,[4] in company with Boucicaut, who had come up from Genoa. At Nice he gave an audience to the saintly Picard girl, Colette Boilet,[5] who had just spent four years of austere seclusion in a cell near the church of Corbie, and came to ask his sanction to her projected reform of the Order of St. Clare. On Sept. 24th,[6] he arrived at Savona "with great risk and a heap of expense," only to find "to his immense surprise," that the other side had not appeared; though he might have spared his amazement, seeing that letters[7] had been passing between them for the last two months, in which all the difficulties had been made the most of. He at once despatched a succession of messengers to Gregory, urging him "in all sweetness and charity" not to break his word. But when Nov. 1st arrived, and still Gregory did not come, he lost all patience; and being a "hard man,"[8] he wrote an angry letter to the Duke of Berri, letting out violently against

[1] MART., COLL., VII., 755. Cf. the plague of 1450, when the Pope retired to Castel Fabrian, and no one who had been at Rome was to come within seven miles of him.—HISTOR. TASCH., IV., 70; also *ibid.*, 74, for 1429, at Ferentino. [2] CIAC., II., 729; SURITA, 275. [3] MART., ANEC., II., 1377, 1378; ST. DENYS, III., 712, 718. On Aug. 29th, 1407, at an interview with Pierre Salmon or Le Fruitier, who had come over from Grasse, he expressed an earnest desire to end the schism. EC. DES CH., L., 27. [4] MART., ANEC., II., 1380; SURITA, 275. [5] ACT. SANCT., 6th March, 538, 549; CHRISTOPHE, III., 211, assigns the visit to the year 1406. For the story of how she flew in the air over the rough roads on her journey, and how Benedict fell off his chair as soon as she came into his presence, see BUTLER, I., 299; WADDING, IX., 279-315. [6] SPONDE, I., 701; D'ACHERY, VI., 234. [7] For Gregory's letters of July 13th and 29th (received Sept. 2nd), and his own of Aug. 1st, see MART., ANEC., II., 1349, 1367, 1380; RAYNALDI, XVII., 310; HARDT, III., 1248. [8] Durum hominem.—ST. DENYS, III., 582; LENFANT, 167.

the "duplicity and downright tomfoolery"[1] of "that man."

Gregory in the meantime had suggested Pietra Santa[2] near Carrara as the meeting-place, or Leghorn, or Pisa, or 30 other places, including Rome itself, provided they were not in Benedict's obedience; and as the French King had given instructions[3] not to be over-nice about the point, a last effort was made at compromise. On Nov. 10th, 1407,[4] Benedict put out his final offer. He would move up to Porto Venere or Sarzana[5] on the Gulf of Spezia, which were the most easterly places in his obedience, if Gregory would come to Pietra Santa within a month. There would then be only a few miles of country between them, and they might perhaps arrange a personal meeting after all. This was his ultimatum, and like a true son of Aragon[6] he was as stubborn as a mule.[7] He went with his College[8] of Cardinals to Spezia[9] and Porto Venere[10] (Jan. 4th, 1408), where he could keep one foot[11] in the water and the other on shore, but nothing would induce him to move away from his galleys; while the sea was the very thing that Gregory most dreaded, for fear that he should

[1] Apertam buffariam.—MART., COLL., VII., 756. The panegyrist of Boucicaut (295) calls Gregory a "false hypocrite." In TRITHEIM, II., 325, it is represented that Gregory went to Savona like an innocent lamb, but that Benedict like a wily fox frightened him away again. [2] ST. DENYS, III., 686, 696; MART., COLL., VII., 761; ANEC., II., 1355, 1369, 1385, 1387; RAYNALDI, XVII., 319. [3] MART., ANEC., II., 1338, 1344, 1353, 1359. [4] MART., COLL., VII., 763; ANEC., II., 1388. [5] DELAYTO, 1043. [6] MART., ANEC., II., 1455; BRANDO, 138. Il est du pays des bonnes mulles.—MOLAND, 223; SCHWAB, 186. [7] LENFANT, 146. [8] MART., ANEC., II., 1535. [9] ARETINUS, 256; MART., ANEC., II., 1390. [10] SURITA, 275; MONSTR., I., 250; GERSON, II., 106, shows that he was at Porto Venere on Jan. 26th, 1408. [11] Cum valeret classe.—RAYNALDI, XVII., 306, 309; D'ACHERY, VI., 208. Tu enim ut oratores tui in mea præsentia publice affirmaverunt nullum locum acceptare intendis nisi sit maritimus.—Gregory to Benedict, Kal. Maii, 1408, HARL. MS., 431, 90 (53). Quod ipse volebat unum pedem tenere in aqua et alterum in terra.—*ibid.*, 103 (83), ART., 18.

be kidnapped and conveyed away. And so these two septuagenarian[1] priests played duck-and-drake[2] like schoolboys[3] for months at a safe distance; one like a land-beast[4] afraid of the sea, and the other like a sea-beast[5] afraid of the land; while orthodox religionists were praying[6] fervently that God would hasten the time when they should both be carried off to the company of Cain and Judas in the deep pit of hell.[7]

On Dec. 5th, 1407, a messenger left Paris with an intimation to Benedict that the French obedience would soon be withdrawn. The envoy arrived at Porto Venere early in Jan., 1408, and was received with "great stiffness."[8] On Jan. 12th,[9] the French King wrote a letter to both Popes, telling them plainly that they were prevaricating because they would not part with their profits and pleasures, and warning them that if union were not restored before Ascension Day (May 24th), the French would withdraw[10] from recognition of either of them, and do without a Pope till the quarrel was healed. On

[1] RAYNALDI, XVII., 325; MART., COLL., VII., 842. It is a little overdoing it to say that "both Popes were scandalous promise-breakers, treacherous, deceitful, and malicious," as CHURCH QUARTERLY REV., XIX., 75. [2] La table de ricochet.—BOUCICAUT, 310; le chanson de ricochet.—MOLAND, 222. [3] More parvulorum.—MART., COLL., VII., 852. [4] MART., ANEC., II., 1394; ARETINUS, 256; EPIST., I., 62; SOZZOMENO, 1191; LENFANT, 193; PERRENS, VI., 171; CREIGHTON, I., 187; HEFELE, VI., 903; PALACKY, III., I., 219; NEANDER, IX., 102; ALZOG, II., 851; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 245. A much more unsavoury comparison was made to Poggio by the Cardinal of Bordeaux.—SHEPHERD, 34. [5] MART., COLL., VII., 1001. [6] Dieu advance l'œuvre!—BOUCICAUT, 309, 310; MART., COLL., VII., 881. [7] GOWER, CONF., 230; cf. right in the devil's ers of helle (=où puis d'enfer).—CHAUCER (S.), I., 257; "helle pit."—*Ibid.*, 283; the putte of helle.—*Ibid.*, II., 92, 351; IV., 49. [8] Me monstra grant rigueur.—PIERRE SALMON in EC. DES CHARTES, L., 29. He had started with Boucicaut from Genoa on Jan. 4th, 1408. [9] MART., COLL., VII., 770; ANEC., II., 1408. 1443; ORDONNANCES, IX., 290, 294; D'ACHERY, VI., 177, 198; ST. DENYS, IV., 4, 19-27; PASTOR, I., 138; ASCHBACH, I., 273; CHRISTOPHE, III., 269. [10] For advice not to act on this, see MART., ANEC., II., 1329.

the same day he notified[1] this determination to the various Kings, Princes, Bishops, and Barons whom it might concern.

But Benedict on his side had been making the best use of time. He had been heard to threaten[2] that if the French King dared to subtract obedience he would throw his kingdom into such confusion as would take a century to cure; and in view of past experience his palace at Avignon[3] was being castellated and mounted with the largest arblasts and bombards and other "ornaments." For two years[4] he had had no contributions from France, though in the good old days before the Schism, that country used to send the Pope 1,800,000 florins every year.[5] He resolved therefore to try conclusions in earnest. The letter from the French Council reached him at Porto Venere. Without a hint of his intention he wrote to the French King on April 18th, 1408,[6] enclosing a copy of the "constitutions" drawn up at Marseilles 12 months before. On May 14th,[7] as King Charles VI. was at Mass in the chapel of the hostel of St. Pol, two Papal messengers (both of them Aragonese)[8] delivered the Bull and decamped for their lives. When Mass was done the letter was read, and it was found that the King of France and the University of Paris were excommunicated, and the French land and people under interdict. On May 21st,[9] the King, Dukes, nobles, Archbishops, Bishops, and every one who claimed to be anybody in Paris met and listened to a long harangue from Master Jean Courtecuisse,

[1] GERSON, II., 103. [2] ST. DENYS, IV., 10. [3] MART., ANEC., II., 1383; ST. DENYS, III., 218. [4] MONSTR., I., 247. [5] MART., COLL., VII., 1122; SCHWAB, 247. [6] ST. DENYS, IV., 8; GODEFROY, 404; D'ACHERY, VI., 178-182; DU BOULAY, V., 152, 153; SCHWAB, 209; not Mar. 24th, as MONSTR., I., 250; nor May 14th, as REUMONT, II., 1137. [7] BAYE, I., 230, 231, 238; II., 205; ST. DENYS, IV., 4; GERSON, I., XXII.; not June 14th, as JUV., 447. [8] MONSTR., I., 264, 267. [9] BAYE, I., 232; JUV., 447; MOLAND, 250. For the French King's letter, dated May 22nd, 1408, see RAYNALDI, XVII., 331.

after which the Bull was publicly torn and burnt, and the final struggle began. On May 25th,[1] the French threw off obedience to their Pope, and "neutrality" was officially proclaimed. Before long both the messengers were caught; one of them, Sancho Lopez,[2] in the Abbey of Clairvaux in Champagne, and the other near Lyons. Both were brought to Paris and locked up in the Louvre.[3] On August 20th, they were put on a tumbril and paraded through the streets of Paris with paper mitres[4] on their heads, and dressed in black linen shirts, on which was painted a picture of them presenting the Bull, together with the arms of Benedict upside-down, and "other things."[5] They were then trundled along to the courtyard of the Palace, where they were fixed in the pillory,[6] with plenty of shouting and blaring from the crowd. But before matters had gone thus far another "big wound"[7] had been opened in Paris, which fretted the political forces of France and stirred endless disputations in the University and the Gallican Church.

[1] ORDONNANCES, IX., 342; ST. DENYS, IV., 18. Not May 15th, as COCHON, 139. [2] Called Sance Loup in BAYE, I., 235; Cansien or Sansion Leleu, MONSTR., I., 257, 258, 264; Sanccio Lupi, ST. DENYS, IV., 16, 58; Sanche Lopez, MOLAND, 247; Sancius Lupi, MART., COLL., VII., 860. [3] Pierre Salmon was arrested on suspicion on June 2nd, and kept a prisoner till the end of September.—EC. DES CHARTES, L., 31. [4] Cf. DUCANGE, s. v. MITRATUS; GRIFFONI in MURAT., XVIII., 217. [5] For a specimen of the language used by educated theologians under irritation, see ST. DENYS, IV., 60. [6] Escharfaudez, mitrez et preschez publiquement.—JUV., 447; ST. DENYS, IV., 58; multis irrisionibus et ludibriis et injuriis affectis. – MART., ANEC., II., 1450. [7] Qui est ouverture d'une très grande plaie.—MONSTR., II., 141.

CHAPTER LXVI.

ORLEANS AND BURGUNDY.

AT the very time (1405) when expeditions had been leaving the shores of France for the great attacks[1] on Wales and Yorkshire, Paris was in a state of siege, and the heart of France was rent with civil war. Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy on his deathbed[2] in 1404 had urged his sons to keep up their

[1] Vol. II., pp. 297, 315. [2] Vol. I., p. 440; MONSTR., I., 115, 180; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 13; GESTE, 294. The date of his death is proved to be April 27th, 1404, from his epitaph in OUDEGHERST, II., 615; see also ITIN., 338, 574; COCHON, 208; CHRON. DES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE, III., 233; VARENBERGH, 489; BARANTE, II., 158; JARRY, 309. Not 17th, as BRANDO, 91; nor 26th, as CHRON. DES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE, III., 265; J. MEYER, 219. For the Stag at Hal, where he died, see GRUEL, 6, 186; nunc quoque (*i.e.*, in 1604) domus ibi et insigne.—LIPSE, II., 809. For his four daughters, Margaret, Catherine, Mary, and Bona, see J. MEYER, 221. According to some he died at Ruysbroek between Brussels and Hal.—*Ibid.*, 219. For Christine de Pisan's lament at his death see PISAN, I., 255; BAECKER, 193; THOMASSY, 132; ST. DENYS, III., 146. See also anonymous poem in Sir Thos. Phillipps' library. En tous lieux florist sa renommée.—FROIS., XX., 400. For ballad addressed to him in 1403, see PISAN, I., 251. For halting-places of his body on the way to Dijon, viz., Grammont (May 2nd), Audenarde, Courtrai (May 4th), Lille, Douai (ten days' halt), St. Quentin, Neuchatel-sur-Aisne, Troyes, Bar-sur-Seine, Chatillon, Saint Seine, Dijon (June 15th), see ITIN., 344, 578; PLANCHER, III., 573. The block of black marble for his tomb had been deposited in the Church at Dijon by Nov., 1402.—DEHAISNES, II., 797; ST. DENYS, III., 144. The tomb is figured in PLANCHER, III., 204. For particulars as to working it dated July 11th, 1404, see EC. DES CHARTES, XLVIII., 302. It was taken to pieces in 1793, to be destroyed, but put together again in 1818, and is now in the Museum at Dijon.—ARCHÆOLOGIA, XLVII., 145. In 1413 the furniture of the Hotel d'Artois in Paris was seized for debt under the eyes of his son John, comme monseigneur le comte avoit besoin d'argent pour les frais de cet enterrement.—ITIN., 579, 594; FROIS., XX., 401. For his attempts to tax Arras, see EC. DES CHARTES, XLI., 518-536. He never recovered from the losses incurred at Nicopolis in 1396.—OUDEGHERST, II., 68.

loyalty to the King of France; and this they scrupulously did. The new Duke John had already (1403) betrothed his only son, Philip, Count of Charolais,[1] as soon as he was seven years old,[2] to Michelle,[3] one of the King's little girls; and a few months after his father's death he contracted[4] his eldest daughter Margaret[5] to the King's son, Louis the Dauphin, now nearly nine years of age,[6] and heir to the French crown. Backed by the populace,[7] the University, and the preachers of Paris, the Duke of Burgundy and his two brothers drew up a plan for excluding the Duke of Orleans from the government, and securing a reform in their own hands. They presented a letter[8] to the King, in which they formulated their demands under four heads, and gained for the moment complete ascendancy in the Court. As to war with England, they noted the great poverty of the country and the misery caused by the constant ravage on the Flemish, Picard, Norman, and Breton coasts. They cried out against the shameful misappropriation of the taxes, and the loss of the golden moment for striking a blow when England was torn with dissensions from within and threatened by the Scots from without.

It was in this year that Gerson, then *curé* of the Church of St. Jean-en-Grève, preached[9] before the King, the Dauphin,

[1] La Marche, I., 86. [2] He was born June 30th, 1396.—L'Art de Ver., II., 518. The marriage took place in 1409.—Monstr., I., 180; VI., 197; Juv., 466. [3] For contract dated May 5th, 1403, see Plancher, III., ccxi.; Ordonnances, VIII., xii. [4] Aug. 30th, 1404.—Juv., 428; Monstr., I., 400. For previous promise of marriage between them, dated April 28th, 1403, see Plancher, III., ccxi. [5] For her monument (d. 1442) in the Carmelite Church in Paris, see Lenoir, II., s. v., plate iv. [6] Baye, I., 137. On Jan. 28th, 1410, it is noted that he has entered on his 14th year.—Ordonnances, IX., xiii., 490, 491. [7] St. Denys, IV., 342; Trahisons de France, 45; Geste, 348. [8] Plancher, III., ccxlv. [9] Nov. 7, 1405.—Gerson, IV., 609; Leroux de Lincy, 404; Paulin Paris, VII., 263; Aubertin, II., 366; Bourret, 115; Juv., 440, 443; St. Denys, III., 232.

the Dukes, and a mixed multitude in the Palace of the Louvre, and pictured the state of France with a master-hand;—the taxgatherer stressing[1] the people's pots and dishes and the very straw off their beds, and seizing the last hen[2] or the four chickens to pay for the King's spurs and the Queen's girdle; lands lying idle, rents unpaid, old men feebly handling the plough, and strong men leaving the country in despair, and when the cash was gathered up, "the Dukes took all."

On July 26th, 1405,[8] the Duke of Orleans and the Queen left Paris for the royal castle of Pouilly-le-Fort[4] near Melun, after arranging to have the Dauphin sent on to them there with all despatch. Word of their movements was brought to the Duke of Burgundy at Arras,[5] who arrived in Paris on August 18th,[6] only to find that the Dauphin had started the day before in a litter[7] drawn by two mules. But a violent storm brought the retinue to a halt for the night at Villejuif.[8] The Duke of Burgundy with his two brothers and 800 armed men pressed on and overtook them at Juvisy,[9] before they could reach Corbeil, where the Queen and the Duke of Orleans were awaiting them. Big words[10] passed, but the Duke of Burgundy cut the gearings[11] with his sword, brought the runaways to a halt, and rode them back to the Louvre for their dinner "with very great distroubling" (August 19th, 1405).[12] The Queen and the Duke of Orleans came up with troops from Melun, prepared to force their way into the city;

[1] Cf. Here beestis ben stressid.—WYCL. (M.), 234. [2] For rents in capons and hens, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 344. [3] JUV., 431. [4] MONSTR., III., 329. [5] Or Senlis, according to TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 16; GESTE, 297. [6] ITIN., 350; not August 8th, as HÖFLER, RUPR., 317. [7] COCHON, 213. [8] BAYE, I., 138; ST. DENYS, III., 294. [9] DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 273; GODEFROY, 414; COUSINOT, 111; JARRY, 325. [10] "Grosses paroles."—GODEFROY, 414. [11] AUNGIER, 360. [12] MONSTR., I., XXV.; BAYE, I., 138; II., 289; DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 270; "y at tres grand desroy."—ITIN., 350; PROMPT. PARV., 123; JAMIESON, II., 67.

but the resolute attitude of the Parisians daunted them, and they had to pause and parley. The lances of the Duke of Orleans bore a knotty stick [1] or ragged-staff, [2] with the motto, "*Je l'enuie*" [3] (I noie [4] him). The Burgundians hoisted a plane [5] with the Flemish words, "*Ik houd*" [6] (I hold). The Duke of Orleans drew off, and the leaders agreed to a hollow reconciliation; but the King, the Council, and the capital remained with the Duke of Burgundy. Troops kept pouring into Paris from the North and East. The Bishop of Liége's [7] company alone took two hours to file in, and by the end of August there were 20,000 mounted foreigners in the city. Stakes were driven into the river bed. Chains were stretched from the island of Notre Dame to either bank, to bar [8] the passage of boats, and across the streets and squares, [9] to break the fury of gathering mobs. Springalds [10] and arblasts, [11] with hauspees [12] for the strings, were mounted on roofs over-

[1] CHAUCER (S.), I., 132, 135. [2] LOND. AND MIDD. ARCHÆOL. SOC., IV., 324; TEST. EBOR., III., 41. [3] NOUVELLE BIOGR., s. v. ORLEANS, 803. Not "envie," as BARANTE, II., 199; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, LOUIS ET CHARLES, 283, PLATE v., No. 15; SCOTT, TALES OF A GRANDFATHER, III., 339 (edition 1831). [4] CAPGR., CHRON., 300; P. PLO., III., 19; WYCL. (A.), I., 26, 94, 112, 139, 161, 166, 360, 374, 380, 402, &c.; II., 21, 31, 297, 327; III., 7, 88, 230, 324, 361, 432; CHAUCER (S.), I., 207; POLLARD, MIRACLES, , 34.—For "nuy" see HALLIWELL, II., 584; "anoy," PASTORALET, 584, 627: GESTE, 337. [5] ITIN., 377, 581, 585, 596.—Moult y avait de beaux raboys (*i.e.*, at the battle of Othée).—POEM, 248, 253; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 25, 95, 119; GESTE, 312, 440. [6] Not "Hich ond," as MONSTR., I., 123; nor "hic hac mit," as CHRON. DES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE, III., 233. [7] PETRI SUFFR., 75; ITIN., 350, 581. [8] ST. DENYS, III., 332; IV., 442. [9] *Ibid.*, III., 308; COCHON, 213; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 110; GESTE, 502. [10] DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 272; CHAUCER (S.), I., 204. [11] For rough sketch of an arblast, see KAL. AND INV., II., 79; also ZIMMERN in ACADEMY, 7/3/91, p. 229; PLANCHÉ, I., 10. For arblaster or balister, see Vol. II., p. 268; SHARPE, I., 125. For arcubalisters, see HOLINS., II., 538. In CHAUCER (S.), I., 204; "arblaster" = arblast. For account of construction of a crossbow in 1460, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 445-464. [12] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 3, App. A. For haucepez, see NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 480; de haucepiez qui sont ysneaulx.—DESCHAMPS, VII., 35.

looking the walls, and gates[1] were closed which had stood open since the beginning of the reign, a quarter of a century before. The Duke of Orleans was at Charenton[2] with a vast force from central France; while Flemish, Dutch, and German musters were massing round to hold the fords and bridges over the Seine and Oise, ready to rush in as soon as a chance spark should kindle the blaze of civil war.

For two months both parties stood eye to eye, and the rich lands round Paris were a prey[3] to foragers, who "ate up the poor, after the custom of the time."[4] At length, on October 16th,[5] an arrangement was patched up. The Queen entered Paris in state on the following day. Oaths, pageants, thanksgivings, and religious ceremonies skinned over the bitter feud. The rival dukes reclined on the same couch,[6] ate and drank at the same table,[7] sat side by side in church and in council, and "many fine ordinances"[8] were issued for reducing the expenses of the court; but "Broken before read!"[9] is the pithy side-note of the clerk who enrolled them in the official books.

When the revolution was complete, it was found that in

[1] BOURGEOIS DE PARIS, 631. DARESTE (III., 3), must surely be wrong in describing Paris as "toute ouverte sans murailles." On p. 10 he says "Jean sans Peur pour rassurer la ville de Paris en releva les murailles." [2] ST. DENYS, III., 334; CHRON. DES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE, III., 234. [3] ST. DENYS, III., 336, 338: GESTE, 300; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 17; where the year is wrongly given as 1406. [4] MONSTR., II., 48. [5] ST. DENYS, III., 344; or October 22nd, as COCHON, 213; not November, as BRANDO, 103. For letter of Christine de Pisan to Queen Isabel dated October 5th, 1405, see THOMASSY, XXI., 133-140; PAULIN PARIS, V., 72; LEROUX DE LINCY, 418. For a copy of it at All Souls, Oxford, MS. CLXXXII., see PECKHAM, I., XLVIII. [6] ST. DENYS, III., 344; burent, mangerent et coucherent ensemble.—COUSINOT, 112; not "les fit coucher dans le meme lit," as BARANTE, II., 202. [7] ITIN., 354, 385; MONSTR., I., 306. [8] JUV., 433; ST. DENYS, III., 350. [9] "Prius rupte quam lecte."—BAYE, I., 144; II., 290. See also the searching retrenchments set out in the ordinance of July 28th, 1406, in DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 288-298, with the footnote, "quia non fuerunt publicata non registrantur."

spite of prayers[1] and pious wishes, the "well-beloved and most Christian"[2] king was still "smit with the wrath of Heaven,"[3] and "not in such good point as you would wish."[4] He was biting his nails,[5] plucking at his scant brown hair,[6] and slobbering[7] his food with a wolfish greed. His stark gaunt body[8] was eaten with sores and filthy with vermin, for he would not be washed and they could only remove his clothes by sending 10 or 12 men in various disguises to frighten him and strip him by force. On November 7th, 1405,[9] the little Dauphin Louis was declared Regent, marking for the moment the triumph[10] of his future father-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy.

At this stage in the crisis an embassy arrived from England consisting of Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Lord Camoys,[11] John Norbury, Captain of Guînes (a very old diplomatic hand[12]), and John

[1] See the ballad by Christine de Pisan with the refrain: "Nostre bon roy qui est en maladie," in PISAN, I., 95; ECOLE DES CHARTES, B. V., 375. [2] MONSTR., I., 155; FENIN, 191; LEFEVRE, I., 6; JUV., 453; GALITZIN, 27; cf. "Charle bien amé."—PASTORALET, 845. Charles VI. was born on Advent Sunday, December, 3rd, 1368.—CHRISTINE, I., XV.; DESCHAMPS, II., 49. For his debauchery, see ST. DENYS, I., 566; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, LOUIS ET CHARLES, 71. For his autograph, see J. G. NICHOLS, 4, B. [3] "Frappé par la colère celeste," said Fillastre in November, 1406.—AUBERTIN, 358; EC. DES CHARTES, I., 374; "a Deo plagatus."—CHRON. DES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE, III., 236. For his "grave maladie," "la maladie de l'alienation de son entendement laquelle a duré dès l'an 1393 hors aucuns intervalles de resipiscence telle quelle," see BAYE, I., 24, 112, 137, August 19th, 1405. [4] DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 269; cf. "in lusty point," GOWER, CONF., 396; DESCHAMPS, VIII., 25, 26, 31. [5] ST. DENYS, III., 348; MONSTR., I., 227. [6] Fusca cæsaries.—ST. DENYS, I., 564. [7] PROMPT. PARV., 459. [8] Grant de corps, plus que les communs honmes.—CHRISTINE, I., XV.; proceritate corporis eximiâ.—ST. DENYS, I., 564. [9] JUV., 437; BAYE, I., 181. [10] BARANTE, II., 206. [11] Vol. II., p. 410. [12] RYM., VII., 421, 709. In 1385 he went to Lisbon and took service as an adventurer with the King of Portugal in his war with Castile (FROIS., III., 40), and was present at the battle of Aljubarrota. In 1390 he accompanied Henry as Earl of Derby in his expedition to Prussia.—DERBY ACCTS., XLIII., 298. In 1391 he was receiving £20 per annum as a squire in Henry's service as Earl of Derby.—DUC. LANC. REC.,

Caterick,[1] who had returned from Rome and been made Treasurer of Lincoln Cathedral.[2] Their credentials were signed on March 22nd, 1406,[3] when the Merchants[4] and the Commons were using strong language against the incompetence of the Government at Westminster; and they were empowered to cross to Picardy and negotiate for a truce or a peace or whatever else they could get, in view of the prevailing discontent at home. Bishop Beaufort was to take advantage of his visit to report upon the condition of Calais and the neighbouring fortresses, and he was specially charged to arrange a marriage[5] between the Prince of Wales and any of the French Princesses whom he might consider suitable. The matter had been previously discussed amongst

XXVIII., 3, 4, APP. A. In 1399 Henry as Duke of Lancaster grants to him as "our dear squire" the forfeiture of all lands belonging to John Leedwyk.—ADD. CH., 5829 (Lymster, July 31st, 1399, with fine seal of Henry). He is called "John Norbri."—*ibid.*, 5830. In 1399 he and his wife Pernel have an allowance of 40 marks per annum from Henry as Duke of Lancaster.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 1, APP. A., though in PRIV. SEAL, 648/6554, Apr. 28th, 1410, his wife is called Elizabeth. In PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 18, June 1st, 1412, he has custody of the alien priory of Greenwich and Lewisham.

[1] Vol. II., p. 344. For payments to him for embassies to France, anno vii. and ix., see Iss. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 18th, 1412. [2] Vacant through the death of Peter Dalton, Nov. 16th, 1405. Caterick was installed Mar. 25th, 1406.—LE NEVE, II., 89; PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 40 (Mar. 14th, 1406), shows that he had the prebend of Heyworth (Sarum) by papal provision. In RYM., VIII., 659, he is Archdeacon of Surrey; see also LE NEVE, III., 29; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 5. He was made Bishop of St. David's, June, 1414. MONSTR., I. 126, probably refers to Chichele, who was not Bishop of St. David's till 1408. The only other envoy that he names he calls Le Comte de Pennebruch, whom he had previously (p. 107) supposed to have been killed at Sluys (Vol. II., p. 103). Caterick was made Bishop of Lichfield in May, 1415, while attending the Council at Constance. In Nov., 1419, he was made Bishop of Exeter, but he died at Florence, Dec. 28th, 1419.—GODWIN, I., 321, 412; II., 162. For his effigy, see RELIQUARY, Jan., 1887, p. 54. [3] RYM., VIII., 432. Iss. ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., Mar. 26th, 1406, has payment to messenger sent to Master Richard Holme (Vol. I., p. 126) at Durham to come to the King and confer as to truce with France. [4] Vol. II., p. 416. [5] RYM., VIII., 435; FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 9.

the Lords spiritual and temporal; and a proposal[1] was put in writing and forwarded to the French King, asking for the hand of his daughter Madame Marie,[2] who had been for the last nine years an inmate of the Dominican Convent at Poissy,[3] a few miles out of Paris.

The French expressed a general willingness to treat. The Bishop of Chartres, the Lord of Hugueville, and two lawyers were appointed to meet the English in Picardy, and safe-conducts were issued for them, with a suite of 300 attendants, on April 13th.[4] Bishop Beaufort and John Norbury left London on March 26th,[5] and Caterick followed three days later. Arrangements were made for their possible absence for a year; but the business was more speedily got through, and all were back in England by May 22nd. They had long and repeated audiences in Paris, where they represented that King Henry was about to abdicate, and that the Prince of Wales would in a short time be virtually the ruler of England.[6] But their matrimonial proposals met with no success. The French were too shrewd[7] to make terms just yet. They were winning all along the line in Quercy and Périgord, and their recent recognition of Owen as Prince of Wales[8] was a further barrier to negotiations. In one respect, however, their mission prospered, for 12 armed ships that were on the point of sailing from Harfleur under the new Admiral Pierre Clignet

[1] Iss. Roll, 7 H. IV., Pasch., May 18th, 1406. [2] Juv., 431; Report on Fœd., D., 75; Tillet, Guerres, 122. See also Vol. II., p. 95. [3] St. Denys, II., 554; Douet d'Arcq, I., 320. [4] Fr. Roll, 7 H. IV., 10; Rym., VIII., 438. [5] Fr. Roll, 7 H. IV., 10, 11 (March 24th, 1406), shows that Beaufort is about to start with two balingers. Iss. Roll, 8 H. IV., Mich., Dec. 10th, 1406, has payment to him of £222. There is no account for Camoys in For. Accts., 7 H. IV. [6] Monstr., I., 126; Waurin, I., 101, (followed by Jarry, 344,) must be wrong in saying that they pressed for the hand of Isabel; see Vol. I., p. 424. [7] Car los Frances sen trop cauthelos.—Jurade, 49. [8] Ord. Priv. Co., I., 302.

to plunder English shipping were stopped by order of the French King.[1]

Nevertheless, the English coasts were in constant apprehension of attack, and on May 22nd[2] orders were sent to array forces in Kent, Hampshire, and Suffolk ready to meet an expected invasion. In the middle of June, Niño and Savoisi[3] were again afloat with their galleys, the wages of the crews being paid by the French Government. As they sailed from the Seine at six o'clock in the morning of Wednesday, June 16th, the sun was totally eclipsed,[4] and for a quarter of an hour they could scarcely see each other in the darkness. Niño had to reason his men out of their fears, for they thought that the sun was dying. He told them that there was nothing so very wonderful if the sun and moon should now and again meet on their journeys, like two travellers coming from opposite parts of the world, say Prussia and China.[5] It was believed that an English fleet of 200 sail had been waiting for them at Plymouth[6] since before Christmas. Niño, therefore, resolved not to approach the Cornish shore again. He coasted along to Le Crotoy at the mouth of the Somme, slipped

[1] MONSTR., I., 127. [2] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 31; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, LETTRES, II., 317. [3] Vol. II., Chap. LVII. [4] Cf. Vol. III., p. 12; LANGEBEK, I., 320; GAMEZ, 364; DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 287; BAYE, I., 159; II., 291; ANN., 419; GOBELIN, 324; ARCHIVES HIST. DE LA GIRONDE, III., 181; BOUILLONS, 558; MURAT., XVIII., 590. DELAYTO, 1041, says ten o'clock; *i.e.*, the totality, which he says lasted almost an hour. Not June 15th, as CORNER, 1188, who says that the great darkness lasted a quarter of an hour, and that the men in the marshland about Lübeck thought that the end of the world had come; cf. TRITHEIM, II., 324. The date is given as June 17th in ST. DENYS, III., 390; and June 26th in MS. CORDELIER, in MONSTR., VI., 194. In Paris, the people flocked to the churches.—JUV., 438. For Bavaria, see RATISBON, 2126. In China the eclipse was obscured by clouds.—A. WYLIE, ECLIPSES RECORDED IN CHINESE WORKS, 119. [5] For a good explanation of a lunar eclipse see CHAUC. (S.), I., 222. [6] GAMEZ, 398; ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 280.

cautiously out between Dover and Calais, came up with a shoal of flying fish on the Flemish coast, and then stood across for Orwell. But the wind drove him back again; and as there was no nearer shelter, he entered the harbour of Sluys. After paying a short visit to Bruges he led out his galleys and ran close under Calais, thereby drawing upon himself a harmless fire from some "very strong bombards"[1] in the Lancaster Tower. As he lay off Gravelines he spied an English squadron, which he thought might be the convoy accompanying the Lady Philippa to Denmark.[2] The sea was calm; a little wine was handed out to the men to warm their courage,[3] and away they went into the teeth of the English craft. Arrows, quarrels, and casting-darts[4] were showered from the decks. There was ramming, and howking, and grappling, and hurtling[5] of fire-boats ablaze with resin, tallow, and tar.[6] But the wind had the last say as usual; and when the big English slugs[7] got into action the nimble galleys sheered off into shallow water, where the enemy with his heavier draught could not get at them.

At Le Crotoy Savoisi retired,[8] and Niño finished up with an attack on Jersey. Aided by the crews of some Norman and Breton vessels that were making for the Bay of Bourgneuf[9]

[1] GAMEZ, 373. [2] Vol. II., p. 449. [3] "He bryngeth the cuppe and biddeth hem be blithe."—CHAUC., LEG. OF GOOD WOMEN, VIII., 69. [4] FOR. ACCTS., 13 H. IV. [5] LAST AGE OF THE CHURCH, XXXII.; PROMPT. PARV., 253; CHAUC. (S.), II., 24, 142; KNIGHT'S TALE, 2618; MAN OF LAW, 4717; WYCL. (A.), I., 186; III., 65, 66. [6] For a specimen of sea-fights of the period see the Genoese and Venetians at Modon, near Navarino, in 1403, BOUCIC., 281; also CLEOPATRA (56) in LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN, VIII., 69. [7] HOLINS., II., 533. [8] He was back in Paris in September, 1406.—ST. DENYS, III., 388; and went with the Duke of Orleans to Guienne.—GAMEZ, 562. In 1409 he became Chancellor of France.—F. DUCHESNE, 417. [9] For the salt marshes at "the Bay," see HIRSCH, DANZIG, 91, 258. Cf. "nere into Britonuse Bay for salt so fine."—POL. SONGS, II., 162, 171. For scarcity of salt at Bordeaux and Libourne in 1404, see EC. DES CH., XLVII., 64, also Vol. II., p. 415.

for salt, he got together as many as 1000 men, and effected a landing near St. Helier's.

Since the arrest of the Duke of York in 1405,[1] the Channel Islands had been in suspended allegiance; but Sir John Lisle, the Sheriff of Wiltshire,[2] was sent to "recover and govern" the island of Guernsey[3] with Castle Cornet, and Sir Thomas Pickworth[4] had crossed from Calais to take the command in Jersey. But though the Duke of York had lately been restored to all his former rights,[5] yet the islands were still in the hands of a Receiver. They were reckoned as five in number,[6] viz., Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, Sark, and Erme, of which Alderney was "desolated and destroyed" by enemies.[7] They were specially valued by the English as victualling stations for supplying vessels on their way to Bordeaux,[8] and preparations were just making to forward fresh troops to them from the ports of Weymouth and Poole.[9]

As soon as Niño had landed his party, he withdrew his galleys, and the invaders found themselves between the Jerseymen and the deep sea. They therefore fought for dear life, and carried all before them. The Receiver was killed, and a large tribute was exacted; but the interest of the

[1] Vol. II., p. 43. [2] For payment to him for his services, see Iss. ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., February 9th, 1406. [3] On January 27th, 1411, William Pomeray esquire is appointed Bailiff of Guernsey, *vice* Gervoys Clermont deceased.—PRIV. SEAL, 650/6756. [4] RYM., VIII., 387, (March 22nd, 1405). ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 106; CALIG., D. IV., 74, 75. [5] Vol. II., p. 48; FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 7, 11, March 18th, 1406. He is still custos in PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 7, (July 17, 1410); RYM., VIII., 677, 698, (March 2nd, July 14th, 1411). In ROT. VIAG., 1, (Dec. 29th, 1409), Richard of York is Lieutenant of Jersey for his brother the Duke. In PRIV. SEAL, 651/6896, (June 5th, 1411), and FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 18, (February 12th, 1412), he is occupator of the Channel Islands. For confirmation of privileges of the Islands, see PRIV. SEAL, 652/6922, (June 22nd, 1411). [6] FR. ROLL, 9 H. IV., 17. [7] *Ibid.*, 7, where "Aurenny" is granted to John Sherston; see also RYM., VIII., 387. The name is still pronounced "Ourgni."—EC. DES CHARTES, XXXIX., 63; Vol. I., p. 379. [8] GAMEZ, 403. [9] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 6, August 4th, 1406.

narrative centres more in the bannerer's clever description of the island, than in the dismal round of constant fighting. He gathered from the prisoners that there were in Jersey 4000 or 5000 people of Breton origin,[1] all fishers, farmers or traders, peaceable enough folk if left alone, but desperate if forced to fight for their families and homes, which they boasted had never been subdued, either by French or English conquerors. They had one large town, enclosed with a stockade and ditches. Outside of this were the woods, the smiling gardens, the leafy lanes and the herds and harvests, that have been the pride of the island from that day to this; and there were five strong castles with English garrisons under an English governor. After these exploits, we lose sight of Niño. He returned to La Rochelle, and thence to Santander and his home near Valladolid; and we know that he was at Madrid[2] before the death of Henry III., on Christmas Day, 1406.[3]

By the fall of the year 1406, there were signs of a better understanding with France. Negotiations were renewed through Casin, Lord of Sereinviller,[4] Chamberlain to the Duke of Berry. The truce with Flanders was prolonged, and agreements were entered into for securing the safety of French, Flemish, and Breton fishing boats in the strait between Dover and Wissant, and freedom of traffic between Calais and Gravelines. On Oct. 5th, 1406,[5] Sir John Cheyne and Henry

[1] GAMEZ, 404. For an account of the Channel Islands see EC. DES CHARTES, XXXVIII., 49-96, 274-332; XXXIX., 4-80. [2] GAMEZ, 424. [3] Vol. II., p. 330. [4] COMPTES DE L'HOTEL, 298, 302, 312; called Casyne de Seremuller (RYM., VIII., 509, 515); Casin Seigneur de Sereamiller (*Ibid.*, 513), or Sereinvillier (*Ibid.*, 521). For his safe-conduct dated Sept. 3rd, 1406, see FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 1. [5] RYM., VIII., 452, 453. In Iss. ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH., Cheyne receives £66 13s. 4d. for going to France on secret business.

Chichele were empowered to arrange a lasting peace with France, Hugh Mortimer,[1] chamberlain to the Prince of Wales, being attached to their mission, to bring about, if possible, the projected marriage. At first all seemed to promise well; and matters were carried so far that the Prince nominated Erpingham, Caterick, and Mortimer as his proxies for the coming espousals, in the presence of Gilbert Lord Talbot, Master John Macworth[2] (his chancellor), and Sir Roger Leche[3] (the steward of his household), in the Palace at Hertford, on July 3rd, 1407. A notary[4] was also present, who vouched the appointments in a house in the Rue Neuve Ste. Marie in Paris on Aug. 21st, 1407, and the document was presented to the French court on Aug. 28th. But all these good intentions were thwarted by the exigencies of French policy; and the marriage scheme fell through. Madame Marie had been entered as a novice at Poissy from the time that she was four years old,[5] where no man[6] was allowed to serve her, and no one but relations might speak to her. The Duke of Orleans[7] had tried to get her out by force, but failed. She was now nearly 14 years of age,[8] and the King, her father, had visited her in the convent, trying to persuade her to marry, but all to no

[1] Q. R. Wardrobe, $\frac{25}{38}$ (3), App. F. For pardon to him for marrying Isabel, widow of Bernard Mussinden, without leave, see PRIV. SEAL, 647/6417, Feb. 2nd, 1410. [2] He succeeded Bubwith as Archdeacon of Dorset, Sept. 24th, 1406; became Archdeacon of Norfolk, Aug. 30th, 1408; Dean of Lincoln, 1412; died in 1457, and is buried in Lincoln Cathedral.—LE NEVE, II., 33, 484, 639. [3] See Vol. II., p. 229. [4] Viz., Reginald Wolstrū, clerk of the diocese of Hereford.—TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135. [5] *I.e.*, Sept. 8th, 1397.—ST. DENYS, II., 555; III., 349. [6] Christine de Pisan, whose daughter was in the same convent, visited Poissy in April, 1400, and saw the "young and tender" Madame Marie, voillée et vestue.—PISAN, II., 161, 167, 311; EC. DES CH., 4th SER., III., 539. Christine herself became a recluse at Poissy after the invasion by the English.—LEROUX DE LINCY, XIV. [7] JUV., 431. [8] She was born Aug. 24th, 1393.—ST. DENYS, II., 95; EC. DES CH., 4th SER., IV., 478; not 1392, as LUSSAN, III., 238; PISAN, II., 311.

purpose.[1] On Oct. 25th, 1407,[2] she was finally "placed" at Poissy, where she made her profession, took the vow of perpetual maidenhood, and was veiled[3] on Trinity Sunday, June 10th, 1408.[4]

[1] À j seigneur estranger.—COCHON, 216. [2] ITIN., 587; for "mise," cf. "nulles n'y sont mises fors par congié du roy."—PISAN, II., 169. [3] GOWER, CONF., 422. [4] ST. DENYS, IV., 8; VI., 118; MONSTR., I., 10, 152. She afterwards became Prioress of Poissy, and died in 1438.—STRICKLAND, I., 501. On Oct. 7th, 1413, the Duke of Berry gave her a breviary in two volumes, très bien et richement historiés et enluminés, the second volume having two gold clasps enamelled with the arms of France. These two volumes had been originally given by Charles VI. to Richard II., and so had come into the possession of Henry IV., who sent them to the Duke of Berry. They are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Nos. 10483-4, Fonds Latin), and are known as the Bréviaire de Belleville.—DELISLE, I., 63; III., 175; REVUE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE, VII., 225.

CHAPTER LXVII.

CALAIS.

THE reconciliation between the French Dukes needed frequent cement, and indeed six weeks had not elapsed before the Queen[1] and the Dukes of Orleans and Berry were again combining against their common enemy. On June 29th, 1406,[2] the French King's fourth son, John, Duke of Touraine,[3] then seven years of age, was betrothed to the Duke of Burgundy's niece, Jacqueline. The child was only five years old; but she was heiress[4] to the rich counties of Holland and Hainault, which might round off the lands of Artois, Flanders, and Brabant to the dimensions of a European kingdom. So after the betrothal, little John was removed to Le Quesnoy,[5] to be

[1] See the paper dated Dec. 1, 1405, in DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 283. The letter of the Archbishop of Bordeaux, dated April 11th, 1406, shows that the tidings of renewed quarrels in Paris were welcome in Bordeaux. —JURADE, 87. [2] ST. DENYS, III., 394; JUV., 438; HÖFLER, RUPR., 309. Not June 22nd, as LETTENHOVE, III., 64; nor June 16th, 1407, as JARRY, 335. [3] Born Aug. 31st, 1398.—ART DE VER., II., 859; EC. DES CH., 4th SER., IV., 480; not the third son, as CHRON. DES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE, III., 237. For figure of him on the Bastille, see MILLIN, I., 34. For grant to him of Duchy of Touraine dated July 12th, 1401, see ORDONNANCES, VIII., 450. For previous plan for marrying him with one of the Duke of Burgundy's own daughters, dated May 5th, 1403, see PLANCHER, III., CCXV.; ORDONNANCES, VIII., XII. [4] TRITHEIM, II., 329; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 42; GESTE, 339. [5] MONSTR., I., 130. In MESSAGER DES SCIENCES HISTORIQUES DE BELGIQUE (1886), p. 456, are extracts from accounts of Aubert Loison, maistre d'escolle à Monsgr. et Madame de Touraine (Sept. 1, 1408, to Sept. 1, 1409), including books, heures de nostre Dame pour uns, Principes dont auteurs Catonnet, quares, regimes et regles de metresyer, Doctrinal (textes et sentences

reared by his future mother-in law, the Duke of Burgundy's sister, Margaret. The Queen objected, and there was a "wordy controversy;"[1] but victory remained with the Duke.

On the same[2] day the Duke of Orleans' eldest son Charles,[3] Count of Angoulême, the future poet, then 11 years of age, was married to the King's eldest daughter, Isabel, the widow[4]

magistraux), Cathenot (in scarlet leather covers), Theodolet, Guide Thobie bien glosé et historyés bien couvert et relyés, together with a wooden box for their books, a desk, a psalter, &c.

[1] ST. DENYS, III., 394. [2] Not "a few months after the contract of June 5th, 1404" (see Vol. I., p. 424), as LINGARD, III., 449. LABORDE, III., 222, Aug. 4th, 1406, refers to the marriage as completed (*nagaires faictes*). [3] He was born Nov. 24th, 1394.—JARRY, 75, 129. Not 1391, as ST. DENYS, I., 702 (who in III., 394, makes him only nine years old in 1406); LABORDE, III., I.-VII.; DARESTE, III., 25; HÖFLER, RUPR., 311; ANNA, 142; ACAD. DES INSCR., XIII., 580, 583; XVII., 526; FENIN, 7; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 5, 62, 260; LEROUX DE LINCY, 517; MAULDE LA CLAVIÈRE; NOUVELLE BIOGR., S. V. LABORDE, III., 211, refers to Master Nicholas Gerbet as secretary to the Duke, and Maistre d'Escolle to Charles and Philip, with a salary of 100 livres tournois per annum. For an entry dated Feb. 20th, 1401, of two little books given to him to be tied *entre deux ais* covered with scarlet Cordovan leather, see *ibid.*, 199. For his books at Blois in 1427, chiefly inherited from his father, see EC. DES CH., A., V., 59. For his portrait and signature, see CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, Plate XXXI.; BONET, APPARITION, XVI.; P. PARIS, VI., 274 (from MS. 7203, in BIBL. NAT.); LEROUX DE LINCY, 517 (from MS. 966); BASTARD, Plate LXXXIV.; DELISLE, III., 315, Plate XLIX. [4] For document dated Jan. 29th, 1400, in which Charles VI. has heard that Richard est alé de vie à trespassement, see TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 3, *i.e.*, PARIS ARCHIVES, J. 644, 31; FROIS., XVIII., 587; TEULET, 5, A; LAYETTES DU TRÉSOR DES CHARTRES, ARCHIVES DE L'EMPIRE, PARIS, 1863. On April 12th, 1400, Richard is officially referred to in France as "nuper defunctum."—EC. DES CH., XLIX., 417. See also REPORT ON FŒD., APP. D., 67; TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 3, July 22nd, 1400. To the other proofs that the French knew Richard to be dead, add the manifesto of the Duke of Orleans, dated Sept. 2nd, 1405, in DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 282. For picture of Isabel on horseback, see CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, Plate XXXIX. DESCHAMPS (VI., 42) says that she was only seven years old at her marriage with Richard in 1396. In her passage through London, June 28th, 1401 (Vol. I., p. 208), she was dressed in black like a nun (vestue de noir comme une religieuse, COCHON, 200. Cf. Je suis vesve seulete et noir vestue.—PISAN, I., 148. Jamais ne vestiray que noir.—*Ibid.*, 161. Vestez vous noir.—DESCHAMPS, III., 321; IV., 311. "Clad in blake."—DIGBY MYST., 86; STRUTT, DRESS, II., 320, Plate XCIX., CXXXV. In nigro panno.—GIBBONS, 118.

of King Richard II. The young count received a dower of 500,000[1] gold francs from the King, three-fifths[2] of which he was to get out of "Henry of Lancaster":—if he could. The marriage took place at Compiègne,[3] and the festivities were "grand and notable."[4] The Queen of France was there with the two rival Dukes, each wearing the other's device,[5] in token of eternal friendship. The Duke of Burgundy donned the porcupine,[6] and the Duke of Orleans the plane;[7] but with all

"Blacke clothés."—GOWER, CONF., 285, 401, 422, 425. "Under the wede of fethers blacke."—*Ibid.*, 291. "In mourning blak."—CHAUCER (S.), I., 213, 292. "In widewes habite blak."—*Ibid.*, II., 158, 163, 327. For "blak weed," see COV. MYST., 289; CHESTER PLAYS, II., 42, 182; though HOLT, LANGLEY, 267, thinks that "at that period the weeds of widowhood were pure white.") All her retinue were in black; the palfreys, bastards, and coursers all had black leather saddles with housings of black cloth and black reins; the whirls, chairs, and litters were fitted with black velvet and black satin cushions.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{4}{4}^{5}$ APP. B. For her passage through Abbeville, Thursday, Aug. 4th, 1401, see ITIN., 316. She always protested that she did not recognize Henry as King of England.—ADD. MS., 30,664, 234. For her precociousness (moult bien introduite et endoctrinée), see FROIS., XV., 185.

[1] REPT. ON FŒD., D. 146; GODEFROY, 609. In the reign of Edward I. four livres Tournois = £1 sterling.—RYM., II., 854. [2] ADD. MS., 30,664, 246. From contract dated June 5th, 1404.—DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 260; TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 3; REPT. ON FŒD., D., 299. For documents dated by Benedict XIII. at Tarascon, Jan. 8th, 1404 (not 1406), see RECEUIL, I., 368, 369. The Duke of Orleans had just visited him there.—MART., COLL., VII., 681. [3] MONSTR., I., 129; ITIN., 355, 584; J. MEYER, 223 b.; CHRONIQUE DU MONT ST. MICHEL, 18; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 263; JARRY, 310. Not Senlis, as JUV., 438; nor Chateau Thierry, as COCHON, 210; nor Amboise, as ANSELME, I., 208. [4] For description of a May festivity, see PISAN, II., 51. [5] ST. DENYS, IV., 420; MONSTR., II., 127; HOLT, 140. [6] GAMEZ, 361; ACAD. DES INSCR., XXI., 523. ADD. CH., B. M., 2588, Mar. 10th, 1400, has payment for a gilt shield powdered with painted figures of the porcupine, for the Duke of Orleans. See also *ibid.*, 2271, 3094. The order of the Porcupine had been instituted at the birth of the bridegroom.—CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 64. [7] ARCHIVES DE LILLE, Mar. 24th, 1406, shows 4 fr. 10 s. t., paid to a goldsmith for making a rabot for Mons. de Charrolois, garnished with an emerald, two diamonds, and a pearl, hanging in a ring with a ruby and two diamonds.—LABORDE, I., 20; also 226 planes for the gentlemen of the hostel (p. 28), and 2000 pennons (pannonceaux) painted with planes (p. 29). On p. 22, Monseigneur (*i.e.*, the Duke of Burgundy) ot un autre

the eating, and drinking, and jousting,[1] and dancing,[2] the tender bride was again in tears.[3] Three years afterwards she died in childbirth at Blois (Sept. 13th, 1409).[4] She was buried there in the Abbey Church of St. Lomer, and some of her old dresses[5] were given away to the clergy to be cut down into chasubles and dalmatics for use at Mass. Two hundred years later her body was removed[6] to the Church of the Celestins in Paris.

Within a week[7] after the festivities the Duke of Burgundy was back in the capital; but the air was charged with tumult, in spite of the happy reconciliation. The whole population of Paris was armed[8] for emergencies. Swords, daggers, and knives were worn[9] in the streets, and outrages were perpetrated with impunity. The great clerical council was due to meet in the Louvre in the following November, to discuss the burning question of subtraction; and it was thought advisable that both Dukes should find occupation[10] against the

harnis de drap noir de la devise de Mons. d'Orléans; also payment to the painter for un nyt d'oiseaulx a la devise de Mons. d'Orléans, ung rabot et une male qu'il porta derrière lui. For rabot d'or with pearl and ring belonging to Valentine, Duchess of Orleans, see *ibid.*, III., 219.

[1] 40 gold crowns were paid to Jean Malouel, painter, who spent five months at Paris and Compiègne from April, 1406, painting harness for the jousts.—LABORDE, I., 17. [2] For 100 francs paid by the Duke of Burgundy to the minstrels of the Count of Holland, see *ibid.*, I., 17. [3] Par pluiseurs fois elle le refusast et en feist grand dangier et contredit car c'estoit son cousin germain.—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 50; GESTE, 351; "wounded to the quick by her marriage with a child."—MAULDE LA CLAVIÈRE, in ATHENÆUM, 25/10/90, p. 541. [4] ST. DENYS, IV., 252; COCHON, 244; COUSINOT, 124; EC. DES CH., 4th SER., IV., 477; BRANDO, 85; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 49; en enfantant.—JUV., 451; gisant d'une fille.—MONSTR., II., 37; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 284; not 1410, as HÖFLER, 143. For mourning-cloak for her brother, the Duke of Touraine, see MESSAGER (1886), p. 461. [5] Cf. CUNNINGHAM, I., 287. For modern instances, see SHARPE, HUSTINGS WILLS, II., X. [6] In 1624.—ART DE VER., II., 712. For her husband's lament over her, see TRAISON, 168. [7] BAYE, I., 163, July 6th, 1406. On July 10th he was at Dijon.—ITIN., 355. [8] MONSTR., I., 127; GODEFROY, 403; ST. DENYS, III., 232. [9] BAYE, I., 170. [10] GODEFROY, 415; Vol. II., p. 462.

English and leave Paris for a time in peace. Accordingly, in spite of the pleasant fiction of negotiations,[1] a fresh flood of fiery philippics[2] was loosed against the "vile and miserable beast" who "called himself King of England" and dared to claim the crown of France, and all French patriots were urged to rise and wipe out the stain from their country's honour. The Duke of Burgundy as Lieutenant of Picardy,[3] was told off to attack Calais while the Duke of Orleans went against Guienne. The Duke of Burgundy proceeded first to Lille (Oct. 6th, 1406)[4] to confront the opposition of his Flemish subjects, who were settling down to the belief that their quarrels with England were at an end. Bruges was all in uproar, and special pressure had to be brought to bear upon the men of Bethune[5] before they would submit to be taxed for such a purpose. Forces were collected[6] from all parts of France, each contingent trying to outvie its neighbour in the splendour of its trappings; and we have an account from an eye-witness who watched the departure of a company from Rouen, where the leader[7] had 100 gold crowns fastened to each of his sleeves, a string of 50 English gold nobles hanging in threes like shamrocks from the band of his hat, 50 crowns on the left side of his horse's housings, and another 100 on his standard. The muster was at St. Omer,[8] where the Duke of Burgundy arrived on Oct. 30th,[9] accompanied by his

[1] VARENBERGH, 497. [2] MONTREUIL, 1350, 1362. [3] MONSTR., I., 125; VARENBERGH, 569. For his appointment as Lieutenant or Captain General for War in Picardy and West Flanders, dated April 21st, 1406, see PLANCHER, III., CCLII. [4] ITIN., 356; JUV., 439. [5] J. MEYER, 223 b. [6] For order dated Sept. 21st, 1406, see BARANTE, II., 215. [7] *I.e.*, Jean Malet, Lord of Granville.—COCHON, 219. [8] ST. DENYS, III., 436; GODEFROY, 415; GESTE, 304. [9] RYM., VIII., 456. He stayed till Nov. 16th. —ITIN., 356. His account shows 6000 francs allowance, pour son estat, for a month.—TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135.

brother Anthony, Duke of Limburg, and the Lord of Hugueville. 6000 men-at-arms[1] had been collected, together with 3000 archers, 1500 cross-bowmen (including many Genoese), and foot soldiers from Cassel and other parts of Flanders; 600 carpenters had been constantly at work felling trees since Oct. 1st; and the adjoining forest[2] of Belo, which used to yield a yearly income of 2000 gold crowns, was spoiled for 40 years to come. The timber was forwarded by water and by land to St. Omer, where 100 men were busy shaping it into planks and pegs which were stacked in sheds near St. Bertin's[3] Church, and carefully watched by runners and billeters[4] night and day to guard against an outbreak of fire. Two huge bastilles, supplied with engines, coullards and mantlets, were constructed for wheeling up to the walls of Calais. Guns, bombards, rams, stonebows[5] and ladders[6] were bought in Holland, Limburg, Bruges, Utrecht, Diest, Brussels and Louvain, one of the guns weighing 2000 lbs. of iron, and throwing stones of 120 lbs. The arblasts were fitted with triple strings,[7] backstays, straps, windlasses, nightingales, (*cignoles*[8]), and all the most modern mechanism. 7200 lbs. of gunpowder were bought at Bruges and St. Omer, together with 5000 lbs. of saltpetre, sulphur and charcoal for future mixing. There were 125,000 quarrels, 10,000 caltraps, vast

[1] COCHON (218) says 3000. [2] ST. DENYS, III., 448. [3] Called St. Martin in TRANSCR. FOR. REC. [4] Coureurs et boquillons; cf. COTGRAVE, s. v. BOSQUILLONS. [5] LIB. ALB., I., 278. [6] Foudreffles, bricoles (see COTGRAVE, s. v.), et eschéles.—MONSTR., I., 135. [7] For "alblastes strynges," see DERBY ACCTS., 74. [8] In COTGRAVE, s. v. "Rossignol" is translated by "picklock." For fauconettes and robinettes (*i.e.* guns temp. H. VIII.), see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 301.

stores [1] of picks, pavises,[2] dondaines, [3] axes and arrows, and great supplies of biscuit and other provisions.

The besieged depended strictly upon their communication with the sea, which they had lately assured still further by a new outpost called the Lancaster Tower, [4] built on the Rushbank, [5] to command the entrance to the harbour. Yet even this did not protect them; and in October, 1405, [6] the Earl of Somerset had reported that the ale-ships from the Suffolk havens [7] could not approach for fear of the French

[1] In TRANSCR. FOR. REC., Vol. 153, 4 (TRES. DES CHARTRES, J., 922), is a list of the expenses of the Duke of Burgundy for the new army in Picardy, thus:—Bought in Paris, 400 pavises and pikes, 100,000 viretons, 10000 dondaines et gros viretons, 10,000 chaussetrappes, 200 arbalestres à pic, 30 arbalestres de Romanie à tendre a tour, 400 haches, 500 doz., flèches toutes ferrées et pristes, 6000 lbs. of gunpowder (6s. per lb., Vol. II., p. 270), 50 baudrez pour tendre arbalestres, 4 tours de bois à tendre arbalestres (= 46 frs.). Bought at Bruges, 1 large canon de fer weighing 2000 lbs., throwing stones of 120 lbs., 6 smaller ones, 25,000 viretons ferrez et emponnez, 150 grosses pierres de canon, 100 arcs à main garnis chacun de 3 cordes, 55 cignoles a tendre arbalestres, 2568 lbs. of saltpetre, 1114 lbs. of sulphur, 520 lbs. of charbon de tilleul à faire poudre de canon, 8 pieds de bois pour canons, 16 entaillements pour mectre et à faire canons, 277 lbs. of fil d'Amiens pour faire cordes d'arbalestres comme pour dossiers, 27 tonneaux et barrilz à enfoncier haches, arcs, signoles, saltpetre, sulphur, charbon, &c., all sent by water from Bruges to St. Omer. 1200 lbs. of poudre de canon, bought at St. Omer. Guns from Utrecht, 500 pelles a faire fossez, 450 esquipars, 52 pieds de chièvre de fer, 200 faloz (?), 400 pelles de fer, 2000 notes, 3 forges, 600 raismes de blé, bought en biscuit, making 2 molins à cheux tous parfaits et garnis de moles. The total cost for 3502 hommes d'armes, 495 arblasters, and 339 pikemen (picquenaires) for about five weeks, amounts to 64,314 livres tournois. [2] For "paueys," see DERBY ACCTS., 23, 90. [3] See COTGRAVE, s. v. [4] ROT. PARL., III., 627; RYM., VIII., 631; IX., 218; in ISS. ROLL, 11 H. IV., PASCH. (July 24, 1410), John Gerard is captain of the new Tower super portum Cales; see also FR. ROLL, 11 H. IV., 13 (April 13th, 1410); *ibid.*, 13 H. IV., 15 (April 18th, 1412); ISS. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., Dec. 9, 1412; CLAUS., 14 H. IV., 18, Oct. 24, 1412. [5] HOLT, 181; DERBY ACCTS., 297. For turris de Rysbank, see ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 177. For its position, see plan from COTTON MS., AUG. I., II., 70 in CALAIS CHRON., XXVI.; ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 302, 307. [6] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 36; FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 12. [7] *I.e.*, Bawdsey, Falkenham, and Alderton, since the capture in 1346. —ROT. PARL., III., 568, 648.

and Flemish, while special inducements, in the form of freedom from dues, were offered to any enterprising traders who would run the blockade and get provisions in. Their weakness lay in the dead-level of the surrounding lands, which not only caused a lack of fresh water,[1] but laid the whole of their border open to ready attack. To protect their outlying marches,[2] they had planted a ring of fortresses at Sangatte,[3] Wissant,[4] Hammes,[5] Oye,[6] and Marck,[7] extending in a semi-circle at a distance of from four to six miles from their walls, while further to the south they held the strong castle of Guînes on the hilly ground facing towards Ardres.

[1] For the watergangs from the hills in the south-west, the conduit in the market-place and the river of Guînes, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 297, 322, 367. The Great Tank or Royal Cistern adjoining St. Mary's church, with a capacity for 300,000 gallons of water, was not built till 1691. The London conduit in West Cheap, to which water was brought in leaden pipes from Tyburn, was built in 1285. It was lined with lead and castellated with stone.—STRYPE, LONDON, I., 24; see also BESANT, LONDON, 69, 149; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 52, 54, 56, 163. For lead pipes laid underground, see BURTON CHARTULARY, SALT ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., I., 101. For conduit or "condys" (conduis), see CHAUCER (S.), I., 152; III., 115. For water supply of Southampton, see S. A. GREEN, I., 19. For cistern and conduit at Westminster Abbey, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 161-170. [2] For boundaries as settled by the treaty of Bretigny, Art. iv., v., see BOUILLONS, 41. [3] DESCHAMPS, III., 93; V., 67; ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 362. On Oct. 19th, 1405, John Orwell was captain of Sangatte.—Iss. ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH.; Fr. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 5, 7, 15, 17. On March 2nd, 1407, Sir John Blount was appointed custos.—FR. ROLL, 8 H. IV., 1; 9 H. IV., 3. He is still captain in Iss. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 29th, 1409; PRIV. SEAL, 648/6533, April 16, 1410; FR. ROLL, 12 H. IV., 25, March 15th, 1411. [4] DERBY ACCTS., XXVI., 7, 8, 12. [5] Vol. II., p. 56, note 3. For plan of Hammes see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 301, 343, 344. [6] On March 2nd, 1407, the captain of Oye was John Lardner, a London mercer (Vol. II., p. 92, note 1).—FR. ROLL, 8 H. IV., 11, 12, 15; 9 H. IV., 5, 14, 17; 10 H. IV., 4 (Aug. 5th, 1409); PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 33, Oct. 10, 1409. His Lieutenant was Edmund Wyse.—RYM., VIII., 542, July 3rd, 1408. In Iss. ROLL, 11 H. IV., PASCH., April 17th, 1410, Lardner is called captain of Marck, but this is probably a mistake (see Vol. II., p. 89, note 6), for in FR. ROLL, 11 H. IV., 7 (July 3rd, 1410), and 12 H. IV., 1 (Sept. 16th, 1411), he is still captain of Oye. [7] Vol. II., p. 89.

When first the news of the approach of the French was known, the situation at Calais seemed desperate indeed. The Parliament, it is true, had before decided that large sums[1] were to be devoted to victualling and wages, and the War-Treasurers had been deputed to spend half the subsidy for this purpose. But it made little difference to the actual condition of the garrison, which was scandalous and deplorable. Scarcity was everywhere, and provisions[2] were up to famine price. From time to time dummy troops had been turned out to parade—men of straw, such as sailors from the ships in harbour, or strangers staying in the town. These were counted in to swell the muster roll, and wages were claimed and certified for them as if they had been genuine efficients. The prospect of actual danger, however, wrought a rapid change. On July 1st, 1406,[3] it was ordered that 5000 marks were to be paid from the subsidy for wages in Calais, provided that the claims of "the Merchants"[4] were first satisfied. But before very long the merchants were forgotten, and Calais received the first attention from all. Early in Sept., 1406, the English laid siege to the castle of Balinghen,[5] between Guînes and Ardres. They plundered the suburbs of St. Omer, and on Nov. 10th[6] broke into a Dominican convent. The Prior entertained them, and broached two casks of his new wine for

[1] FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 11, 5; *i.e.*, £24,600 in war time and £15,200 in times of peace. [2] ROT. PARL., III., 573. Et le vitaille osi eurent pou li auquant.—GESTE, 304. [3] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 20. [4] Vol. II., p. 416. [5] Also called Bavelingham.—ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 177, 363; or Bavelinghen.—REPT. ON FŒD., D., 77. The Duke of Burgundy had been granted an allowance of 6000 francs per month, to date from Sept. 1st, 1406, to raise the siege of "Valingham," see document dated Sept. 23rd, 1406, in PLANCHER, III., CCLII. For position, see map in CALAIS CHRON., XXIX. It may be the "castrum de Pouile" of WALS., II., 276; see BOUILLONS, 41, 65, 83; ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 292. [6] J. MEYER, 225.

their Martlemas.[1] Not to be outdone in compliments they sent him 12 gold nobles for belechere,[2] and spared the district of Bossenarde about Ardres, in recognition of his civility. Some 600 Frenchmen and Genoese who were established near Guînes seized[3] a storehouse belonging to the English at Oye, and it was expected that the great siege of Calais would begin by Oct. 25th.[4] But the rain and the approach of winter made serious operations there impossible. Nothing was effected beyond trifling outpost collisions, and after a stay of 15 days[5] the Duke of Burgundy gave up the attempt. He left St. Omer on Nov. 16th,[6] spent five days at Hesdin near St. Pol, where he gave orders[7] for three large standards and 3000 scarlet pennons worked with planes and planks in gold, and then withdrew to Arras. By Dec. 15th he was back in Paris,[8] vowing that he would return in the spring and drive the English out of Calais. The troops were housed for the winter in the forts at Ardres, Bourbourg, Gravelines, Audruicq, and Planques,[9] and the stores were stacked at the castle of Renty,[10] near the sources of the Aa. But when the spring-time came the Duke found that he was not "properly supported with

[1] BRAND, I., 315. This was the feasting time when the beasts were slaughtered for the winter's larder.—DENTON, 209, 230; A. S. GREEN, I., 60; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 99. For larder or larderhouse, see DERBY ACCTS., 22, 24, 60, 207.

Cf. He (*i.e.*, Sagittarius) torneth must into the wine
Than is the larder of the swine,
That is Novembre which I mene,
Whan that the leef hath lost his grene.
GOWER, CONF., 354.

[2] DERBY ACCTS., 41, 44, 46; PRUTZ, 40 and *passim*; HALLIWELL, I., 161. [3] MONSTR., I., 126. [4] RYM., VIII., 456. [5] COCHON, 218; COUSINOT, 112; MONSTR., I., 136. Subito et inopinate.—BRANDO, 106; ne scot-on pour quelle raison.—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 20. [6] ITIN., 356. [7] *Ibid.*, 584. [8] BAYE, I., 181, shows that he attended a council in Paris, Dec. 20th, 1406.—LETTENHOVE, III., 65. [9] DESCHAMPS, I., 88. [10] MONSTR., II., 212-234; FENIN, 24.

funds,"[1] and his vast army melted away; or, as another chronicler[2] thinks, Satan found means to interfere and stop the progress of the expedition. During the winter the Duke had been laid up at Bruges with a weakness in the legs; and though his doctors plied him with laxatives, letuaries,[3] digestives, salves, ointments, plasters, special solutions, syrups, rose-oil, rose-water, litharge, and what-not, he was still disabled as late as the end of March, 1407.[4] This may have been one cause of the *fiasco* before Calais. A second reason is perhaps to be found in the death of the old Duchess of Brabant, which happened on Dec. 1st, 1406.[5] By this event the Duke's brother Anthony[6] became Duke of Brabant, and

[1] ST. DENYS, III., 450; JUV., 443. [2] WAURIN, 166. [3] CHAUCER, TROILUS, V., 106. [4] ITIN., 586. [5] DYNTER, III., 157; ZANTFLIET, 383 (not November, as BRANDO, 98, 106); ASCHBACH, I., 271. ITIN., 584, shows that the Duke of Burgundy went into mourning on Dec. 8th, 1406. [6] Vol. I., 440. His first wife was Jeanne, daughter of the Count of St. Pol, to whom he was betrothed, Nov. 10th, 1401.—ITIN., X., 319; J. MEYER, 218. He was married at Arras, Apr. 25th, 1402 (not 1403, as Vol. I., 327).—ITIN., 324, 566; PONTANUS, 357; OUDEGHERST, I., 614. His eldest son (born Jan. 18th, 1403) was baptized at Arras, Jan. 29th, 1403.—ITIN., 333, 568; MART., COLL., I., 1566. For lords present at the marriage dressed in green velvet and white satin, see PLANCHER, III., 573. The ballad in DESCHAMPS, VII., 24, seems too familiar to have been addressed to so high a personage. In 1406, the Count of St. Pol appears as a pensioner of the Duke of Burgundy.—PLANCHER, III., 579. For Anthony's second marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of John, Duke of Görlitz, niece of Wenzel and Sigismund, by which he obtained the Duchy of Luxemburg, see contract dated Prague, Ap. 27th, 1409, in RECEUIL DES TRAITEZ, 373; DYNTER, III., 178. The marriage took place at Brussels, July 16th, 1409.—DYNTER, III., 186; ITIN., 371 (not July 1st, as ASCHBACH, I., 272; PALACKY, III., I., 226). On Aug. 3rd, 1411, Wenzel confirmed his rights as Duke of Brabant.—RECEUIL, 383. On April 30th, 1405, the new Duke of Gueldres (called Reinhart in WINDECK, 1083; Reinald, RTA., V., 318; Reginald, HÖFLER, 266; Renaud, JARRY, 251), did homage to the French King, and agreed to fight against the English.—TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 3. For his brother William's will dated Arnheim, Jan. 11th, 1402, see PONTANUS, 350; ROUSSET, SUPPLEMENT TO DUMONT, I., 303; ZANTFLIET, 361; POSILJE, 252; HÖFLER, 312.

was enthroned at Louvain,[1] Dec. 18th, 1406. But Rupert[2] was already endeavouring to recover Brabant for the Empire in accordance with an oath[3] that he had made at his coronation; and at such a time the head of the House of Burgundy no doubt thought it better that he and his brother should be free from risky entanglements before Calais. Stronger than these two causes combined was the growing feud with his rival, the Duke of Orleans, with whom he was about to close in death-grips, and thereby open an era of bloodshed which devastated his country for a generation to come.

The winter months had not been lost by the English. The command at Calais was in the hands of Sir Thomas Pickworth,[4] though the Earl of Somerset[5] was occasionally there himself. As early as Aug. 14th, 1406,[6] the King had determined to accompany an expedition in person, under Admiral Clitherowe; and on Oct. 19th[7] orders were sent to impound all vessels of over 20 tons burden, at all ports from Weymouth round to Lynn. Proclamations[8] were sent out calling for troops for the rescue of Calais and other threatened places, and the departure from London was fixed for Nov. 9th.[9] But the altered purpose of the Duke of Burgundy caused a cor-

[1] DYNTER, III., 157. [2] J. MEYER, 229 b.; not Stephen, as BRANDO, 109; see his letters dated Heidelberg, Dec. 22nd, 1406, and Alzey, Nov. 26th, 1407, in MART., ANEC., I., 1718, 1722; RTA., V., 562; HÖFLER, 360, 366. [3] Jan. 7th, 1401.—CHMEL, 5. [4] Vol. II., p. 54; FR. ROLL, 12 H. IV., mm. 5, 17, shows that he was still Lieutenant for 'the Captain of the town of Calais on June 21st, 1411. [5] Vol. II., p. 91. He appears as Lieutenant of the town of Calais, May 12th, 1405 (RYM., VIII., 391); also June 8th, 1407 (FR. ROLL, 8 H. IV., 8); May 30th and Nov. 18th, 1409 (RYM., VIII., 590; PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 13 d.; SOLLY-FLOOD, 123). [6] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 6, with order to charter 160 sailors for the "Bernard" of London. [7] ISS. ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH. [8] *Ibid.*, Oct. 24th, 1406. DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 85''' has proclamation dated Oct. 26th, 1406, calling up retinue from the Duchy of Lancaster. [9] RYM., VIII., 456.

responding change in the King's plans. Nevertheless, on Nov. 13th[1] orders were given that 400 men-at-arms and 600 archers should cross, with pay for 40 days. Guns and gunpowder were brought down from Pontefract.[2] Gunners,[3] arblasters, masons and carpenters were sent over to repair the fortifications, and 24 vessels[4] of between 10 and 40 tons burden were chartered to convey them from London, Sandwich, and Dover. On Feb. 7th, 1407,[5] it was ordered that no foreigners were to enter or leave the country. On Feb. 16th,[6] a great muster for Calais and Aquitaine was ordered to be ready at Southampton by Mar. 15th, and on Feb. 19th,[7] 2000 quarters of wheat, 100 quarters of barley, 100 quarters of oats, and 100 barrels of wine were bought and forwarded across. Requests were also made to King Rupert and his son Louis at Heidelberg for assistance; but they had enough to do with their own difficulties, and could only send a polite refusal.[8]

The wages of the men at Calais were to have been paid by allotting half of the subsidy raised in English ports after Feb. 16th, 1407; but before three months had passed, the sorry tale had to be returned that this yield amounted to just *nil*,[9] and other means must be tried. Exasperated at the non-payment, the troops had seized wool belonging to the Merchants of the Staple at Calais,[10] to recoup themselves for back-pay. The merchants complained to the King, who only said: "You have

[1] PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 22 d. [2] *Ibid.*, 28 d., Oct. 29th, 1406. For order dated Nov. 9th, 1406, to Gerard Spronk, our gunner, to bring six large cannons and gunpowder from Pontefract, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 83'. [3] ROT. PARL., III., 627. [4] PAT., H. IV., 1, 18 d., 23, 30 d., Nov. 10th and 16th, 1406. [5] CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 16. [6] PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 15 d. [7] FR. ROLL, 8 H. IV., 8. [8] Dated May 17th and 28th, 1407.—MART., ANEC., I., 1719-1722; CHMEL, 142; BEKYNTON, II., 375. [9] FR. ROLL, 8 H. IV., 15. "Vacat quia nichil inde, &c."—PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 7, May 11th, 1407; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 108. [10] For the Staple see GROSS, I., 140; H. HALL, CUSTOMS, I., 29-39; CUNNINGHAM, I., 287-292.

the money. I want the money. Where is it?"[1] After long remonstrance and delay the merchants[2] were ready with a loan of £4000 (May 9th, 1407). The Albertis[3] lent £1000, so did the Mayor (Richard Whittington)[4] and the rich drapers[5] of St. Swithin's Lane, while John Hende (the ex-Mayor) and John Norbury[6] lent £2000 a-piece, and 40 others made up £11,000[7] between them;—a strong evidence that the King's government had not suffered in the eyes of the London

[1] EUL., III., 411. [2] ISS. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., May 24th and July 15th, 1407; RYM., VIII., 488. For other lenders, see PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 10, June 18th, 1407. [3] REC. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., June 12th, 1407. [4] He was the third son of a Gloucestershire knight, and was born circ. 1358, at Pauntley, near Newent.—BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 30, 32. He was elected alderman for Broad St. Ward, and sheriff in 1393, mayor, 1397, 1406, 1419.—STOW, 558, &c.; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 161-164. For his will, dated Sept. 5th, 1421, see SHARPE, II., 432; GENEALOGIST, VI., 226; T. BREWER, LIFE OF J. CARPENTER; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 187. For his portrait and college, 1409, adjoining his house at Tower Royal, see ANTIQUARIAN REPERTORY, II., 343; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 135, 189: and Whittington Life Assurance Co., 58 Moorgate St. For pedigree among MS. Collection of Rodney Fane of Colchester, see BIOGR. BRIT., III., 2140 (OLDYS). For his life, see S. LYSONS, MODEL MERCHANT OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY; ANTIQUARY, XVII., 8. For 11 ways of spelling the name, see BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 26. In POL. SONGS, II., 178; A. S. GREEN, II., 72, he is "the sonne of Marchaundy that lode-sterre and chefe chosen floure."—PERCY SOC., Vol. I.; WALFORD'S ANTIQUARIAN, Jan., 1887, p. 63; ANTIQUARY, XV., 173; N. and Q., 7th Ser., I., 237; cf. Flos mercatorum.—BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 26, 194. For his cat ("acat"), see LIB. ALB., I., XVIII., 385; HERBERT, I., 312; BESANT, LONDON, 118, 145, 156, 192; WHITTINGTON, 130-142. In ISS. ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 9th, 1405, he is civis London. In 1406 his name occurs third on a list of 18 aldermen.—PRICE, 158. "Look upon this, ye aldermen, for it is a glorious glass."—GRAFTON, 434. In FR. ROLL, 11 H. IV., 20, Oct. 23rd, 1409, Master Sampson, a Jew doctor from Mierbe Mierbeawe (*sic*) has permission to come to England to cure his wife of a malady, *i.e.*, Alice, daughter of Sir John Fitzwarren.—BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 174. [5] HERBERT, I., 421; ISS. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., Apr. 25th, 1408. [6] He had previously lent £1000 on March 27th, 1406, for payment of the garrison at Guînes.—ISS. ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH., Dec. 13th, 1406; *ibid.*, 8 H. IV., PASCH., July 15th, 1407; REC. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., June 12th, 1407; PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 11; KAL. AND INV., II., 76, refers to a debt to him of £3000 in 1407. [7] RAMSAY (I., 158) estimates that Calais cost the country on an average £29,000 per annum.

traders by the recent failure of the Merchants and their abortive "Treaty." Of course, in all these cases, ample security for repayment was required. Whittington was Mayor of the Staple[1] at Calais, and both he and Hende were collectors[2] of the customs and subsidy in the port of London and in the town and marches of Calais, and as such they held the cocket[3] or customs stamp as a guarantee that their claims should have precedence[4] over all others. The bulk of the money was, in fact, repaid before many weeks were out. The Staple Merchants[5] bargained that they should not be pressed for payment of dues which had fallen into arrears owing to their losses during the past year. Their claim was secured as a first charge on the subsidy collected in the ports of Boston,[6] Ipswich, and Hull, but 12 months afterwards they were still urging[7] the repayment of their loan.

The Council was thus enabled to work wonders in clearing off its debts. On March 9th, 1407, Richard Merlaw,[8] who had

[1] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1. On Aug. 13th, 1408, he over-ruled an order of the society, that no new wool should be sold in the Staple of Calais till the old was sold off.—CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 4 d. On Oct. 30th, 1408, he was Mayor of the Staple of the city of London.—CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 22, also Mayor of the Staple of Calais, but keeping the seal in London, Apr. 29th, 1409.—COMPTE RENDU, 3rd Ser., III., 182; and Oct. 4th, 1420, H. HALL, CUSTOMS, I., 36. For the Staple with prison, &c., on the south-west of the market-place at Calais, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 320. For the seal of the Staple, see *ibid.*, 328. [2] REC. ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH. (Mar. 8th, 1407); 9 H. IV., PASCH. (Apr. 25th, 1408); 10 H. IV., MICH. (Nov. 8th, 1408); KAL. AND INV., II., 78 (Mar. 8th, 1409). Hende was still collector on Oct. 3rd, 1409.—REC. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., and June 16th, 1410.—ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 334. [3] EXCH. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., 108, has 17s. 4d. for engraving new "cokete" seal of the old burgh of Crail, on the coast of Fife; see H. HALL, CUSTOMS, II., 125; RYM., VIII., 573; LIB. ALB., I., 121, 569; VEN. STATE PP., I., 53; FROST, APP., p. 94. [4] PAT., 1 H. IV., 2, 11, June 20th, 1407. [5] FR. ROLL, 8 H. IV., 9, Apr. 29th, 1407. [6] PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 18; *ibid.*, 9 H. IV., I., 1. [7] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 305, March 2nd, 1408. [8] Vol. II., 110, 114; FR. ROLL, 8 H. IV., 12; ISS. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 3rd, 1407; *ibid.*, PASCH., July 7th, 1408; 10 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 13th, 24th, 27th, 1408; REC. ROLL, 10 H.

been one of the original War Treasurers, was appointed to succeed Robert Thorley as Treasurer of Calais, and during the months of May and June he received £18,803 9s.[1] to satisfy claims, together with £500 for wages to the garrison at Guînes,[2] so that they were more than ready to beat off any attack that might be threatened. Nevertheless, precautions were by no means slackened; a regular look-out was kept over the landing-places on Romney Marsh,[3] and beacon fires[4] were ready on the Kentish hills in apprehension of a possible invasion.

IV., MICH., Mar. 9th, 1409. For his account from Mar. 9th, 1407, to Dec. 28th, 1409, see FOR. ACCTS., 13 H. IV. During this time he received £87,873 8s. 2d., and spent £88,487 17s. 9½d., chiefly on the freitage, carriage, boatage (batellagium, cf. RYM., IX., 542), portage, carcage, discarcage, mensurage, and cellarage of victuals, &c. Merlaw is still treasurer in ISS. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 10th and 22nd, 1409, but "*late* treasurer," *ibid.*, Nov. 4th, 13th, 1409, and Feb. 15th, 1410.

[1] Viz., £3000 (May 1st, 1407), £4000 (May 9th), and £11,803 9s. (June 12th and 23rd).—ISS. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH.; FR. ROLL, 8 H. IV., 6, 29. [2] ISS. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., June 2nd, 1407; also 100 marks, July 15th, 1407. REC. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., shows that he had already advanced 200 marks. [3] CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 8 d., Apr. 18th, 1407. —"Brodehill-by-the-sea" in Romney Marsh (*i.e.*, the Broadhill of Dymchurch, A. S. GREEN, I., 395) was to be watched by the men of the hundreds of Larkfield, Felborough, Street and Worth, see BURROWS, CINQ PORTS, 179, 252. [4] PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 31, d., June 11th, 1407.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

GUIENNE.

OF the two expeditions arranged against the English in 1406 more had been expected from the Duke of Burgundy in the north than from the Duke of Orleans in the south. The French set far more store on the recovery of Calais[1] than on guerilla attacks upon Guienne. Both were outlying posts or barbicans[2] of England, from which she could at any time develop an attack. At Calais the English had a mere foothold, as aliens in a patch of conquered country, every yard of which must be gripped by naked force; but so long as they held their ground, they had the keys[3] of France in their belt. Accordingly it was here that race-hatred had its fiercest play. If a Frenchman rode into Calais from outside, he was shouted at as a "French dog!"[4] to which he would retort when at a safe distance: "Lift your tail!" "I see your tail!" or other such banality. The town was divided into wards[5] after the English model, and was governed by an English Mayor[6] and

[1] "Paix n'arez ja s'ilz ne rendent Calays."—DESCHAMPS, III., 62, 93; cf. POL. SONGS, I., 300; II., 158, 192; FROIS., XIV., 315; HÖFLER, ANNA, 133. [2] ROT. PARL., III., 36. [3] FROIS., V., 141; XIV., 383; XVI., 157; CALAIS CHRON., XXV. [4] DESCHAMPS, IV., 130; V., 48, 80; cf. "A la Keuwe!" MONSTR., V., 221. For Anglici caudati, see ACADEMY, Vol. XLIII. (1893), pp. 83, 175. [5] CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, LETTRES, II., 243, 275; ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 304. [6] CLAUS., 14 H. IV., 3 (March 4th, 1413), shows Wm. Orwell to be Mayor of Calais. For seal of the Mayor of Calais with the aper commercii (Vol. I., 19; II., 376, 377), see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 327.

12 English aldermen.[1] It had an English mint,[2] an imported English population,[3] and the outlying forts had wholly English garrisons, planted amongst a French peasantry which was bound to the English connection by no ties but fear.

In Guienne, on the other hand, the semi-Basque people owed but a very indirect loyalty to the French King. They had a separate history and separate traditions, with distinctive names,[4] manners, laws and customs of their own. Their language,[5] a "soft bastard Latin," [6] was a patois of Provençal Romance, which Frenchmen did not understand, and they minted[7] a coinage[8] which Frenchmen did not use. Above

[1] ROT. PARL., II., 359; PAT., 2 H. IV., 2, 21; DEP. KEEP., 48th REPT., 217; CALAIS CHRON., XXIV. [2] NUM. CHRON., N. S., XI., 98. [3] RYM., V., 575; DERBY ACCTS., XXVI.; CALAIS CHRON., XXIII., XXV. The first Englishman born in Calais was said to have been John Only, who was Mayor of Coventry in 1396 and 1418.—FORDUN (HEARNE), V., 1443, 1445; ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 355. For Calais during the English occupation, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 302-327. [4] *E.g.*, Amaniu, Arramon, Galhar, Pons, Bos, Peyroat, Monot, Jacinot, Pastalot (on May 8th, 1410, Pastalot or Jacinot du Vintian is appointed serjeant-at-arms for all Guienne.—PRIV. SEAL, 648/6571, 6574); Joanot, Menant, Guassio (CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, LETTRES, II., 313); Ysarn, Borbonnet, Salvat (ROT. VASC., 13 H. IV., 10, Dec. 28th, 1411, where Salvat Duvos has permission to put up one or two clibana sive furna in a house in Bayonne); Naudin (*i.e.*, Arnaud, cf. Naudini de Roustank in CLAUS., 14 H. IV., 28, with JURADE, 519); Gaucelin (FR. ROLL, 14 H. IV., 3); Garsio (or Garssie.—JURADE, 3). Among women's names are Assulhita or Assalhida (ARCHIVES GIRONDE, III., 15, 131; IV., 61, 131; FLOURAC, 4, and JURADE *passim*. For Asselota in London wills, see SHARPE, II., 230; NOTES AND QUERIES, 7th Ser., XI., 324); Comtor (ROT. VASC., 10 H. IV., &c.); Treugna (CLAUS., 14 H. IV., 28). [5] For specimens, see RYM., VIII., 597. The municipal records of Bordeaux are written in Gascon, see JURADE *passim*. [6] BURROWS, BROCAS, 27. [7] For mints at Bordeaux, Bergerac, and Bayonne, see BOUILLONS, 151, 224, 370, 471; BRISSAUD, 24. [8] For the Ardit or Hardi, the Leopard, the Guiennois or Guian d'aur (20 sols.—ARCHIVES GIRONDE, IV., 137; JURADE, 13, 112), see E. HAWKINS, ANGLO-GALLIC COINS, 13, 15, 19, 24; RYM., VIII., 576, 580; DUCANGE s. v. ARDICUS. For gold, silver, and black (*i.e.*, billon) money coined by the English in Bordeaux, see RYM., VIII., 759; RUDING, I., 494; NUM. CHRON., N. S., III., 22.

all, their nobles were habituated by 250 years of feudal attachment to the suzerainty of a long series of English kings [1] and princes beyond sea, who claimed their homage as hereditary Dukes of Aquitaine.

But all these forces would have been powerless to preserve their separate and anomalous position had not the interests of the great trading towns [2] all tended in the same direction. During the reign of Edward III. [3] the Duchy had risen to unexampled prosperity. Great privileges had been granted to the towns; rocks and shoals had been lighted [4] with beacons, and the channel of the Gironde kept open; the wine-trade supported and employed vast numbers of workers,[5] and it is calculated that under the government of the Black Prince [6] the population of the district under English rule must have numbered 6,000,000 souls.[7] Moreover, many Gascons had settled [8] in England and married English wives, though as a class they were not popular, and were looked upon as aliens;—a name which they resented as offensive. The head of the government was the Viceroy or Lieutenant of Aquitaine, who received a stipend amounting at times to 25,000 marks [9] (£16,666 13s. 4d.) per annum. He exercised royal power in every respect, except [10] that he could not appoint or remove either the Mayor or Constable [11] of Bordeaux without the King's express consent. In his absence he was represented by a Steward or Seneschal,[12]

[1] Cf. Lo rey Richart Guascon (*i.e.*, Richard II.).—ECOLE DES CHARTES, XLVII., 64. Cf. "Your Duchie of Guienne is oon th' oldest lordship longing to your coroune of England."—BEKYNTON, II., 186; see BOUILLONS, 322. [2] BRISSAUD, 67, 153; BARKER, 348. [3] BRISSAUD, 119. [4] RYM., VIII., 592. [5] CUNNINGHAM, I., 248. [6] BRISSAUD, 198. [7] FROIS., XXIV., 355; or 1,200,000 households.—HUME, II., 227. [8] ROT. PARL., III., 657; RYM., VIII., 719. [9] DEVON, 297. [10] RYM., VIII., 759. [11] BRISSAUD, 10. [12] BOUILLONS, 293; BRISSAUD, 2; BURROWS, BROCAS, 95.

who governed in his name, assisted by a council[1] with a Chancellor,[2] a Chief Justice,[3] a Procurator Fiscal,[4] and a full executive of officials both English and Gascon. Side by side with these were the "three estates"[5] of Aquitaine,—prelates, nobles, and commons,—who met from time to time in different cities, and whose position corresponds with that of an English Parliament or Great Council.[6] For administrative purposes the country was governed by prefects, bailiffs, stewards, castellans or constables, each in command of a district round some central fortress. These strongholds were usually posted on the banks of the main rivers, to keep open the waterway and secure communication with the sea.

The Lieutenant or his Seneschal claimed authority over the whole of the Duchies of Gascony and Guienne, which would include all the lands between the Auvergne Mountains and the Pyrenees; but vast portions of this had long ago passed hopelessly out of the English power. The whole of Poitou, Angoulême, Limousin, Rouergue and Armagnac, together with nearly 1500 fortified places,[7] had shaken off all shadow of dependence, and the French had just run another wedge into the northern portion by the capture of Courbefy,[8] thus laying open the whole of Perigord to be driven in in detail. The boundaries were indeed much shrunk since the Bretigny

[1] RYM., VIII., 597; ROT. VASC., 12 H. IV., 11, has a reference to "one of the councillors of our Duchy of Aquitaine." [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 319; ROT. VASC., 10 H. IV., 4. [3] RYM., VIII., 7; ROT. VASC., 12 H. IV., 14, refers to a judex Vasconiæ. For Bertrand d'Asta, jutge de Gasconha, temp. H. IV., V., VI., see JURADE, 394. [4] ROT. VASC., 8 H. IV., 2; JURADE, 118; RYM., VIII., 774. [5] BOUILLONS, 173; JURADE, 291; ISS. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., July 15th, 1407. Each separate district had also its estates, as the Bordelais, the Landes, &c.—JURADE, 265, 297, 320. [6] In 1368, prelates and subjects met in "our great council" at Angoulême, and granted the hearth tax to the Black Prince.—BOUILLONS, 176. [7] RYM., VIII., 739. [8] Vol. II., p. 316.

settlement,[1] and the English had now sore work to hold their own even along the courses of the great rivers. North-east from Bordeaux stood the town of Libourne, which had been built by Edward I.[2] at the junction of the Isle and the Dordogne. Near it were the fortified towns of St. Emilion[3] and Blaye, the castle and port of Cubzac,[4] and the fortress of Fronsac. Southward lay the territory of the Landes with the castles of Latrau[5] on the Ciron, and Dax[6] on the Adour, and further south again the small districts of Labourd and Soule were still dominated by the fortresses of Bayonne, Guissen,[7] and Mauléon. The latter had been in the possession of the English for the last 150 years,[8] and was regarded as the key[9] to the kingdoms of France, Aragon and Navarre; yet the command of it had been left to a foreigner,[10] and the castle and garrison soon passed over to Charles III., King of Navarre, whose daughter Beatrice had just married[11] James of Bourbon, Count of La Marche. Other isolated strongholds such as

[1] BOUILLONS, 39. [2] BRISSAUD, 247; BURROWS, BROCAS, 28. For account of it, see DROUYN, II., 410, 411; BARKER, 371-374. For comparison with Hull, see CUNNINGHAM, I., 258. For Edward I.'s bastides or Villes Franches, see *ibid.*, I., 247. [3] DROUYN, II., 390-396, Plates 143, 144; BARKER, 361-371. [4] ROT. VASC., 9 H. IV., 16; 12 H. IV., 12; called Cuczac, *ibid.*, 8 H. IV., 3; though entered as Cubzac in CARTE, I., 191. [5] DROUYN, I., 95, Plate 32. On Aug. 21st, 1409, the captain was Wm. Bruer.—ROT. VASC., 10 H. IV., 4. [6] On Feb. 8th, 1408, Sir John Tiptot is Seneschal Landarum and Constable of the Castle of Ax.—*Ibid.*, 9 H. IV., 15; 10 H. IV., 8. [7] It was five miles from Peire Hurade, one league from Hastingues, and one and a half league from Sordes.—RYM., VIII., 512. In ROT. VASC., 10 H. IV., 2, Riparia called le Don, runs near the Castle of Guissen. [8] It was ceded Aug. 24th, 1257.—ARCHIVES GIRONDE, III., 8. [9] ROT. PARL., III., 579; ROT. VASC., 8 H. IV., 4 (Dec. 18th, 1406); ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 289. [10] In ROT. VASC., 9 H. IV., 11, Aug. 10th, 1408, Charles Beaumont, standard bearer of Navarre, castellanus noster de Mauléon, is to have bailliage and jurisdiction of La Bort; see also RYM., VIII., 576, 580, 707; FR. ROLL, 14 H. IV., 5, Nov. 3rd, 1412. [11] *I.e.*, Sept. 14th, 1406.—ART DE VER., I., 759; II., 388.

Lourdes,[1] in the county of Bigorre, under the shadow of the Pyrenees, held out with a precarious loyalty so long as it suited the lords of the surrounding domains to tolerate the English connection. The fishermen of Bayonne and Anglet secured something of a livelihood from whaling[2] with the new harpoon in the Basque Seas and the Gulf of Gascony, and showed no fresh disposition to revolt.[3] But the number of English troops actually stationed in Guienne was altogether insignificant. Indeed, in 1411,[4] their whole force did not exceed 60 men-at-arms and 120 archers, though large sums were allowed to the Gascon barons to enable them to defend their own castles; and any lands that they could recapture from the French were often allowed[5] them as their own.

But the heart and head[6] of the English strength lay in the city of Bordeaux, where the burgesses had wrung many privileges[7] from the necessities of their English sovereigns in the past. Every churl from outside who settled[8] without challenge for a month in the city, was *ipso facto* free from servitude, and on becoming a citizen was exempt from the jurisdiction[9] of the Gascon Barons and their Courts. The burgesses of Bordeaux could trade[10] freely in any part of Aquitaine, and claim protection from the exactions[11] of the

[1] In 1398, Johan de Béarn is capitayne de Lorde; also 1407.—JURADE, 263. [2] ARCHIVES GIRONDE, III., 9, 15; JOANNE, LES PYRENEES. The Irish Records contain a pardon dated Dublin, Nov. 26th, 1400, granted to Thomas Gernon of Darghanestown, who found on the shore at Salthouse in Co. Uriel, a large fish called ballone and killed it contr. Statut'. For 8 whales stranded on the coast of Flanders in Oct. 1403, see BRANDO, 88. [3] Vol. I., p. 122. [4] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 8. [5] FROIS., XVI., 365. [6] Caps et deffenssors de las bilas et pais deu Rey.—JURADE, 264. [7] CUNNINGHAM, I., 293. [8] BOUILLONS, 240; BRISSAUD, 68. For the case of Nottingham since 1189, see NOTT. REC., I., 8; also Welshpool, MONTGOM. COLL., I., 303; and generally, GROSS, I., 8; DENTON, 36; GLANVIL, 37; A. S. GREEN, I., 174, 179, 194. [9] BOUILLONS, 194. [10] *Ibid.*, 175. [11] *Ibid.*, 188.

nobles for goods passing through their districts. They could not be called upon for military service[1] outside the diocese of their Archbishop. They had their fairs[2] twice every year, at which all goods sold paid a duty of 8d. in the £ to the English King, charged in equal halves to the buyer and the seller. In theory they had the right of electing their own Mayor,[3] though as a fact he was usually nominated[4] by the King. The administration of the town was vested in the Mayor (or Governor[5]) and a council of 24 jurats,[6] 12 of them selected each year from the burgesses of the different city districts, subject to certain qualifications[7] as to age, residence, and property; but they took an oath never to elect a "gentleman"[8] among their number. They had authority over all residents, though a portion of the profits arising from the putery[9] of the common queans[10] or wenches of the stews[11] had to be paid over to the King's Exchequer.[12]

[1] *Ibid.*, 243; BRISSAUD, 71; cf. Preston, in A. S. GREEN, I., 198. [2] BOUILLONS, 140. [3] BOUILLONS, 241. [4] *Ibid.*, 378, 401; JURADE, V. [5] BOUILLONS, 304, 311; JURADE, 179. ROT. VASC., 12 H. IV., 13, refers to Mayor, Constable, Provost, and judices of the town of Bordeaux. JURADE, pp. V., 164, 166, shows that the Mayor was paid 2000 livres per annum by the city. [6] BOUILLONS, 495, 524. *Ibid.*, 507, 515, refers to the sub-Mayor, Provost, 30 councillors, and 300 prudhommes chosen by the Mayor and jurats. See also JURADE, 144; BRISSAUD, 94. [7] JURADE, I., 431. [8] Nul gentil ne qui se repute pour gentil.—BOUILLONS, 496, 498. This proviso was cancelled in 1392 by John of Gaunt as Lieutenant of Guienne.—*Ibid.*, 291. [9] CHAUCER, PARSON'S TALE, p. 567; P. PLO., VII., 186; HALLIWELL, 654; cf. "putrie," WYCL. (M.), 10; "foule putis," *ibid.* (A.), I., 293; "puteyns," *ibid.*, II., 27. [10] Cf. "no comon quenes ne strompettes."—HIST. MSS., 12th REPT., IX., 433. For "misguided women," or "common women," see *ibid.*, 11th REPT., III., 9, 17, 168; STAT., II., 278; LIB. ALB., 277; P. PLO., XIX., 143; XXII., 370; WYCL. (M.), 231; *ibid.* (A.), III., 191; "comun wenche."—GOWER, CONF., 137. [11] For "a wenche atte stuwes," see P. PLO., XVII., 93; XXII., 437; XXIII., 160. For the Bordells (GOWER, CONF., 424), "hoorehows" (WYCL. (A.), III., 488), or Stews in Southwark, and the regulations for "Winchester geese," see STOW, LONDON, 448; MAITLAND, 798; HOCCLEVE, 39. For ruins of the Bishop of Winchester's palace (1814), see GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE, LXXXIV., 529. For the Belstewe, King's Stews, and Middle Stew at Calais, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 319. [12] BOUILLONS, 270, 307, 314. In Rome the prosti-

We are fortunate in still possessing a minute-book recording the official proceedings of the Jurade at Bordeaux from week to week, during the three eventful years from July 25th, 1406, to April 1st, 1409. The city, with its great Castle of the Ombrière[1] shaded in the trees on the river bank, lay landlocked up the Garonne, and was in grave danger as soon as the enemy were united in a steady attack. The French held the coast on the eastern side of the Gironde, where they had posted two strongholds, Royon[2] and Talmont, to command the estuary, while the rival port of La Rochelle[3] was kept carefully on a war-footing outside, well stocked with every kind of tackle for immediate use. For a long time distress had prevailed in Bordeaux, owing to the constant attacks of the French, and large supplies of English wheat[4] had been shipped at Bristol and Southampton for the relief of the burgesses.

Early in the spring of 1406, the Counts of Alençon and Clermont[5] and the Constable, Charles d'Albret,[6] had moved across the hills into Perigord, and laid siege to Brantôme[7]

tutes paid a gold florin a month for permission to ply their trade.—PALACKY, Doc., 729. In 1411 it was ordered at Bordeaux, que les putaines et macquerelles seroient marquées d'habit differant à celuy des honnestes bourgeoises.—LURBE, 34. It was a disputed point with clerics whether "hooris shulden tithe ther wynnyng."—WYCL. (M.), 433; see Vol. II., p. 465. For Ireland see Vol. II., p. 159, note 8.

[1] Or "Ombreyra."—RYM., VIII., 774; LURBE, 31. It stood at the south-eastern angle of the old Roman walls.—DROUYN, 18, 422. For fortifications see DROUYN, GUIENNE, II., 445; Plates 150, 151. [2] GAMEZ, 266. [3] Vol. II., p. 319; BRISSAUD, 190. [4] *E.g.*, 5000 qrs. in 1404.—ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 223. 500 qrs. of Worcester wheat from Bristol, Oct. 6th, 1405.—ROT. VASC., 7 H. IV., 11. 1140 qrs., May 6th, 1406, in three vessels from Southampton.—CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 13. [5] For his marriage see Vol. II., p. 315; DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 179; ST. DENYS, II., 758; III., 354. [6] He received 500 livres tournois for his services from the Treasurer of the Duke of Orleans on Feb. 26th, 1411.—ARCHIVES GIRONDE, III., 64. [7] JUV., 439; DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 301; LUSSAN, IV., 250, 291. For description see BARKER, 218.

and Bordes.[1] In both places the garrisons, which were composed of English and Gascons, "made good and honourable war with fire and blood;" but before Easter they were almost reduced to despair. An attempt at rescue proved fruitless. Brantôme surrendered[2] after an eight weeks' siege, and the French withdrew for a time to Limoges.

A detachment swept down the valleys of the Isle and the Vezère, captured La Chapelle,[3] Floyrac, Comarque,[4] Malemort,[5] Marusclas,[6] Paunac, Limeuil,[7] and Mussidan. Place after place "turned French." On the south bank of the Upper Dordogne the commanders of the castles of Castelnau,[8] Fayrac, Berbignières, and Lavaur abandoned their charge and came to terms with the enemy. By the end of July, 1406, Libourne, Fronsac, and St. Emilion were threatened, and the English were taunted with being valiant men behind their walls, taking their pleasure daintily, but useless in a losing game. 30 armed vessels and 10 galleys were ready at La Rochelle, and a large force was collected at Saintes, the whole being now reckoned at 50,000 men,[9] armed with all appliances[10] for a great siege. Early in September the Constable was at St. Jean d'Angély,[11] whence he crossed the Charente to Pons, and by Sept. 11th[12] he had established himself at Mont-

[1] It lies south of the Isle near Mussidan.—JURADE, 87. [2] ST. DENYS, III., 366, 407. A letter from the Archbishop of Bordeaux to Henry IV., dated Apr. 11th, 1406, shows that it had even then agreed to capitulate if not relieved before Whitsuntide, *i.e.*, May 30th.—JURADE, 87. It was still holding out on May 18th, 1406.—BAYE, I., 157. [3] ST. DENYS, III., 418; JUV., 443. [4] Captured April 23rd, 1406.—JURADE, 88. [5] *Ibid.*, 89. [6] *Ibid.*, 63, 91. [7] *Ibid.*, 92. For description see BARKER, 149. [8] BAYE, II., 11 (May 27th, 1411), where the people of Auvergne refuse to be bound to pay the money stipulated for the evacuation, on the ground that the places are nothing to them "neither hot nor cold," and that they do not care "a button" for the terms of surrender. [9] OTTERBOURNE, 260. [10] MONSTR., I., 133. [11] JURADE, 46, 52, 54, 105. [12] See letters of the Mayor of Libourne in JURADE, 43, 48.

lieu, where he could threaten Fronsac, Libourne, St. Emilion, Bourg, and Blaye. At the same time it was rumoured that a force of 2000 [1] basnets and balisters would cross the Gironde at Royon, and advance by Soulac on Lesparre,[2] ravage Medoc, reach a hand to their comrades in the Landes, and thus surround Bordeaux on every side. The Archbishop of Bordeaux had sent letter after letter [3] to England, crying till his voice was hoarse;[4] but no help came, and as it took nearly two months [5] for news to pass from London to Bordeaux, and the French were already in the 'Twixt-Seas [6] before the end of August, it is no wonder that negotiations were soon opened at Rions [7] for accommodation on any terms.

On Sept. 16th, 1406,[8] the Duke of Orleans set out from Paris to put himself at the head of the attacking force. He was accompanied by a brilliant retinue,[9] and he rode beneath an awning of cloth of gold.[10] "Louis the Conqueror" [11] had now come indeed, whom God had fore-ordained to crush the English out of France. Travelling by Tours [12] and Poitiers he reached St. Jean d'Angély on Oct. 9th,[13] and joined the Constable at Barbezieux. On Oct. 15th [14] the Duke issued a

[1] JURADE, 57, 61, 64, 66, 78. [2] CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, LETTRES, II., 322. [3] Multiplices litteras.—*Ibid.*, II., 320. HARL. MS., 431, 116 (103), which appears to be from the Archbishop, clearly belongs to 1406. [4] Ay tant crie que ma voiz en est faicte rauque.—JURADE, 89. [5] JURADE, 49, has a letter written in London, July 19th, 1406, and considered at Bordeaux Sept. 15th. *Ibid.*, 117, 155, shows that a messenger for England left Bordeaux Oct. 26th, 1406, and returned with letters from the King by Jan. 29th, 1407. [6] Vol. II., p. 284; JURADE, 37. [7] JURADE, 34, 35, 36. [8] "Le sessisme September."—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 85'''; RYM., VIII., 456; GAMEZ, 562; LETTENHOVE, III., 64. According to ST. DENYS, III., 436, it must have been after Sept. 17th. LUSSAN, IV., 298, gives Sept. 17th; JARRY, 345, Sept. 19th. [9] JURADE, 162. [10] WALS., II., 275. [11] Si qu'on die Loys le Conquerant des histoiris.—DESCHAMPS, II., 151. Qu'Engleterre yert destructe par l'un d'eulx, *i.e.*, Charles VI. or the Duke of Orleans.—*Ibid.*, II., 48, 49. [12] JARRY, 345. [13] JURADE, 94, 99; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, LETTRES, II., 322. [14] JURADE, 110.

summons to the men of Libourne, calling upon them to withdraw their allegiance from the usurper, Henry of Lancaster; but the main attack was levelled first at the fortresses of Bourg and Blaye.

The town of Blaye[1] had had a chequered history. It was regarded as an outpost of Bordeaux, and had been previously captured by the Genoese. Like Bourg, Libourne, and St. Emilion, it had special privileges,[2] and its burgesses[3] could sell their wines in any tavern in Bordeaux. It had been granted by Edward III. to Auger de Montaud,[4] Lord of Mussidan, in recompense for his losses at Genissac. He was a stout supporter of the English connection, and had resolved that his daughter and heiress, Mademeyzela Mariota,[5] should marry none but a "good and true English"[6] loyalist. But the old man died at Blaye on July 6th, 1406;[7] and straightway his wife, Dona Margaret, entered into negotiations with the French, who were under the command of her nephews,[8] the Constable Charles, and his brother, Louis d'Albret. As early as Aug. 19th[9] dissensions had broken out, and arrangements[10] were soon afoot for surrendering the place, the French party being headed by Bertrand du Chastel, Abbot of St. Romain.[11] On Sept. 19th[12] news arrived that the Duke of Orleans had left Paris. The advance guard of his army

[1] For account of Blaye see DROUYN, GUIENNE, II., 297-306, Plates 123, 124. Called "Blaves" in TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 19; GESTE, 302. [2] ROT. VASC., 8 H. IV., 2, May 2nd, 1407, has order for castle, town, and district of Blaye to be governed like these other three towns. [3] ROT. VASC., 8 H. IV., 4. [4] BOUILLONS, 146, from CARTE, GASCON ROLLS, I., 142, May 26th, 1358. He was chosen Seneschal by the disaffected in Bordeaux in 1403.—ST. DENYS, III., 202. [5] JURADE, 46, 50, 51, 54, 56. [6] *Ibid.*, 43. [7] *Ibid.*, 90. For his will see *ibid.*, 42, 43, 323. [8] See their letters dated from Perigueux, July 31st, 1406, in JURADE, 10. [9] *Ibid.*, 25. [10] *Ibid.*, 40; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, LETTRES, II., 322. [11] GALL. CHRIST., II., 884. [12] JURADE, 54.

was at Mirambeau on Oct. 19th,[1] and appeared before Blaye on Oct. 21st;[2] and the Duke himself arrived[3] on the last day of the month. Abbot du Chastel[4] had been already secured in the French interest by a promise of 3000 crowns for the repair of his Abbey, with a prospect of either being retained as Castle Chaplain under the King of France, or transferred to some safer abbacy if the siege did not prosper. The defence of Blaye was entrusted to Bernard de Lesparre,[5] Lord of La Barde, and Joanot de Grailli, a kinsman[6] of Archambaud,[7] Count of Foix, who was with the besieging army outside. After 15 days the garrison came to terms. The heiress Mariota was to marry[8] one of the sons of the Count of Foix; operations were to be suspended, and provisions supplied to the French, and the town was to be considered as neutral ground, neither Englishmen nor Frenchmen being admitted till the fate of Bourg was sealed. If ultimately the men of Bourg should yield, then Blaye should be forthwith surrendered.

At Bordeaux it was felt that a supreme crisis had arrived.

[1] JURADE, 108. [2] ARCHIVES GIRONDE, III., 179; JARRY, 347. [3] BOUILLONS, 558. [4] JURADE, 149; BRISSAUD, 197. [5] JURADE, 19, 25; EC. DES CHARTES, XLVII., 75. [6] JURADE, 62, 113, 114, 122, 124, 133, 147. He was a natural son of Jean de Grailli III., Captal de Buch (or "Captan de Bug," VERMS, 589, 590), who died in 1377.—JURADE, 33; DROUYN, GUIENNE, II., 301. [7] He became Count of Foix by marriage with Madona Ysabel de Noalhas (*i.e.*, Navailles), heiress and successor to her brother, Matthew, Count of Foix.—Vol. II., p. 316; VERMS, 589. Archambaud died in 1412 (ART DE VER., II., 313; MAS-LATRIE, 1603), and is buried in the Church of the Cistertians at Bolbone near Pamiers, which was the burial place of the Counts of Foix.—GALL. CHRIST., XIII., 288; VERMS, 591, where he is called:—

Lo bon Comte Archambaud
Gran personatge ay! et ben haut.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, John, Viscount of Castelbon. [8] *I.e.*, his third son Archambaud.—JURADE, 33, 70, 124, 147. She afterwards became the wife of John, Lord of Gramont.—RYM., VIII., 569; IX., 430.

Headed by Sir Thomas Swinburn,[1] their English Mayor, the Jurade prepared to face the last emergency. The Courts[2] of Justice were closed, and all business was at a stand. Debtors who were in arrears owing to the failure of the vintage were secured[3] against pressure from their creditors. Money was raised by forced loans,[4] taxes were put on salt[5] and cider,[6] walls and trenches were repaired and towers manned,[7] coal and iron were supplied to the cannoners, and large and small guns[8] were cast in all haste. Processions were organized to the Church of St. Seurin,[9] and Masses[10] were said in the name of the public. Prisoners[11] were released, defences strengthened, galiots and balingers[12] mended up, and letters[13] of distress sent over to England, not only to the King and Council, but to the Mayor and Aldermen of London, Bristol, Hull, Southampton, and Lynn, where the power of England was supposed to lie during the King's temporary eclipse. It was all very well, they said, to count on the deep antipathy to the French, and to boast that the old city of Bordeaux was "plan and ben"[14] for the English connection; but there was a point at which loyalty would snap, and when folks got bold enough to talk they soon got bold enough to act also. If the King of England was so busy that he forgot all about them, why did not his councillors wake him up? By Sept. 11th, 1406,[15] a report had come in that Prince Thomas had collected a squadron at Sandwich, and was only waiting for a favourable wind to bring the much-prayed-for relief. But the rumour proved a blank; while the

[1] Vol. II., p. 55; JURADE, 106, 112, 134, 204, 237, 289, 300, 442. [2] *Ibid.*, 205. [3] *Ibid.*, 69, 185. [4] *Ibid.*, 12. [5] *Ibid.*, 23. [6] *Ibid.*, 26. For "wyn and sidir," see WYCL. (A.), I., 363. [7] JURADE, 63, 68, 71. [8] *Ibid.*, 127. [9] *Ibid.*, 103. [10] *Ibid.*, 225. [11] *Ibid.*, 39. [12] *Ibid.*, 20, 24, 38. [13] *Ibid.*, 118, 120, 136; HARL. MS., 431, 116; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, LETTRES, II., 321. [14] JURADE, 302. [15] *Ibid.*, 45.

nearness of the French was a fact that would stand no delay. On Oct. 21st,[1] 11 men-at-arms, 4 archers, and 10 balisters were sent from Bordeaux to strengthen the garrison at Bourg, and within 10 days[2] the siege had begun.

Bourg was one of Bordeaux's eight "gossips,"[3] with whom she was bound by a convention[4] for mutual support, and the wealth of the English settlers[5] was freely used to aid her. The defence was conducted by a Gascon, Peyroat de Puchs,[6] assisted by Bertrand de Montferrand[7] with five men-at-arms from Bordeaux. The French guns made breaches in the walls and gates, but the garrison beat off all attacks. For eight weeks there was an incessant downpour[8] of rain, snow, and hail, and the besiegers[9] were up to their knees in mud, dying off helplessly in the swamps of the Gironde. Stores had to be brought round from La Rochelle by sea in the teeth of the English, the garrison, on their side, being readily supplied from Bordeaux[10] with bread, meat, white and red herrings, gunpowder, saltpetre, ropes, salt, cider, and candles. A fleet of English ships was off the coast, under the command[11]

[1] JURADE, 110. [2] *I.e.*, Oct. 31st, 1406.—GODEFROY, 415. La Bespra de Totz Santz.—BOUILLONS, 558; BRISSAUD, 197; PETITE CHRONIQUE in EC. DES CHARTES, XLVII., 64. For account of Bourg see DROUYN, GUIENNE, 67-80, Plates 22-25. [3] "Filleules."—BRISSAUD,132, 242; BURROWS, BROCAS, 29; CATHOL., s. v. God-daughter. The others were Blaye, St. Emilion, Castillon, St. Macaire, Libourne, Rions, and Cadilhac.—DROUYN, GUIENNE, I., VII., 18. [4] Dated 1379.—BOUILLONS, 440. [5] *E.g.*, John Carvell, an esquire, helped Bourg at his own cost.—ROT. VASC., 9 H. IV., 13; also William Savage.—JURADE, 178; Robert Mynor.—*ibid.*, 183; John Arnold.—*ibid.*, 192; Thomas Croston.—*ibid.*, 229. Cf. Geoffrey Barger of Exeter.—*ibid.*, 161, 162, 167. On June 25th, 1415, he or his son became Rector of Alphington.—STAFF. REG., 4-13. [6] EC. DES CHARTES, XLVII., 74; ST. DENYS, III., 452; JURADE, 94. He seems to have defended Chalais in 1401.—ROY. LET., I., 448. In FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 22, Oct. 2nd, 1411, is a safe-conduct for Pey de Puche de Mussac for wine within Aquitaine. [7] JURADE, 116, 142. [8] WALS., II., 275. Per forsa de pluyes et de mal temps.—VERMS, 591. [9] JUV., 439; BOUILLONS, 558. [10] JURADE, 138, 140, 157, 162, 183, 210, 221. [11] WAURIN, 105.

of the Earls of Arundel and Warwick; Henry Pay[1] was afloat with 15 vessels, watching to pounce in the open; Sir Thomas Swinburn was ready at Bec d'Ambés[2] with a force of 50 men-at-arms and 100 archers[3] to defend whatever points might be attacked; and stores of resin, pitch, and other combustibles were collected to fire the French fleet, which lay off Camilhac.[4] As late as Martinmas (Nov. 11th) another squadron from England was making for the Gironde; but the ships got out of their course in one of the races[5] off the coast of Brittany, where four of them from Lynn went down in sight of the rest, though the others reached Bordeaux in safety.

As the winter advanced, the chances of the besiegers at Bourg became more hopeless. In the afternoon of Dec. 23rd[6] a French squadron bringing stores under a strong convoy from the newly-appointed Admiral Pierre Clignet de Breban[7] was smartly attacked off St. Julien[8] by Arnold Makanhan,[9] a Bordeaux merchant, acting under orders from Bernard de Lesparre.[10] Both fleets were wrapped in fog, but the fight was

[1] WALS., II., 275. [2] JURADE, 227, 329, 333. [3] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 16. [4] JURADE, 202, 226. [5] WALS., II., 275. Possibly the Passage du Four; see GAMEZ, 272. [6] ST. DENYS, III., 454. [7] Called "Olibet" in JURADE, 162, or Clignet de Berban in PISAN, II., 100; Clugnet de Breubant, PASTORALET, 845; Clinget de Brabant, BRANDO, 155; Clingnès de Breubant, GESTE, 421. His appointment is dated April 1st, 1405.—MONSTR., I., 127; EC. DES CHARTES, A. I., 379, 387. In BAYE, I., 258, Feb. 13th, 1409, he is *naguères* Admiral of France. See also GAMEZ, 562; DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 307; II., 39; FENIN, 5. He was a knight attached to the household of the Duke of Orleans.—GAMEZ, 358; PASTORALET, 581, 618, &c.; and one of the seven French champions who fought at Montendre in 1402.—Vol. I., p. 324; II., p. 325; ST. DENYS, III., 30, 362; PISAN, I., 241-243, 306; II., 305; COCHON, 205; JARRY, 285; BULLETIN SOC. HIST. DE FRANCE, I., 2, 109. In ART DE VER., II., 629, he is called Lord of Landreville. [8] ECOLE DES CHARTES, XLVII., 75. [9] ROT. VASC., 10 H. IV., 1 (June 14th, 1409), refers to Richard Mackenan, a burgess of Bordeaux. Both he and Arnold were members of the Council of 300 in 1407.—JURADE, 271. [10] PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 5; ROT. VASC., 8 H. IV., 1.

toughly maintained, with guns firing, trumpets[1] braying, shrouds, racks, scuttles,[2] and top-castles[3] alive with men pouring peas[4] on the slippery hatches, or flinging quicklime[5] at the archers on the decks below. Some of the Bordeaux craft did not venture into action;[6] but after two hours' hard fighting night came on, several of the ships went aground, and one of the English galleys fell into the hands of the enemy. Next morning the fight began again; the English rescued their captured galley, and the French convoy was broken up. Two of the French vessels were burnt, and their losses amounted to 367 men,[7] including 20 knights. The English, who had lost but 32 men,[8] towed the French stores, together with 120 prisoners, in triumph to Bordeaux.

After this defeat the end was not far off. The attack on Bourg was proving a "naughty business."[9] 100,000 francs[10] were wanted per month to pay the troops. Engineers were expected from Venice,[11] but they did not come; and after 12 weeks[12] of fruitless effort, the siege was raised on Jan. 14th, 1407. The Duke of Orleans made all speed to get away.

[1] CHAUCER (S.), II., 41; III., 108. [2] See JAL, s. v. "Gabie" and "Hune." [3] For a contemporary picture of a galley see KAL. AND INV., 78. It has 12 long oars on each side, a high poop, and one mast with a topcastle.—NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 170, 475; CHESTER PLAYS, 48. For picture of a 15th century sea-fight, see FROIS. (JOHNES), II., 100. [4] Or possibly pitch; cf. pois raisiné (*i.e.*, resinous pitch).—ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 447.

[5] He poureth pesen upon the hacches slider,
With pottes ful of lym they goon togider.
CHAUC. (S.), III., 108.

[6] ROT. VASC., 8 H. IV., 3. [7] ARCHIVES GIRONDE, III., 181. [8] COUSINOT (112) thinks that the Mayor of Bordeaux was captured. [9] BAYE, I., 182. [10] COCHON (218) says that the siege cost the country 800,000 livres, of which the troops only got 120,000. [11] JARRY, 347, quoting VENICE ARCHIVES, SENATO SECRETA, III., 53, Feb. 4th, 1407. [12] ST. DENYS, III., 453; EC. DES CHARTES, XLVII., 64. On Jan. 3rd, 1407, it was rumoured at Bordeaux that the Duke of Orleans was about to retire to the Abbey of St. Romain at Blaye.—JURADE, 149.

On Jan. 22nd[1] he was at Cognac. On Feb. 7th and 8th he was ill at Montargis. Thence he removed to Beauté-sur-Marne, where he was visited by the Dukes of Bourbon, Berry, and Burgundy; and on Feb. 18th[2] he entered Paris, to be decorated with the empty title of Duke of Aquitaine,[3] "without increase of his honour."[4]

A portion of his army under Robert de Chalus,[5] Seneschal of Carcassonne, passed down to the foot of the Pyrenees, and beset the Castle of Lourdes. It had been threatened[6] by the French in the previous summer, and the inhabitants were brought to great straits. All provisions were seized for common distribution, and when these were nearly done, it was decided to send four messengers to Bordeaux for help. If this was not forthcoming they might send for the keys. They would find the place deserted, and its defenders transferred to Dax or Bayonne. These threats, however, had not yet been carried out, and Lourdes was still garrisoned with 300 archers under the command of Jean de Béarn.[7] 500 marks[8] were sent from England to help the defence, and occasional supplies of wine were received from Bordeaux.[9] Aided by the snows and the rain the garrison still held out for many months; but the besiegers were resolute and would not be shaken off. In Sept., 1407, Jean de Béarn left Lourdes to make a last despairing appeal at Bordeaux. At Sordes he met the Three Estates of the Landes, and got a vague promise of support;

[1] JARRY, 347; *i.e.*, before Feb. 2nd, as MAGASIN DE LIBRAIRE, VII., 257. JURADE, 162-167, shows that he had left Guienne before Feb. 12th. [2] Not Feb. 2nd, as COCHON, 218. [3] MONSTR., I., 152. [4] Sanz encres de son honur.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 94'''. [5] ST. DENYS, III., 460; JUV., 443; DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 165. Lo dit seti (= Lorda) tenia Mossen Robert de Chalus per lo rey de Fransa.—VERMS, 591. [6] JURADE, 92. [7] ROY. LET., I., 438. [8] Iss. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., May 2nd, 1407. [9] JURADE, 196.

but at Hontaux near Villeneuve he received a letter from his lieutenant Garcin, written at Lourdes on Sept. 13th,[1] stating that the place could not hold out three weeks longer. Still he made his way on to Bordeaux, where he stayed at the hostelry of the Crown,[2] and on Oct. 26th received a promise of 50 men-at-arms, with wages paid for 15 days. But the help came too late; the garrison was starved out, and Lourdes surrendered to the French in Nov., 1407.[3] During all this time great scarcity prevailed at Bayonne,[4] which was only partially relieved by freights of corn, herrings, and other necessaries of life, sent over in the wine ships after they had unloaded at Yarmouth, Bristol, and Southampton.

[1] JURADE, 264. [2] *Ibid.*, 266. [3] EC. DES CHARTES, XLVII., 64, 74, where the PETITE CHRONIQUE DE GUYENNE says that it was captured by the Count of Clermont in 1405. [4] ROT. VASC., 8 H. IV., 4, Apr. 22nd, 1407.

CHAPTER LXIX.

Rue Barbette.

King Henry's resolution to proceed to the seat of war had been changed before the winter arrived, owing to the disappearance of the Duke of Burgundy's army from the Marches of Calais. His purpose, however, was not yet definitely abandoned. On Oct. 24th, 1406,[1] orders were sent to the sheriffs to collect their forces in London by Feb. 20th following, thence to proceed with the King on an expedition to Aquitaine. A great muster was to be at Southampton ready to sail for Calais and Aquitaine, by March 15th,[2] and on Feb. 23rd[3] Admiral Janico Dartas had orders to send all vessels of over 30 tons burden then in Irish waters to Southampton for service beyond sea, he himself having subsequently[4] permission to be absent for a year from his command as Constable of Dublin Castle. Messengers were also to be despatched to the King of Portugal,[5] asking for the assistance of some of his galleys against emergencies. On Feb. 26th[6] the knights and others who should have joined the expedition were summoned to meet Bishops Beaufort and

[1] Rym., viii., 466. [2] Pat., 8 H. IV., 2, 15 d., Feb. 16th, 1407. [3] Pat., 8 H. IV., 1, 6. [4] Pat., 8 H. IV., 1, 40, May 5th, 1407; Vol. II., p. 134. [5] Ord. Priv. Co., i., 281; if, as I believe, 1406-7 be the true date there. [6] Claus., 8 H. IV., 9 d.

Langley and the rest of the members of the Council at Blackfriars on March 5th, and on March 8th[1] a fresh mandate was put out that they must positively be ready in London by the 10th of April at the latest. But by this time it must have been apparent that the need for a distant expedition had passed away. The French had disappeared from the Gironde; negotiations were opened at Marennes, near Rochefort, and on May 13th[2] an understanding was established with Saintonge. This was soon followed by separate truces with the inhabitants of Labrit (Oct. 19th)[3] and the Biscayan towns;[4] and by the spring of 1408[5] an amicable settlement had been arrived at with the Count of Armagnac.

The Duke of Orleans had been invalided at the royal Castle of Beauté,[6] in the Bois de Vincennes; but on Oct. 6th, 1407,[7] he returned to Paris to spend the winter. His immoralities[8] were the common talk of the capital, and the

[1] CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 18. [2] JURADE, 188, 266. [3] *Ibid.*, 263. [4] *Ibid.*, 302, 322. [5] *Ibid.*, 275, 289; FR. ROLL, 9 H. IV., 14; RYM., VIII., 512, Mar. 18th, 1408, shows that a messenger, Jean de Lupiac, was coming to England from the Count of Armagnac. [6] ST. DENYS, I., 454; IV., 420; MONSTR., II., 127; DESCHAMPS, V., 302. BARANTE (II., 220) says that it belonged to him; but from ITIN. (*passim*) it had evidently been one of the chief residences of Duke Philip of Burgundy till his death in 1404. [7] ST. DENYS, III., 740; MAGASIN DE LIBRAIRE, VII., 252. [8] COCHON, 217; WALS., II., 279. Nimis in carnalibus lubricus.—BAYE, II., 294; BASIN, I., 6. Hatte vil bosheit ergangin an frouwin unde juncfrouwin.—POSILJE, 288. Matronarum nobilium et virginum etiam et sanctimonialium violator.—BRANDO, 110, 111, 116; PASTORALET, 579, 596, 604, 606. In 1403 it was suspected that he had attempted to poison his brother.—J. MEYER, 219. It was held by his friends that he died in a state of grace, because he had confessed five days before his death.—ST. DENYS, IV., 112, 116; MONSTR., I., 307, 314; others argued that he had prayed God to punish him in this world and to spare him in the next.—GERSON, V., 635. For a defence of him see JARRY, XVI. For his accounts see APP. O.

Queen[1] had been publicly denounced[2] for their scandalous intimacy. On Wednesday, Nov. 23rd, 1407,[3] he paid her a ceremonial visit as a *nouvelle accouchée*[4] at her hostel[5] by the

[1] For her extravagance in dress see MONTFAUCON, III., 108; BRANTÔME, VIII., 31. She was called La Grande Gaure.—LUSSAN, IV., 159. Cf. COTGRAVE, s. v. "Gorre."

Cf. Ysabel qui fu bien encline
A chose qui la tourmenta.
PASTORALET, 845.

For her portrait see PLANCHÉ, II., 127; SHAW, DRESSES, Vol. II., from MS. HARL., 6431; MONTFAUCON, III., 108. For her monument at St. Denys see MONTFAUCON, II., 180. For her library see BULLETIN DU BIBLIOPHILE (1858), XIII., pp. 663-687; BECKER, 296; EDWARDS, 102. For New Year's ballads addressed to her by Christine de Pisan, who compares her to Lucrece for purity, see PISAN, I., 227, 248, if she is the same as the Princess, *ibid.*, p. 219. For the Cour d'Amour established at the Hostel of St. Pol in 1410, see LEROUX DE LINCY, 437, quoting ACAD. DES INSCR., VII., 287. In 1401 when the German students in Paris wanted 500 crowns to build new schools they asked her as a compatriot to give them 200. She promised the money; but when they applied to her Treasurer for it in the following year they could only get 20 crowns, which they declined to accept.—DENIFLE, PROC., I., LIII., 822, 829, 830, 842. [2] For Jacques Legrand the Austin Friar, May 28th, 1405, see ST. DENYS, III., 266-274; JUV., 434; LEROUX DE LINCY, 233, 391, 405; EC. DES CHARTES, XXXIII., p. 95; ACAD. DES INSCR., XV., 795, 803; BARANTE, II., 180; BRANTÔME, II., 357; IX., 243; MILLIN, I., III., 77. For his sermons still in MS. see AUBERTIN, II., 371; MÉRAY, I., 67. For letters addressed to him by Jean de Montreuil see A. THOMAS, 37, 82. [3] MONSTR., II., 125; ST. DENYS, IV., 420; PITTI, 79; JUSTINGER, 202, 452; CABARET, 271; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 21; GESTE, 306; PASTORALET, 651; CHRON. DES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE, III., 266; JARRY, 355. Not Nov. 22nd, as BOUVIER, 416; ST. DENYS, III., 730; PETRI SUFFR., 80; SPONDE, 702; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 265; nor Nov. 29th, as LABORDE, I., 34; not 1409, as CHRON. DES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE, III., 237. [4] CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 62. The queen was now 37 years old, and this was her 12th child. It was born Nov. 10th, 1407, and only lived one day. They called it Philip, and buried it at St. Denys.— ST. DENYS, III., 730; EC. DES CHARTES, 4th Ser., IV., 482. For births of the 12 children of Charles VI. see MONSTR., I., 11. For expenses at the lying-in (*gêsine*) of the wife of Antoine, Count of Rethel, at Arras, Jan. 18th, 1403, see ITIN., 568, including silver pap-boats (cf. papelotes, P. PLO., X., 75), a basin to wash the infant before the fire, a gold spoon pour donner le papin au dit enfant, and 50 francs to the mid-wife pour recevoir l'enfant. For similar charges at the accouchement of the Duchess of Orleans in 1391, see CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 64. Cf. Paellette à faire le papin.—DESCHAMPS, VIII., 138. [5] JUV., 444; COMPTES DE L'HÔTEL, 130; LUSSAN, IV., 349, 358, 365. For turret of the Hotel Barbette see LENOIR,

Barbette Gate in the old Rue du Temple. She was "plunged in grief"[1] at the recent death of her baby; nevertheless, a merry supper[2] was prepared, where the Duke sported amongst the cavaliers and dames, with quips of love and diversions of courtesy.[3] In the midst of the cheer and jollity[4] a messenger arrived with a sham summons requiring his immediate presence with the King at the Hostel of St. Pol,[5] and he sallied out straightway about eight in the evening,[6] with five attendants and two linkmen. It was the beginning of the "great winter,"[7] and the night was dark;[8] but he ambled[9] along bareheaded, with his black furred cloak[10] flung loosely about him, singing snatches of a song and flapping his glove against his open palm. He had ridden but a few paces down the street when he was set upon by seven or eight[11] visored and muffled[12] men, who sprang out from an empty house called

Vol. II. For exact description of the ground see ACAD. DES INSCR., XXI., 518, and MILLIN, I., VI.

[1] ST. DENYS, III., 730, 734. [2] For supper at the Duke's hostel in Jan., 1402, see PISAN, I., XXXIV.; II., 30, 305. [3] For specimens of roundels see PISAN, Vol. I., *passim*, and DESCHAMPS, VII., 266. For jeux à vendre see *ibid.*, VI., 180. For "crambo," or capping verses, see HOLT, 56. [4] HOCCL., DE REG., 52; WYCL. (M.), 91, 206; (A.), III., 41, 480, 494; CHAUC. (S.), I., 147, 273, 343; II., 66, 171; III., 21; LIB. CUST., I., 216; COV. MYST., 362; MARRIOTT, 73. [5] It was close to the new Bastille at the Gate of St. Antoine.—FROIS., XXI., 338; BAYE, I., 97; EC. DES CHARTES (1879), XL., 132; CHRISTINE, II., XI.; MILLIN, I., 1-35; GESTE, 335. Qui cousta mainte maille et mite.—PASTORALET, 849. [6] COCHON, 221; or "après cuevrefeu."—COUSINOT, 113. [7] "Le grant yver."—BAYE, I., 206; ST. DENYS, III., 744; MONSTR., I., 165; VI., 199; JUV., 445; ZANTFLIET, 386; "annus algoris."—SPONDE, 703; CHAMPION, I., 41-46. [8] Il faisoit bien obscur.—EC. DES CHARTES, F. I., 230. [9] For the evidence of the two witnesses who saw him from the window of the Hostel de Rieux, and the woman who peeped at the assassins in the room half an hour before they began their work, see ACAD. DES INSCR., XXI., 526; and EC. DES CHARTES, F. I., 227, 232. [10] CHAUCER (S.), I., 110; II., 267. [11] In 1417 the number had risen to 16. A satellitibus vilissimis parricidis numero xvi. sicut fertur, &c.—MONTREUIL, in A. THOMAS, 33. [12] "Embronchés."—MAG. DE LIBR., VII., 242. One of them was a Breton, Olivier Bourgaut, who was convicted in 1412.—JARRY, 355.

the Image of Our Lady,[1] where they had been skulking[2] on the watch for him for the last six days. They dragged him from his mule,[3] hacked off his left hand,[4] with which he clung to the saddle-bow, felled him to the ground, cleft his skull down to the teeth[5] at one blow, stabbed their daggers into his face and body, and fled foot-hot[6] into the misty night, dropping iron caltraps[7] to check pursuit, and shouting, "All shut, varlets! Blow out your candles!"[8] like sergeants of the watch at curfew.[9] The gashed and bleeding body[10] was lifted from the street, and after due examination was laid out in the neighbouring Church[11] of the Guillemite Priory, in the Rue des Blancs Manteaux. On the following day, Nov. 24th,[12]

For an order forbidding muffling the face, dated Mar. 9th, 1400, see ORDONNANCES, VIII., 364. For "viserid deuelis," see WYCL. (M.), 99; (A.), III., 421.

[1] MONSTR., I., 155. For a Domus ad Imaginem Nostræ Dominæ belonging to the Swedish students in Paris, see DENIFLE, PROC., I., LI., LIX., LXV. [2] En laquelle ils furent *mussez* pour certain temps.—MONSTR., I., 343; II., 127; semi-mensem.—MONTREUIL, 1439. [3] GODEFROY, 416. In BAYE, I., 206, it is a horse. For a vivid picture of the scene see FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW, Apr., 1887, pp. 576-582. [4] ST. DENYS, IV., 98; MONSTR., I., 285; II., 128. [5] Et fu fendue jusqu' aus denz tout d'un coup.—COCHON, 221. [6] CHAUCER (S.), I., 198, 289; MAN OF LAW, 4858; GOWER, CONF., 212. [7] Cauquetrappes ou chaussetrappes de fer. See the *précis* of the inquest drawn up Nov. 25th, 1407, in EC. DES CHARTES, F. I., 218, 230, 235, 237; "chaudes treppes."—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 21; caudestreppes.—GESTE, 306. PROMPT. PARV., 590, has caltrap of yryn fote hurtynge. Spelt Galtrap in ANTIQ. REPERT., III., 357; or Kalktrappe, P. PLO., XXI., 296. FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV., shows 4500 of them in stock in London. For Bannockburn see RELIQUARY, IV., 167. [8] Soufflez les chandelles! esteignez les chandelles! Fermez tout! [9] Cf. quando communiter pulsat' ad ignitegium in ecclesiis civitatis London.—DUCAREL, APP., 40; OLIVER, 268, 271; aps̄ Coeverfu psone a Seint Martyn le Gānt.—STAT., 13 Ed. I., 102 (1285). For the curfew see NORTH, 98. For Oxford see OXFORD CITY DOC., 151. For Cambridge see RYM., VII., 242; for Salisbury, SARUM STAT., 65. [10] ACAD. DES INSCR., XXI., 533; ST. DENYS, III., 736. [11] LIB. PLUSCARD., I., 348; CHOISY, 232; FRANKLIN, II., 357-364, with cutting from the plan of Jouvin de Rochefort, made in 1690. [12] BAYE, I., 208.

they dressed it[1] in the habit of the Celestin Monks, whose vigils and other Lenten discipline the murdered man had often shared,[2] and for whom he had felt a "singular devotion and affection,"[3] and buried it in their new[4] Church beside the Arsenal at the Porte St. Antoine. The Duke of Burgundy followed it to the grave with every outward mark of mourning[5] and grief; but the corpse sweat[6] "forcèd drops of blood":[7]—or should have, if ever body did.[8]

Outside the church the day was spent in examining bowl-wives, barbers, brokers, water-carriers, tallow-chandlers, and strangers[9] lodging in Paris. Men who were blind of an eye, or lame of a leg, fell under suspicion. The bloody deed was at first believed[10] to have been the work of a jealous husband,

[1] BEURRIER, 286. Cf. who ever die in ther abite shal nevere more come to helle.—WYCL. (A.), II., 62; III., 350, 382. [2] CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 87; BEURRIER, 285; CONTEMP. REV., Jan., 1893, p. 107; "par faintise," says LE PASTORALET, 637. The Bible (containing his autograph and that of his brother, Charles VI.) which he borrowed from the Louvre library and presented to the Celestins is now in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris.—FRANKLIN, II., 90; DELISLE, I., 19, 99; II., 249. For his library at his hostel in Paris near the postern of St. Pol, see LABORDE, III., 202. [3] GODEFROY, 633, 641; MART., COLL., VI., 611; EC. DES CHARTES, B. III., 59. For extracts from his will (Vol. I., p. 388), in which he had directed that he should be buried in the white habit of the order, see MILLIN, I., III., 83; ST. DENYS, IV., 116; MONSTR., I., 315; JARRY, 297; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 253. For a previous will dated Aug. 7th, 1399, see JARRY, 229. For his gifts to the Celestin Church, Aug. 16th, 1401, see THORPE'S CATALOGUE, 1835, p. 156. [4] See his epitaph in GODEFROY, 630; CHRIST., I., XVI.; II., XI.; BEURRIER, 289; LANGE, I., 248; MONTFAUCON, III., 180. For the chapel that he built in this church in 1394 see JARRY, 102; LEROUX DE LINCY, 538; FRANKLIN, II., 89. For the portrait in THEVET see EC. DES CHARTES, XLVI., 721; XLVII., 198. For the monument erected in 1504, see MILLIN, I., III., 77; LENOIR, ATLAS, Vol. II., CELESTINS, PLANCHE, VI., XV.; Vol. III., p. 177; LABORDE, III., IX., with reference to COLLECTION, GAIGNIERES, BODL. OXFORD. [5] ITIN., 586; MONSTR., I., 308; II., 129; ST. DENYS, IV., 422. [6] FENIN, 3; JUV., 445; ACAD. ROY. DE BELGIQUE, Ser. II., XI., 559. [7] MYROURE, 14; HENRY V., Act 4, sc. I, 314. [8] For reasons for this belief see WYCL., DE COMPOSITIONE HOMINIS (BEER), 71. [9] ORDONNANCES, IX., 261 (Nov. 29th, 1407). [10] This continued to be the favourite view in England.—OTT., 264. In 1411 the Duke's son named Jean de Nièles and the Sire de Helly as accomplices.—MONSTR., II., 119.

Aubert le Flamenc,[1] Lord of Cany, whose wife [2] the Duke had debauched; but it was soon known that, though the fatal blow had been struck by a Norman squire, Raoul of Anctoville,[3] yet the planner and instigator was Duke John of Burgundy.

The truth was fast oozing out; and on Saturday, Nov. 26th,[4] the Duke of Burgundy judged it best to mount his horse and escape to safer quarters. Accompanied by his chamberlain, Regnier Pot,[5] and eight others,[6] he posted on and never quitted saddle till he reached Bapaume,[7] in his own county of Artois, at daybreak on Nov. 27th. Here a chaplain was ready, and he "heard mass with devotion," giving orders that the town bells [8] should ring an Angelus [9] at one o'clock each

[1] LUSSAN, IV., 26; PISAN, II., 306. He was at the battle at Othée, Sept. 23rd, 1408.—MONSTR., VI., 200. "Là fut Sire Aubert de Canny."—POEM ON BATTLE, 252. For drinking-bout of the Duke with the Lord of Cany and Jehan Monsieur Lebreth, see DESCHAMPS, VII., 121; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 80, 82. [2] *I.e.*, Yolande d'Enghien, who became the mother of Jean, Count of Dunois, known as the Bastard of Orleans. —CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 80. For the Duke's other amours, see FROIS., XIV., 318. [3] Near Granville.—NOUVELLE BIOGR. GÉNÉRALE, XXXVIII., 462; usually called Octonville or Auquetonville.—DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 165; FENIN, 5, 334; COCHON, 221; COUSINOT, 113; EC. DES CHARTES, F. I., 216; RYM., VIII., 25; BAYE, I., 8; CABARET, 271; HÖFLER, RUPRECHT, 318; or Acketonville.—ZANTFLIET, 386; ST. DENYS, III., 732; Ocquetonville.—LUSSAN, IV., 355; Raulet d'Octovile.—BRANDO, 110; Raulet d'Actonville.—PASTORALET, 847; D'Auctonville Raulet scelus hoc fecit prope Barbet.—BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE BERN, MS. 211, fol. 161, quoted in JARRY, 84, 355, 356; Rodulpho Anctovillæ.—POL. VERG., 437; Rolletto Antoneville.—BIONDI, 90; D'Oitonville qu'on doit nommer.—POEM ON BATTLE, 250; Anquetonville or d'Octonville.—DARESTE, III., 12. The Duke of Berry gave him a Bible, see BULLETIN DU BIBLIOPHILE, where he is called Monseigneur Raoulet d'Octonville.—DELISLE, III., 172; HIVER DE BEAUVOIR, TRÉSOR, 109. [4] BAYE, I., 208. [5] ITIN., 586; DESCHAMPS, V., 134; called "Reynepot" in DERBY ACCTS., 114, 306, where he presents a courser to Henry at Königsberg in 1390. [6] Lui disième.—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 22. Sachiés qu'il avoit mout petite masnié.—GESTE, 309. [7] TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 24; GESTE, 310; after riding 42 leagues in 24 hours.—MONSTR., I., 164; MAG. DE LIB., VII., 261. [8] LETTENHOVE, III., 70; BARANTE, II., 227; LUSSAN, III., 380, quoting REGISTRES DE L'HOTEL DE VILLE DE BAPAUME, says that in her time it was still rung at one P.M. [9] For the angelus or mid-day bell, see ROCK, III., 339; NORTH, 107; BARKER, 289. WALCOTT (ARCHÆOL., 31) thinks that it was instituted in France in 1472; see N. and Q., 8th SER., III., 450.

day, to commemorate his safety and escape. His enemies followed in pursuit, but they found the bridge over the Oise broken at Pont Ste Maxence.[1] The murderer was safe among his own people. In Lille,[2] Ghent, Bruges, and Arras, he boasted of what he had done; and the powers in Paris had nothing better to devise than to soothe and flatter him, in the hope that he might not "go English."[3] To educated Frenchmen he was the Devil's own Attorney[4] let loose from hell to strangle Christendom and out-Turk the Turk. But the Paris mob was with him.[5] The plane[6] had rasped the truncheon,[7] and they threw up their caps for the plane. Before three months had passed he re-entered the capital at Shrovetide (Feb. 28th, 1408),[8] at the head of 1000[9] armed men. The windows were thronged with small and great, and the children shouted "Noël!"[10] as if it had been the King himself. He

[1] BOUVIER, 417; BRANDO, 111. [2] ITIN., 362; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 24; GESTE, 311. [3] J. MEYER, 227; cf. "s'estoit rendu Englès."—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 64. "Il devint Anglois."—GESTE, 374. According to EUL., III., 410, he applied to the English King for help, but was refused. [4] ANNUAIRE BULLETIN, XXIV., 203. [5] BRANDO, 117, 150. [6] Le baston noueux est plané.—MONSTR., I., 165, 175. [7] CHAUCER, KNIGHT'S TALE, 2617. [8] Jour de Caresme pregnant.—COCHON, 223; JUV., 445. ITIN., 363, 588, shows that he was to start from Arras on Feb. 16th, and was in Paris before Mar. 1st. [9] MONSTR., I., 290, has "de six cens hommes d'armes et de plus;" cf. ST. DENYS, IV., 102; cum cccis fere loricatis militibus.—BRANDO, 113. [10] MONSTR., I., 176, 267, 392, 401; II., 199, 302; III., 330. Laudes solo regi debitas.—ST. DENYS, IV., 186, 190; MAG. DE LIB., VII., 273; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 44, 109; GESTE, 341, 342, 501, 545; PASTORALET, 652. On the birth of Charles VI., Dec. 3rd, 1368, the people shouted: "Noë et que bien arrive!"—CHRISTINE, I., XV.; cf. DESCHAMPS, I., 166; V., 249, 398; VI., 66. "Tant que chascuns devra crier, Noë heust-il estré venus!"—BOURGEOIS, 630; BAYE, I., 261; COCHON, 213, 244, 258, 263; COUSINOT, 124, 138; FOURNEL, 103, 104; see also COTGRAVE, S. V. NOUËL; LITTRÉ, S. V. II., I., 732, derives it from *natale*. GERSON, IV., 632, refers it to the multitude of the heavenly knighthood heriyng God in LUKE II., 14. The cry was "Noël, noël!" which he translates "Paix, paix qu'elle viegne!"—GERSON, II., 153; not "noël uvel!" as GALITZIN, 53.

gloried[1] in his share in the murder, and held that trickery and lying[2] were God's appointed means for trapping such vermin into the assassin's net. On Thursday, March 8th,[3] the royal Dukes, the Council, and a vast number of distinguished members of the Parliament, the University, and other notable bodies in Paris, met in the great hall of the royal hostel of St. Pol, between six and seven in the morning, and listened for four hours to a rambling academic disquisition[4] on this infamous theme from a Franciscan friar, Master Jean Petit,[5] during the whole of which time[6] the learned apologist droned on, without once varying his tone, though thrice he fell upon his knees. On the following day[7] the King's seal was affixed to a formal warrant of pardon, and the Duke of Burgundy was again the ruling power in France.[8]

[1] MONSTR., II., 112, 154; VI., 209; ST. DENYS, IV., 438; JUV., 465; BRANDO, 152; RECEUIL DES TRAITEZ, 375. [2] C'est la plus propre mort de quoy tirans doivent mourir que de les occire vilainement par bonne cautelle aguetz et espiemens.—MONSTR., I., 217; ST. DENYS, III., 754. Cf. soit de nuyt ou de jour en agait ou autrement.—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 26; GESTE, 313. For text of speech sent to the King in BIBL. DE BOURGOGNE, 10419, see ACAD. DE BELG., II., XI., 568; GERSON, IV., 15; MÉRAY, I., 67. [3] COCHON, 223; COSNEAU, II; JARRY, V.; not 1409, as LABORDE, I., 34. LANNOY (6), who was present, wrongly gives the year as 1405. He says that the King was there, but his account was written many years afterwards. [4] Four copies of it were afterwards written out, illuminated in blue and gold, bound in parchment, and presented to the Duke at Audenarde, July 27th, 1408, for which Petit received 36 livres.—ITIN., 587; MONSTR., II., 123. In LABORDE, I., 34, is an entry, dated Paris, May 10th, 1409, of payment to Guillaume de la Charité, escripvain, touching the matter of Jean Petit. [5] COSNEAU, II; COUSINOT, 119; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 28; GESTE, 318. He was a native of Caux in Normandy.—COCHON, IV., 223. [6] ACAD. DE BELG., II., XI., 567, from report of eye-witness made to Duchess of Burgundy, written March 14th, 1408; BAYE, I., 222; MOLAND, 245, 417. Yet he could speak smartly enough when he chose; cf. quant est de moy je suis rude et parle hastivement et chaudement si iratus essem.—AUBERTIN, II., 357; MOLAND, 217-219; SCHWAB, 185. [7] MONSTR., VI., 198; BRANDO, 117. [8] ROT. PARL., III., 622, 627; ST. DENYS, IV., 326, 430; MONSTR., II., 142; VI., 204.

For England the effect of this crisis was all in the direction of peace. Negotiations had begun some time before the death of the Duke of Orleans. On June 11th, 1407,[1] Sir Thomas Erpingham, Hugh Mortimer, and John Caterick,[2] were appointed to cross to Picardy and treat with the French. Erpingham started on July 25th,[3] and on July 28th[4] an armistice was agreed upon, to last till Sept. 8th. Hostilities were to be suspended all along the line from the Somme to Nieuport. On Sept. 13th,[5] four French representatives were appointed to cross to England, with passports available from Sept. 27th till the following Christmas. These were Gerard Puy,[6] Bishop of St. Flour, Guillaume de Montreuil, Chevalier de L'Hermite, Lord of La Fay, Casin, Lord of Sereinviller,[7] and Master Jean Hue, Secretary to the French King. They landed at Dover,[8] and were conducted to the King's presence at Gloucester, where beds, sheets, arras, and napery[9] had been purchased[10] for their housing while the Parliament sat. On Dec. 1st,[11] Bishop Langley and the three previous negotiators, viz., Erpingham, Mortimer, and Caterick, were instructed to treat with them, the King's son, Thomas,[12] being also specially accredited in order

[1] RYM., VIII., 484. [2] Vol. II., p. 344. [3] FR. ROLL, 8 H. IV., 7, shows that Rishton was with him. [4] REPORT ON FŒD., D., 75; TILLET, GUERRES, 122; RECEUIL, 315. [5] RYM., VIII., 523. [6] CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 6. [7] In FR. ROLL, 9 H. IV., 20 (Dec. 20th, 1407), he is leaving England to return again. [8] DEVON, 317. [9] WYCL. (M.), 434; EXCH. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., 512. [10] ISS. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 16th, 1407, has £40 on this account and 6s. 8d. for washing the sheets. L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12, 2, APP. C. For lintheamina (sheets), see Vol. II., p. 400; GIBBONS, 124; ROGERS, I., 13, 574; III., 548; OLIVER, 270; MON. FRAN., II., 89; MURAT., III., 2, 816; DERBY ACCTS., 77, 184, 192. Cf. no doun of fetheres ne no bleched shete.—CHAUC. (S.), I., 381. The price was about 2s. a pair.—ROT. PARL., IV., 237. In PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 27, the value of half a sheet and a pillow stolen is 12d. [11] RYM., VIII., 504. For their instructions, see ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 302, where Hugh, Lord of Burnell, is one of them. [12] RYM., VIII., 506.

to give dignity to the proceedings. On Dec. 7th,[1] a truce was arranged for Guienne, to last for three months from Jan. 15th, 1408. Subsequent negotiations renewed it for a further term, viz., to Sept. 30th,[2] and on June 10th, 1408,[3] it was finally extended for three years.

But though all immediate danger to Guienne had, for the moment, passed away through the removal of the Duke of Orleans, it took years to efface the damage wrought by the late invasion.

In the winter of 1407,[4] the district of Puynormant, outside of Libourne, was still occupied by the French. One fourth of the inhabitants of Libourne[5] had no means of support, their lands and vines being all in the hands of the enemy; and it became necessary to give up charging billets[6] on their goods entering Bordeaux. Further up the Dordogne, the town and castle of Bergerac,[7] which had passed into the hands of the French, petitioned (Sept. 18th, 1408)[8] to be taken under English protection again for a year. The request was granted, and under a judicious leniency the population, together with that of the district of Maureux,[9] was weaned back to their old allegiance. This may, perhaps, be the date at which the Eng-

[1] TILLET, GUERRES, 122. The terms had been arranged by Nov. 16th, 1407. ISS. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., has payments for messengers to Calais; cf. FR. ROLL., 9 H. IV., 19, Dec. 10th, 1307. [2] RYM., VIII., 513, 516, 546, Apr. 8th, Aug. 3rd, 1408; ISS. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., May 24th, 1408. [3] TILLET, GUERRES, 122 b. [4] ROT. VASC., 9 H. IV., 15, Feb. 28th, 1408. [5] *Ibid.*, 7 H. IV., 5. [6] Cf. *ibid.*, 7 H. IV., 10, where every cask of wine from Bourg pays 8d. at Bordeaux for war expenses. [7] Called "Bergerart" in DESCHAMPS, IV., 324. [8] ROT. VASC., 9 H. IV., 12. Halle (24) has an account of a siege of "Vergy" (? Bergerac), which was defended by an Englishman, Sir Robert Antelfelde. [9] ROT. VASC., 10 H. IV., 2 (Sept. 10th, 1409); PRIV. SEAL, 645/6248-9, grants four years' protection to Bergerac and the *potestas* (pouvoir) of Maureux (possibly Montravel on the Dordogne, between Bergerac and Libourne), though the town of Bergerac was still in the obedience of the King of France.

lish took the Castle of Cazilhac,[1] in Quercy. Its baron afterwards bought it back; but it was such a centre for robbing that an order was made by the French Seneschal of Limousin for its demolition (Sept. 27th, 1411).[2] At St. Emilion,[3] there was ill blood between the citizens and the English Mayor. The town and fortifications were reported as "destroyed." No customs could be paid, and 20 pitchers [4] were charged on every cask of wine and 1d. upon every measure of corn sold in the town to make good the damage. In March, 1408,[5] the great fortress on the Pap [6] of Fronsac [7] was all but lost. The garrison consisted of mercenaries,[8] gallantly held together by the constable, Robert Grosvenor,[9] and his lieutenant, Henry Skirowe. The burgesses of Libourne,[10] in spite of their own distress, raised 1000 francs for victualling the besieged, provisions were got in through the enterprise of John Arnold,[11] a London merchant, and the place was at length relieved. In the spring of 1409,[12] Sir Thomas Swinburn was appointed captain and

[1] For its position on the Tourmente, near Martel, see BLAEU, VIII., 472. [2] TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 1. [3] ROT. VASC., 8 H. IV., 1, June 23rd, 1407, has appointment of Peter Clifford, Esquire, as Prefect of "St. Milion." Cf. JURADE, 48; PRIV. SEAL, 645/6288; 646/6314 (Oct. 18th and 28th, 1409) refers to grant (dated June 1st, 1409) to Bos de la Barde of goods belonging to La Dame de Montelar and La Dame de Corbaix and all other rebels in the town and honour of the bailliage of St. Milion. [4] "Picherios."—ROT. VASC., 9 H. IV., 12, Aug. 26th, 1408; MURAT., III., 2, 815; cf. "pichers."—JURADE, 26. [5] ROT. VASC., 9 H. IV., 12, 15, March 7th, 1408, has order for revictualling it in viâ perditionis. Iss. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., June 11th, 1408, refers to envoys coming from Gascony to report condition of Fronsac. [6] For tertre = hill, see PASTORALET, 614, 622, 645, 716. [7] For account of it see DROUYN, I., LXXVII.; BARKER, 375. [8] Iss. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., Dec. 4th, 1408, has payment of £10 to Henry van Emeryk and Adam Urcewyk Soldar (cf. Vol. II., p. 130, note 13; WYCL. (A.), II., 335; CHAUCER (S.), I., 204); cf. "Saudoyer."—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 63. [9] ROT. VASC., 10 H. IV., 5, 6. [10] RYM., VIII., 613, 624; PRIV. SEAL, 646/6374, Dec. 11th, 1409. [11] JURADE, *passim*. [12] Iss. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., Mar. 9th, 1409, has payment of £1833 6s. 8d. for garrison of Fronsac. See also ROT. VASC.,

constable of Fronsac for five years, taking with him from England £1000 in cash for distribution among the garrison, which then consisted of 30 men-at-arms and 60 archers; and in the council that met at Lambeth on March 19th, 1411,[1] proposals were made for allotting £1630 for the defence of the place. Swinburn had left Bordeaux for England on April 25th, 1408,[2] his duties being performed in his absence by the sub-Mayor, Borbonnet Arriquard,[3] as his deputy. He landed again in Bordeaux on Aug. 1st, 1409, and five days afterwards [4] paraded his troops in presence of John Mitford in the Ombrière. On Feb. 12th, 1412,[5] he was at his post at Fronsac, but soon afterwards he returned to England. On July 13th, 1412,[6] he was intending to sail again for Guienne, having secured £2300 to pay his men at Fronsac; but he died at Little Horksley,

10 H. IV., 6, May 2nd, 1409; Iss. ROLL, 11 H. IV., PASCH., June 3rd, 1410.

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 8; *ibid.*, pp. 16, 18, has two payments to him of £816 13s. 4d. for two half-years. He also received £666 13s. 4d. and £333 6s. 8d., July 15th and 23rd, 1411.—Iss. ROLL, 12 H. IV., PASCH.; and £2300, July 8th, 1412.—ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 30. [2] JURADE, 315. He was still in England in Jan., 1409 (*ibid.*, 401), and had not returned to Bordeaux by April 1st, 1409, when the Register of the Jurade ends. [3] JURADE, 240, 380, 387; BRISSAUD, 200. [4] Aug. 6th, 1409.—Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{6}{22}$, $\frac{57}{2}$. JURADE, 444, shows that he was in Bordeaux before Dec. 17th, 1409. [5] ROT. VASC., 13 H. IV., 10. On Apr. 1st, 1411, he has a grant of Condac or Condat, near Libourne (BOUILLONS, 144, 168), and Barbane in Perigord (RYM., IV., 43, Editn. 1869); see ROT. VASC., 12 H. IV., 13. Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{57}{4}$, contains his account (dated May 23rd, 1409) of receipts from tolls and other revenues collected at Fronsac, totalling up to £14 os. 10d., viz., from parishes of Brys, Carat, and Pullinac, 16½ fr. (= 55s.), from do. of Rue Martyn St Marsall, 7½ fr. (= 25s.), from do. of St. Marie de Sabruchales de Chales and St Martin d'Yvern, 22½ fr. (= 75s.). In this account 2 fr. 36 blancorum = 7s. 8d., 9 fr. = 30s., 18 fr. 45 blanc. = 62s. 6d. In LURBE, 34, he is called Solymbourg. [6] ROT. VASC., 13 H. IV., 4; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 122. In PRIV. SEAL, 651/6826, Apr. 1st, 1411, and 655/7276, July 14th, 1412, he is called Captain of Frounsak. In CLAUS., 14 H. IV., 29, Oct. 16th, 1412, one of his executors, Thomas Benton (or Barton.—Q. R. Army, $\frac{8}{22}$) *alias* Thomas Hamme, takes 1000 marks for arrears of wages to Fronsac.

near Colchester, on Aug. 9th, 1412,[1] and on Aug. 14th,[2] Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor, was appointed captain and constable of Fronsac Castle, and warden of the adjoining *Patrie de Frounsadoys*. Before his death Swinburn had been succeeded as Mayor of Bordeaux by Sir Peter Buckton,[3] who held the office for rather more than a year;[4] and on December 4th, 1412,[5] the custody of Bordeaux was also taken over by Lord Grey of Codnor.

As we have seen, the truce with Flanders was prolonged for three years from June 15th, 1408,[6] whereby security was guaranteed for French shipping in the strait,[7] eastward of an imaginary line drawn from Winchelsea to St. Valery, in the mouth of the Somme. An understanding as to Picardy was signed on March 17th, 1408,[8] to last till the end of April. Before this date arrived two French representatives, viz., Casin de Sereinviller[9] and the humanist, Gontier Col,[10] were

[1] GENEAL., VI., 223; MORANT, II., 238; not 1415, as ORIENT LATIN, II., 378. For his brass with SS. collar, see BOUTELL BRASSES, 55; ARCHÆOLOGIA CANTIANA, I., 83; MACKLIN, 129. In ROT. VASC., 13 H. IV., Aug. 19th, 1412, he is referred to as dead. In Iss. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 28th, 1413, is a reference to the executors of his will. [2] ROT. VASC., 13 H. IV., 3; PRIV. SEAL, 656/7309. [3] He appears as Mayor of Bordeaux, Nov. 3rd, 1411.—RYM. VIII., 707; also Aug. 19th, 1412.—ROT. VASC., 13 H. IV., 4; PRIV. SEAL, 656/7311, 7319, and Nov. 8th, 1412.—FR. ROLL, 14 H. IV., 5. [4] For Buckton's will, dated Feb. 28th (proved Mar. 4th), 1413, see TEST. EBOR., I., 360. He was buried in the Abbey of Swine, near Hull. [5] Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{4}{22}$, $\frac{5}{2}$, $\frac{5}{6}$, giving the names of the garrison. [6] Vol. II., p. 108; VARENBERGH, 563, dated Paris, April 27th, 1408; RYM., VIII., 614. [7] RYM., VIII., 492. For question between Winchelsea and Shoreham, see TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 143, 5-99, dated St. Valery, Feb. 8th, 1407. [8] RYM., VIII., 518, 520. [9] For safe-conduct dated Feb. 26th, 1408, see FR. ROLL, 9 H. IV., 16. Iss. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., July 11th, 1408, has payment for carriage of beds towards the North against their arrival. Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{8}{8}$, APP. B., has expenses for John Casyn, Squire to the Duke of Berry in London before Feb. 11th, 1408; cf. ST. DENYS, IV., 252, 610. [10] Called "Gontier" in ECOLE DES CHARTES, XLVIII., 420; DESCHAMPS, III., 94; or "Gonter" in DUCKETT, I., 185; ST. DENYS, IV., 342. MONTREUIL (1398, 1404), addresses him as his instructor, and calls him "Gontherus;" see A. THOMAS, 5, 31, 37, 62, 80. For account of him see PISAN, II., p. v.

again in England; but they found that the King had gone north. On April 8th, 1408,[1] Robert Waterton and Master Richard Holme were authorized to meet them at Pontefract;[2] and by April 15th they had settled that the truce should be extended till Sept. 30th.[3] In Aug., 1408,[4] Hugh Mortimer and John Caterick were sent across to Paris, where a truce was arranged, to date from Sept. 17th[5] following, in which it was provided that a Bishop, a Baron, a Clerk, a Knight, and a Squire from the English side should meet with five Frenchmen of similar rank in Paris on Feb. 13th, 1409,[6] and try to arrange a peace, with a hint that a marriage might be acceptable between the Prince of Wales and Catharine,[7] the youngest daughter of the French King. On Jan. 12th, 1409, Bishop Beaufort and Henry Lord Scrope[8] of Masham left London and travelled by Canterbury across to France, where they remained till Feb. 27th, and several messengers[9] passed between London and Paris. Instructions were finally drawn up on May 15th, 1409,[10] authorizing Bishop Beaufort, Lord

[1] ROT. VIAG., 9 H. IV., 6. [2] DEVON, 309; KAL. AND INV., II., 77; PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 16, June 19th, 1408, refers to truce with France *ultimo captæ*. FR. ROLL, 9 H. IV., 13, June 12th, 1408, refers to Jean Bopine, Chamberlain to the Duke of Berry, coming to England. [3] RYM., VIII., 507; FR. ROLL, 9 H. IV., 12. [4] FR. ROLL, 9 H. IV., 2, Aug. 3rd, 1408; CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 30; ISS. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., Aug. 2nd, 1408, has £50 to each for passage to France; KAL. AND INV., II., 77; ISS. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 18th, 1412. On their return by Amiens and Boulogne to Calais they heard of the defeat of the Liégois by the Duke of Burgundy, Sept. 23rd, 1408.—MONSTR., I., 389. [5] Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{57}{8}$. [6] RYM., VIII., 571; ISS. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 13th, 1409. [7] She was born Oct. 27th, 1401.—MORERI, III., 344; LUSSAN, III., 455; or 1400.—WILLS OF KINGS, 214. In DEVON, 312, she is called the *second* daughter. [8] FOR. ACCTS., 11 H. IV., shows that he travelled from Faxflete to London, and that he was again in France from March 22nd to June 9th, 1409. [9] RYM., VIII., 579. [10] RYM., VIII., 585. FR. ROLL, 10 H. IV., 7, shows Caterick going to France, May 12th, 1409. ISS. ROLL, 10 H. IV., PASCH., May 23rd, 1409, has payment of £200 to Bishop of Winchester, £120 to Scrope, and £60 each to Mortimer and Caterick. FR.

Scrope, Sir Arnold Savage, Hugh Mortimer, and John Caterick to treat. In the latter part of August a French embassy,[1] headed by the Archbishop of Sens, and attended by 300 persons, was appointed to negotiate with them in Picardy. Scrope, Mortimer, and Caterick had already been in Paris; and in a letter written there on Sept. 12th, 1409,[2] reference is made to a common rumour that the ambassadors were about to arrange a final peace. But the result of these efforts will be better considered in a subsequent chapter.

Queen Joan had now been separated from her sons for four years, but messages had been constantly passing between them. The eldest, John, Duke of Brittany, who still claimed the title of Earl of Richmond,[3] was married to a daughter[4] of the King of France, and was now nearly 18 years of age.[5] He had developed a love of finery and dress,[6] and costly collars[7] set with pearls and sapphires had been sent across from time to time to him and his brothers and sisters. Piracy[8] had never

ROLL, 10 H. IV., 6, shows Hugh Mortimer going to France, May 16th, 1409, also Sept. 13th, 1409 (*ibid.*, 2). For their safe-conducts dated Sept. 3rd, 1409, see RYM., VIII., 599.

[1] For their safe-conducts dated Aug. 15th, 1409, see RYM., VIII., 593. [2] DUCKETT, II., 158. [3] Vol I., p. 27; RYM., VIII., 490; COSNEAU, 477. [4] *I.e.*, Jeanne. The marriage took place in 1404, in accordance with a long-standing engagement, both of the children being then 13 years old.—GRUEL, 5; MEYER, 220. [5] He was born Dec. 24th, 1389.—ART DE VER., II., 907. [6] Il portait habillements de draps d'or et riches et grands colliers à grosses pierres est estoit un prince bien magnifique.—ST. PAUL, 52. On visiting the Duke of Orleans at Blois, April 24th, 1410, he was presented with an illuminated Book of Hours, written in blue and gold, bound in black velvet set with a sapphire and pearls, and embroidered at the edges with gold thread.—LABORDE, III., 246. For his letters, see ECOLE DES CHARTES (1890), LI., 355. [7] Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{44}{46}$, mm. 24, 56, has £192 paid for them to Christopher Tilderley, the King's goldsmith, dated Nov. 13th, 1404. [8] On Nov. 2nd, 1402, a ship crossing from Spain with several London apprentices on board was seized by the Bretons. The cargo valued at 1000 marks was sold, and the apprentices were kept in close prison till they should pay a ransom of £250.—PAT., 7 H. IV., I., 35. On Dec. 29th, 1406, an order was issued for the restora-

ceased between the English and Bretons, though the Queen[1] had often used her influence to secure a better feeling. At length, in the spring of 1407,[2] a truce was arranged, to last for one year, from July 11th, 1407;[3] and before the expiration of this time, it was prolonged for another year at least. During the winter of 1407 it was believed that a Breton fleet was collecting to plunder the English tin ships; and on Feb. 10th, 1408,[4] an order was issued warning vessels not to put out from any port along the south coast from Winchelsea to Southampton, until further notice. In the spring[5] of the same year men-at-arms, archers and balisters were called out, and ships were collected[6] at Orwell, Sandwich and Winchelsea, nominally to keep[7] the sea, but really destined for quite another purpose.

When the truce had been concluded with Brittany, a special exception had been made in the case of the small island of Bréhat[8] at the entrance of the Rade de la Frenan, off the mouth of the Trieux on the north coast of Brittany. The island belonged[9] to the Duke of Burgundy's son-in-law,[10]

tion of a salt ship from Brittany, which had been seized by a balinger belonging to the Mayor of Poole.—CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 2. ADD. MS., 24062 f., 147 b., has an undated letter from Henry IV. to the Duke of Brittany, complaining that a vessel containing lampreys and other goods to the value of £200, had been seized, and the master and the crew held to ransom at Cherbourg.

[1] See also Vol. II., p. 287. [2] "Penes presentiam nostram" (RYM., VIII., 483), would look as though the Duke came across to England in person. [3] Not 1406, as COSNEAU, 9; see RYM., VIII., 490, 499, 503; KAL. AND INV., II., 76; CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 35 (Sept. 30th, 1407); ROT. VASC., 9 H. IV., 17 (Nov. 17th, 1407). [4] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 5. [5] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 30, April 4th, 1408. [6] ISS. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., May 24th, 1408; PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 24 d. [7] POL. SONGS, II., 162. [8] COSNEAU, 12; not "St. Brieux," as EUL., III., 413; SOUTHEY, II., 48; nor "Brydoke," as GREY FRIARS CHRON., 11. LEL. COL., I., 486, has "the isle of Briake yn Bretagne;" also CHRON. GODSTOWE, 240; HOLT, LANGLEY, 275, 335. [9] ST. DENYS, IV., 316. [10] ST. DENYS, III., 376; MONSTR., I., 131, 396; II., 2, 88; BAYE, I., 331. He married the Duke's daughter Isabel.—

Olivier de Blois, Count of Penthièvre, who was now in rebellion[1] against his suzerain, the Duke of Brittany, and the islanders had refused to pay their share of Queen Joan's dowry. An English fleet[2] was therefore to be despatched to the spot to do the work of coercion. The ships were under the command of Edmund, Earl of Kent, who had just been appointed[3] Admiral for the North and West, in place of the Earl of Somerset. He was young and newly married,[4] but he was pressed with debt and had hard work to raise £200 from the changers at Southampton. For this he had to pledge[5] his spoons, forks, spiceplates, goblets, and potellers,[6] his silver-gilt basins with the arms of Kent and Milan on the bottom, his salt-cellars inlaid with the lodged hart, his cups dotted with pearls (*perulis*) and balusters[7] or pounced with ivy, and the lids enamelled[8] with falcons and mounted with fretlets[9] of roses, apples, eagles, green-flowers, and doves. The money, however, was at length obtained, the fleet set sail from Southampton early in June, 1408,[10] and in the following September the Castle of Bréhat was stormed and demolished. The island was burned, the islanders were slaughtered,[11] and the stones of the castle were shipped to England. But the

BRANDO, 40, 96, 144; GESTE, 536. She died at Rouvres, near Dijon, Sept. 18th, 1412.—ITIN., 357, 358, 387, 393, 599. She is called Joan in CHRON. DES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE, III., 266.

[1] RYM., VIII., 543. [2] MONSTR., II., 35. [3] *I.e.*, May 8th, 1407.—PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 17; NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 459, 533. [4] Vol. II., p. 40. For a fanciful theory that he had been lawfully married to Lady Constance le Despenser, see HOLT, LANGLEY, 185, 214, 321. [5] PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 16, Nov. 18th, 1409; KAL. AND INV., III., 366. PRIV. SEAL, 646/6328, Nov. 8th, 1409, gives June 26th, 1408, as the date of the pledging. [6] For galoners and potellers made of leather, or as "potts," see DERBY ACCTS., 18, 154. [7] DERBY ACCTS., 94; ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 129, 133. [8] CHAUCER (S.), I., 138. [9] ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 122. [10] In PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 16 (June 2nd, 1408), he is about to sail; in PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 8, 10, 12, 17 (June 11th, 16th, and 17th), he is "beyond sea." [11] ST. DENYS, IV., 316.

victory cost the English dear. For as their Admiral rode recklessly without his basinet,[1] he was struck on the head with a quarrel from the walls, and died of his wound Sept. 15th, 1408.[2] His body was brought to England and buried by the side of his father in the Abbey Church at Bourne,[3] in the Fens of Lincolnshire. He was to have had 70,000 florins (£10,500)[4] from Milan as a dowry with his wife Lucy; but he never received a penny of it, and died deep in debt. He left no will, and his effects were so valueless that no one would undertake to administer his estate. An allowance[5] was made to his widow, who had been naturalized[6] as an

[1] For the basinet or conical iron skull-cap lined with white or red cloth, and finished with a topinet, see DERBY ACCTS., 49, 91; PRUTZ, 47, 85; STRUTT, DRESS, II., 180; GROSE, ARMOUR, 10; MEYRICK, I., 188; II., 101; III., s. v.; PLANCHÉ, I., 36; MACKLIN, 56, 59, 63; GIBBONS, 62; WYNT., III., 3066; BLOXAM, 153; DESCHAMPS, IV., 314; V., 7. The kettle-hat was similar in shape, but made of leather.—FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV., *passim;* FIFTY WILLS, 19; PROMPT. PARV., 273; "catelhat," SHARPE, II., 298. Cf. "Till the bloode owt off thear basnetes sprent."—CHEVY CHASE. For bascinets, bacinés or bachinés (= men-at-arms), see MONSTR., I., 350, 355; III., 83, 93, &c.; GESTE, 413, 415. [2] CHRON. LOND., 91; EUL., III., 413; WALS., II., 279; CHRON. GILES, 54; OTT., 264; NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 396, 459, 478; HIST. MSS., 1st REPT., APP., III., 10; DUGD., II., 75; DOYLE, II., 278. [3] CAXTON, 219; TEST. VET., 139, 205; PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 32. [4] ROT. PARL., IV., 29; RYM., IX., 121; X., 140. The florin was then = 3s. See also DERBY ACCTS., CI., CII. [5] RYM., VIII., 561, Dec. 1st, 1408. On Dec. 1st, 1412, she was granted an annuity of £333 6s. 8d. from manors in Lancashire.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 78′. [6] *I.e.*, May 4th, 1408.—RYM., VIII., 526; PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 6. ROT. VIAG., 9 H. IV., 6, March 26th, 1408, refers to John de Alyprandis (RYM., X., 142) of Milan, as coming to England. For her next marriage and connection with Halle, the chronicler, see HALLE, 29; GRAFTON, 435. By her will in Chichele's Register at Lambeth (f. 371), GENEAL., VI., 32, she left 1000 crowns to the Provost and Canons of S. Maria della Scala at Milan, and a similar sum to the Church of S. Giovanni in Conca (called Conquet in DUGD., II., 78), where her father had been buried with great pomp after his murder (Dec. 18th, 1385).—MURATORI, XVI., 800, 854; MALVERN in HIGDEN, IX., 60. She died Apr. 4th, 1424 (HOLT, LANGLEY, 356, gives 14th), and was buried in the Church of the Austin Friars in Broad St., London.—TEST. VET., 205. HOLT, LANGLEY, 191, 323, 327, supposes that she was the sister of Gian Galeazzo, though correctly given as "youngest child of Barnabo," *ibid.*, 336; cf. Wenck, 4, 5, 39.

English subject before he sailed. The fleet returned to England without delay, and on Sept. 21st, 1408,[1] Sir Thomas Beaufort was made Admiral in his stead. The truce between England and Brittany was extended for another year from July 11th, 1408; and as late as September, 1411,[2] the two countries were still at peace, a truce having been concluded on Feb. 21st, 1411,[3] which would not expire till July 6th, 1413. But before that date arrangements were completed for a final truce, to last for 10 years from Jan. 1st, 1412.[4]

[1] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 4; *ibid.*, 10 H. IV., 2, 9; BLACK BOOK OF ADMIRALTY, I., 369, 373; NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 396. For £80 paid to Sir Thomas Beaufort, Admiral, see Iss. ROLL, 10 H. IV., PASCH., July 16th, 1409. [2] For safe-conduct for Jean de Penhouët, the Breton Admiral, dated Sept. 23rd, 1411, see RYM., VIII., 702. [3] KAL. AND INV., II., 83; RYM., VIII., 710; PRIV. SEAL, 651/6873. [4] RYM., VIII., 712, 732.

CHAPTER LXX.

THE GLOUCESTER PARLIAMENT.

TWICE had the King declared his intention to go abroad at the head of expeditions for the relief of Calais and Guienne; but each time something had prevented him, and the occasions passed away. On June 1st, 1407, it was again announced that he had taken a "fixed resolve"[1] to go soon into Wales. By the end of May he had removed from Windsor to Rotherhithe.[2] On June 1st he was at Waltham Abbey,[3] and on the following day he had arrived at Leicester,[4] whither a messenger was despatched to him from the Council in London reporting preparations for the campaign. Stores had been just forwarded to Sir Francis Court[5] for the defence of Pembroke, and a force of 600 men-at-arms and 1800 archers was prepared to act under the Prince of Wales in recovering the Castle of Aberystwith. £6825 had been provided to pay their wages for six months from May 29th, 1407,[6] but it was calculated[7]

[1] Firmum propositum.—Iss. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH. [2] For documents dated at Rotherhithe May 28th and June 1st, 1407, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, pt. 3, mm. 93, 94. [3] *Ibid.*, XI., 16, pt. 3, 77. [4] Iss. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., June 2nd, 1407. [5] Viz., 16 balistas, 3000 quarrels, 4 haussepees, 4 baudrics, and 50 lbs. of gunpowder, May 23rd and 28th, 1407.—FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV. In PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 18 d, Nov. 10th, 1409, he is Captain of Pembroke Castle. In REC. ROLL, 11 H. IV., PASCH., May 2nd and 27th, 1410, he still pays £10 per annum for the alien Priory of Pembroke, see Vol. II., p. 309. [6] Iss. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., June 1st, 1407. [7] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 108.

that after three months the services of one-third of them would not be required. Six large guns[1] were forwarded from Pontefract to Nottingham in June[2] to be shipped at Bristol for use in the siege. Bows, arrows, and bowstrings were packed in casks and coffers, and great stores[3] of arblasts,[4] quarrels, stone-shot, sulphur, and saltpetre were to be ready at Hereford.[5] Berkleywood[6] was to be felled on the banks of the Severn, and timber in the Forest of Dean, and 20 carpenters were to be sent round with it by sea from Bristol[7] in two barges, to make scaffolds and towers and siege-engines on the spot. The muster[8] was to be gathered at Hereford by June 10th,[9] and proclamations were sent out calling upon Dukes, Earls, Barons and others to join the King there. The Council assigned £4000 for the expenses of his retinue from the taxation as it fell due, and the royal pavilioner[10] had forwarded his tents; but before June 19th[11] the plans were changed.

By July 7th[12] Henry was at Nottingham, where he bor-

[1] The line in ROMAUNT OF ROSE, 4176 ("Of ginne gunne nor skaffaut"), CHAUCER (S.), I., 203, seems to derive "gun" from "engine." Cf. The engynour than deliverly
Gart bend the gyne in full gret hy.
BARBOUR'S BRUCE, XVII., 681, quoted in CHAUCER (S.), III., 284.

[2] FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV. [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 339; ISS. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., June 23rd, 1407; *ibid.*, 9 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 3rd, 1407, and 9 H. IV., PASCH., Sept. 10th, 1408. [4] For "alblast" or "arblast" see DERBY ACCTS., 74, 93, 283. [5] ROT. VIAG., 12. [6] RICART, 83. [7] ROT. VIAG., 11. [8] For "mustre," see WYCL. (A.), II., 360. [9] The Lancaster retinue was to be there by June 19th, 1407.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 94''', 98''', dated June 1st and 8th, 1407. [10] ISS. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., June 12th, 1407, has payment of £10 for carrying tents to the north. See also L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12, 1 d, APP. C. [11] CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 5 d. [12] For entries dated Nottingham Castle, July 7th, 13th, Aug. 13th, 1407, see DUC. LANC. REC., Cl. XI., 16, pt. 3, mm. 78, 96, 106; ROT. VIAG., 9; RYM., VIII., 404. For payment to a messenger sent to the King at Nottingham from the Council, see ISS. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., July 18th, 1407. For Nottingham Castle as part of the Queen's dower, see Vol. II., p. 284; A. S. GREEN, II., 330. For Winchester as her morning gift see *ibid.*, I., 323; KITCHIN; also Southampton, DAVIES, 35; A. S. GREEN, II., 300.

rowed[1] 100 marks from the burgesses to help to pay his way. Here he was present on Aug. 12th, together with his sons and the captive King of Scots,[2] at a wager-by-battle fought in the lists between John Bulmer,[3] a poor Bordeaux seamster, and Bertrand Usana,[4] a squire, merchant, and executor or keeper of the King's seal[5] at Bordeaux, whom Bulmer had charged with inciting him to treason[6] seven years before. Timbers[7] and barriers[8] had been erected, and a scaffold for the royal party to judge the cause and see the combatants do their devoir.[9] Both of them were old[10] men. At first they ran a few courses and then went together[11] on foot. The seamster rushed full-butt[12] upon his antagonist, and after bickering[13] awhile with staves and scotching[14] with swords, they closed and struck right fast[15] with daggers till the King took the quarrel into his

[1] Iss. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., July 11th, 1408. [2] Vol. II., p. 402. [3] ROT. VASC., 9 H. IV., 14, June 5th, 1408, grants him a hospice in the Rue Peytabine, opposite to the castle wall at Bordeaux.—DROUYN, 270. In JURADE, 381, he is called Johan Bolmey. [4] He had been an envoy to England in 1394.—BOUILLONS, 220. In JURADE, 380, he is nostre ame escuyer. [5] In ROT. VASC., 11 H. IV., 16, and PRIV. SEAL, 648/6580, May 18th, 1410, he resigns officium executorie of the City of Bordeaux (see JURADE, 439). [6] RYM., VIII., 440, 538; DEVON, 309; Iss. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., July 7th, 1408; BRISSAUD, 63, 295; NEILSON, 198. [7] NOTT. REC., II., 45. [8] NEILSON, 258. [9] For "dever" see HOCCL., DE REG., 107; P. PLO., XVII., 5; XVIII., 92, 122; "devoir," CHAUCER (S.), II., 276; MAN OF LAW, 4458; WYCL. (A.), II., 399; III., 418. [10] Propter ætatem quasi decrepitam. [11] FABYAN, 385. [12] Cf. "Zeuen fulbut counseil azenst the holy gost."—WYCL. (M.), 213. [13] CHAUC. (S.), III., 172. [14] HOCCL., DE REG., 134. [15] WYNT., IX., 1252; cf. "with axe and sworde and dagger upon fote."—HARD., 365. For trial-by-combat see YORKS. ARCH. AND TOP., III., 270; STRUTT, REGAL ANTIQ., 115; YEAR BOOKS, 32, 33 ED. I., XV., XXXIX. For orders of Richard II. to the Duke of Gloucester as Constable see ANTIQ. REPERT., II., 210. At the duel between John Huberd and John Bokenham at Colchester in 1376 the bailiff supplied the combatants with leathern coats, staves tipped with horn, and targets.—COLCHESTER REC., 30. For the Duel of Law and the Duel of Chivalry see NEILSON, 160. For Leicester see THOMPSON, 28. In the points-of-arms between the Earl of Warwick and Sir Pandulf Malet (? Malatesta) at Verona in 1408 they "goe togedres with Axes, after with arming swerdes and last sharpe daggers."—ROUSE, 321; STRUTT, ANGEL-CYNNAN., II., Pl. XX.;

hands and cried "Ho!"[1] Both were then declared[2] good men and leal, and the claims of honour were quit; but on his return to Bordeaux with his son Peter, Usana required a special protection[3] to ensure him against imprisonment.

We trace the King at Nottingham as late as Aug. 16th, 1407.[4] On Aug. 17th he was at Newstead,[5] on the 18th at Worksop,[6] and on the 19th he reached Pontefract, where he received letters[7] from his son the Prince in Wales. He was certainly at Pontefract till Aug. 22nd.[8] From Aug. 24th to Sept. 1st he halted at his park of Rothwellhaigh,[9] a few miles to the south of Leeds. Here he received news that danger was threatening in the northern counties, and orders[10] were sent to Prince John and the Earl of Westmoreland to disperse any hostile bands, their duties as Constable and Marshal being performed in their absence by Lord Grey of Codnor and Sir Thomas Beaufort[11] as deputies *pro tem.* The King reached York on Sept. 5th,[12] and on Sept. 8th[13] he was at Faxfleet on

REGAL ANTIQ., 115. At Winchester in 1456 the parties fight with their hands, fists, nails, feet, legs, and teeth.—GREG. CHRON., 200; NEILSON, 155. This may explain the curious reason given in BRACTON, II., 469, why the loss of a front tooth (not a jaw-tooth or a grinder) is a sufficient maim (for "maihem" see YEAR BOOK, 1 H. IV., MICH., 10, and 7 H. IV., MICH., 30 b) to disable a man from military service—quia multum adjuvant (*i.e.*, the front teeth) ad devincendum.

[1] STOW, CHRON., 294; ANGLIA, V., 37; NEILSON, 183, 187; GOWER, CONF., 194, 243, 347, 406; CHAUCER (S.), II., 223, 250, 342. [2] JURADE, 381. [3] ROT. VASC., 9 H. IV., 14, March 3rd, 1408. [4] ROT. VIAG., 9; RYM., VIII., 408; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{8}$, Aug. 1st, 1407, APP. B. [5] ROT. VIAG., 8, 11; DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 3, 117. [6] ROT. VIAG., 8. [7] ISS. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH. (Oct. 3rd, 1407), has payment to the messenger. [8] ROT. VIAG., 10, 11; RYM., VIII., 410. [9] ROT. VIAG., 10, 12; DEP. KEEP., 45th REPT., 75; YORKS. ARCH. AND TOP., X., 262. DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 13, 158, refers to the park; cf. HOLT, 63, 68. For entries dated Rothwellhawe, Aug. 24th, 27th, 1407, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 98''' [10] ROT. VIAG., 12, Aug. 30th, 1407. [11] Vol. II., p. 236; RYM., VIII., 408. Aug. 12th, 1407. [12] For documents dated York, Sept. 5th and 6th, 1407, see ROT. VIAG., 8, 12. [13] RYM., VIII., 414. For errors in RYMER see Vol. II., p. 306, note 5.

the Humber, opposite to the outfall of the Trent. Here he issued a summons to the Sheriffs of Nottingham, Lincoln, Lancashire, and Yorkshire to have all their able-bodied men between the ages of 16 and 60 ready at two days' notice to meet him at any centre that he should name, and march with him to resist an expected invasion of the Scots. We then trace him at Beverley (Sept. 11th and 13th),[1] at Bridlington[2] and Kilham (Sept. 14th),[3] at Bishopthorpe (Sept. 16th, 19th, and 21st),[4] and at Cawood (Sept. 22nd).[5]

The reason for this digression is doubtless to be found in the alarming reports that reached him of the threatening condition of the north; but the recent return of the Earl of Douglas[6] was working a change in the policy of the Duke of Albany; the alarm passed away, and arrangements[7] were being pressed forward for a truce with the Scots. Nevertheless, the vacillation that had marked the King's plans for 12 months past, and the labouring drag of his snail-pace movements, point surely to the gathering grip of his disease, the steady sinking of his strength, and the nearness of his approaching end. His failing health brought on a nervous dread of infection, and constant change of place was deemed the only safeguard[8] when the air was charged with pestilence. The unhealthy summer had proved disastrous to all England. The west[9] suffered most severely, but the plague raged fiercely also in the eastern counties and the midlands, especially in Lincolnshire,[10] Nottingham,[11] and Derby. In London[12] as many as

[1] ROT. VIAG., 9, 10; RYM., VIII., 415. [2] For his hostel at Bridlington see Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{48}{6}$, APP. B. [3] ROT. VIAG., 12. [4] *Ibid.*, 10, 11. [5] RYM., VIII., 419. [6] Vol. II., p. 398. [7] RYM., VIII., 418. [8] Vol. II., p. 409. [9] EUL., III., 410. [10] ROY. LET., I., 300. [11] PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 2. [12] WALS., II., 276; PRICE, 48; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 168. The sanitary condition of London was such that it sometimes happened that all the higher city officials were cut off.—LIB. ALB., I, 2; BESANT,

30,000 people had died, the courts were closed, all legal business was postponed,[1] and processions were as usual[2] officially prescribed to "soften the rage of the Redeemer."[3]

At Aberystwith the siege was taken up with vigour. Crowds of English Knights and Barons were present with the Prince's force. Amongst them were the Duke of York, the Earl of Warwick, Thomas Lord Carew, Sir Roger Leche,[4] Sir John Greindor,[5] then Sheriff of Gloucester, Sir John Oldcastle,[6] Sheriff of Hereford, and John Talbot. The latter was now in his 23rd year.[7] He had held the Castle of Montgomery[8] with

LONDON, 99, 174, 188. For London with its 140 parish churches and a population estimated at 45,000 in 1348, see GASQUET, PEST., 95, 174; or 35,000 in 1377, the whole population of England being calculated at 2½ millions, see *ibid.*, 194; CUNNINGHAM, I., 304, 344; A. W. WARD, 6; BESANT, LONDON, 70. At Bommel in Gelderland 4000 persons died of the plague in 1400.—PONTANUS, 340. In 1411, 14,000 died of cholera at Bordeaux.—WALS., II., 285. For Hythe in 1412, see A. S. GREEN, II., 30.

[1] CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 36, has an order dated Oct 24th, 1407, postponing all suits in the King's Bench and Common Pleas on this account till Jan. 21st, 1408. For similar delays in 1349, see GASQUET, PEST., 150. [2] Vol. I., p. 195; GASQUET, PEST., 108, 151. [3] "Furorem redemptoris."—CONC., III., 304, dated Hegeston, July 20th, 1407 (*i.e.*, Headstone near Harrow, LYSONS, II., 565). The whereabouts of Archbishop Arundel during the summer of 1407 may be traced from PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, mm. 2, 3, 20; CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 2, mm. 3, 4, 30; FR. ROLL, 8 H. IV., 3; CONC., III., 305; where there are documents dated Cranbrook (Aug. 4th, 11th), Saltwood (Aug. 5th), Tonbridge (Aug. 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 20th, and Sept. 4th), Malling (Aug. 29th, 30th, Sept. 2nd), Maidstone (Sept. 6th, 12th, 13th, 24th, 25th). The Chancellor was probably moving from place to place to escape the pestilence. [4] Vol. II., p. 229, note 8. CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 10 d (June 3rd, 1407), shows that he was going to Wales with the King and Prince. [5] Vol. II., pp. 14, 19, 304; REC. ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH., Nov., 1406; *ibid.*, 14 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 3rd, 26th, 1412; NICHOLLS AND TAYLOR, I., 194. The letter in ROY. LET., I., 17, and CLARK, CHARTÆ, IV., 307, shows that he was Sheriff of Glamorgan, Feb. 6th, 1400. [6] REC. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., Apr. 22nd, 1407; *ibid.*, 9 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 27th, 1407; DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, No. 5 b, APP. A. In FOR. ACCTS., 8 H. IV., and REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH. (May 16th, 1408), he is *late* Sheriff of Hereford. In DUNCUMB, I., 143, he is Sheriff in 7 H. IV. (*i.e.*, 1405-6). [7] J. HUNTER, HALLAMSHIRE, 62; or 17th, according to DOYLE, III., 309. [8] As representative of his father-in-law.—PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 22, Apr. 25th, 1407;

a garrison of 45 men-at-arms and 140 archers since Dec. 18th, 1404, and had just succeeded his father-in-law as Lord Furnival[1] of Hallamshire. The operations against Aberystwith were directed by the Admiral, Thomas Lord Berkeley,[2] as "General Commander and Enginer in the timber works."[3] The King's own 4½-ton gun[4] was sent down from Nottingham[5] *viâ* Hereford, together with 538 lbs. of powder, 971 lbs. of saltpetre, and 303 lbs. of sulphur, and we know of a 2-ton gun called the Messenger[6] that burst during the siege. Unable to make way against the walls of the great rock-fortress, the English settled down to the slower process of a blockade. The Welsh garrison under Rhys ap Griffith ap Llewellyn ap Jenkin held out manfully in the hope of relief from Owen outside; but they were soon reduced to the extremes of famine, and when at length all heart was out of them they sent in an offer to submit. On Sept. 12th, 1407,[7] they invited 17 of the English leaders to enter the castle. The Welsh commanders were present, and Mass was said by Master Richard Courtenay,[8]

Iss. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., June 1st, 1407; *ibid.*, 11 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 29th, 1409; DOYLE, III., 309. For names of the garrison see Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{6}{11}$, $\frac{5}{24}$, $\frac{5}{25}$, APP. G.

[1] Vol. II., p. 113. In REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., March 2nd, 1408, John Lord Furnival lends £200, repaid Feb. 13th, 1409, where Iss. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., has £250. See also PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 4. In PAT., 14 H. IV., 18 d, Nov. 29th, 1412, John Talbot of Halomshire is on the commission of the peace for county Salop. [2] Vol. II., p. 33. He had commanded the fleet which brought Queen Joan from Brittany, Vol. I., p. 306; II., p. 287. See payment to him from Nov. 2nd, 1402, to Feb. 2nd, 1403, in Iss. ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 9th, 1405. In YEAR BOOK, 11 H. IV., MICH., 11 a, is a reference to Le Seigniour de Berkl' adonqs Admiral. [3] SMYTH, II., 11. For "engynours," see DERBY ACCTS., 106; PRUTZ, LXV., 98. [4] Vol. II., p. 267. For the King's gunner see PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 2. [5] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{2}{27}$, APP. E. [6] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 339; Vol. II., pp. 267, 268. [7] RYM., VIII., 497. [8] ANGL. SACR., I., 416; LE NEVE, III., 466; CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 22, May 24th, 1408. In CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 5 d, July 24th, 1409, William Clynt is Chancellor. ROT. VIAG., 12 (Sept. 1st, 1407), has order for horses to

the handsome and accomplished young Chancellor of Oxford University. When all had communicated, an indenture was signed wherein the Welsh agreed to deliver up the castle with its guns and artillery, if Owen had not appeared and driven off the besiegers by the week ending Nov. 1st following. For the interval an armistice was arranged. The Abbot of Ystradflur and three Welsh squires [1] gave themselves up as hostages. The more desperate of the garrison, who had refused to be bound by the agreement, were to be turned out and fare as they could, and the rest were to be fully pardoned when the capitulation had taken final effect. The Prince returned to Hereford,[2] leaving 120 men-at-arms and 360 archers [3] quartered in the Abbey at Ystradflur in the heart of the Cardigan hills, where traces [4] of their presence are being even now brought to light in finds of rusty spears and broken shackles.

News of this transaction reached the King in the Archbishop of York's castle at Cawood on Sept. 22nd, 1407.[5] Believing that the fall of Aberystwith would be the crowning scene of the tedious war in Wales, he at once decided that he

take Courtenay to Wales, "on divers our necessary business." He was a son of Philip Courtenay of Powderham, and had been a scholar at Stapledon Hall or Exeter College, Oxford. From 1402 to 1404 he was Dean of St. Asaph.—LE NEVE, I., 82; MONAST., VI., 1303; but the office was probably not worth the holding.—Vol. II., p. 11. In 1406 he had accompanied the Lady Philippa to Denmark.—Vol. II., p. 447. In May, 1410, he was made Dean of Wells.—LE NEVE, I., 152; MONAST., II., 283. In Feb., 1412, his name occurs as a member of the King's Council.—RYM., VIII., 721. He became Bishop of Norwich on the death of Totington in 1413, and died at Harfleur Sept. 15th, 1415. For an account of him see PRINCE, 162; CLEAVELAND, 271; GODWIN, II., 18; BOASE, EXON., LXVIII., quoting OLIVER, ECCL. ANT., I., 75; WALCOTT, FASTI CICESTRENSES.

[1] For "sqwyers," see WYCL. (M.), 148, 362, 377; PROMPT. PARV., 471; CATHOL., 357. [2] He was at Hereford from Oct. 1st to 29th, 1407. —EXCH. TREAS. OF REC. MISC., $\frac{5}{11}$, APP. D. [3] DEVON, 306. [4] PROCEEDINGS OF SOC. OF ANTIQUARIES, 2nd Ser., XII., 1, 21; ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., 5th Ser., VI., 24-48. [5] RYM., VIII., 419; not 1405, as SOLLY-FLOOD, 78.

would himself be present in person at the surrender. Orders were sent out for the county musters to meet him at Evesham on Oct. 10th. With this purpose he left Yorkshire, and by the end of September[1] he was again at Nottingham.

On Aug. 26th, 1407,[2] writs had been issued summoning a Parliament to meet at Gloucester on Oct. 20th. Accordingly the King left Nottingham in the beginning of October, reached Repton[3] on the 4th, stayed at Evesham Abbey[4] from the 10th to the 15th, and was in his place at Gloucester before the Parliament opened. Here he was joined by the Queen,[5] who had travelled from Havering-at-Bower, and the royal party was lodged in Gloucester Castle.[6] The King's beds[7] of velvet and gold cloth, with their testers broidered with helms, their celers[8] of blue and green silk, and their costers of white worsted worked with the initial "M,"[9] or the word *Reposez*, each with its cadas,[10] mattress,[11] sheets, blankets, canvasses, quilts, cushions, and coverlets, together with all necessary rings,[12] crotchets,[13] cords, thread, and so forth, had been already

[1] ROT. VIAG., 7, has Sept. 31*st* (*sic*). [2] REPT. DIGN. PEER, III., 801; COTTON, 463. For payment to messengers see Iss. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 3rd, 1407. [3] RYM., VIII., 501; SYLLABUS, III., 20. [4] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1. For entries dated Evesham Abbey, Oct. 10th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 1407, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, pt. 3, mm. 104, 105, 116. REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH. (Jan. 16th, 1408), shows receipt of £333 6s. 8d. from the King at Evesham, de mutuo. [5] She soon removed to Malmesbury with her retinue.—DEVON, 306. Iss. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., shows that she received £20 at Cheltenham on Nov. 16th, 1407. [6] RYM., VIII., 502. For documents dated at Gloucester Castle Nov. 5th, 6th, 14th, 29th, 1407, see DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 6 (a), APP. A., and XI., 16, pt. 3, 107. [7] Iss. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 16th, 1407; Q. R. GREAT WARDROBE, $\frac{4}{11}$, APP. B. Each bed had a carde mattress, two testers (*i.e.*, bolsters), two coverlets, two pair of blankets, two pair of sheets, and two canvasses.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{4}{15}$. [8] HOLT, 63. For sileure, coissyn, and keulte, see P. MEYER, 382. [9] Possibly for "Maria."—LOND. AND MID. ARCH. SOC., IV., 333. [10] PROMPT. PARV., 57; LOND. AND MID. ARCH. SOC., IV., 326, 333, 345. For "paillet," see CHAUCER (S.), II., 251; BESANT, 73. [11] For "materas" see DERBY ACCTS., 281. [12] For hooks and hangings, see CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, Jan., 1893, p. 89. [13] DERBY ACCTS., 25, 75, 173, 195, 281.

sent beforehand on sumpters[1] from Windsor and the Tower, together with 1500 marks in cash, and the Florentine banker, Philip di Alberti,[2] was at hand, ready to advance further sums to meet immediate needs.

Many of the members of all grades had not arrived for the opening of the Parliament, and the business was consequently postponed for a few days. The only new name appearing on the Lords' writs is that of Richard,[3] the son of Aubrey de Vere, who now took his place as Earl of Oxford. In the Commons[4] there was a full muster of 74 county members,

[1] For somarius see DERBY ACCTS., 5, 6; PRUTZ, LIII. For Joseph atte Hay, the King's sumpterman, see Iss. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 23rd, 1412; JUSSERAND, III; HOLT, 165, 171; DERBY ACCTS., 100, 106. [2] See Vol. I., p. 164. REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., has repayment to him of £92 13s. 4d. on Dec. 14th, 1407, borrowed Nov. 16th, 1407. He had previously forwarded £1000 to the King in the north, June 12th, 1407.—Iss. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 5th, 1407. Cf. Philippo de Albertis et sociis suis de comitiva Florentinorum.—REC. ROLL, 11 H. IV., PASCH., June 9th, 16th, 1410; also DERBY ACCTS., LIV., 150; PRUTZ, LXXVII. For permission for Phelipp' Albert de la compagnie des Albertins to load a vessel, &c., see PRIV. SEAL, 650/6711, Nov. 8th, 1410. See also A. S. GREEN, I., 79; II., 290; CUNNINGHAM, I., 271. For the Lombards cf.

> For they ben the sliest of alle
> So as men sain in towne about
> To feigne and shewe thing without
> Whiche is revers to that withinne,
> Whereof that they full ofte winne
> Whan they by reson shulde lese.
>
> GOWER, CONF., 124.

Also P. PLO., VII., 241; A. S. GREEN, II., 67. [3] In CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 5; PAT., 8 H. IV., 21, he is under the charge of Philippa, wife of the Duke of Ireland. Iss. ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 9th, 1406, has payment to Joan, Countess of Hereford, for his "table." In REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 1st, 1408, she has custody of the lands of Albert de Veer, *late* Earl of Oxford, and of Ingelram Brome. In PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 6, Aug. 2nd, 1408, Richard Veer, Earl of Oxford, has permission to hunt Hatfield Forest in Essex. His father Aubrey had been paralyzed (qu' langure en palasie.—ROT. PARL., III., 441), and had died April 23rd, 1400 (DOYLE, II., 731; MORANT, II., 293), at Hadley Castle, which had been granted to him for life in 1381.—ANTIQUARY, XIX., 205 (or Feb. 1st, 1378.—DOYLE, II., 730). In PIPE ROLL, 7 H. IV. (Essex) is a reference to Alesia quæ fuit uxor Allredi de Veer, *i.e.*, Alice, daughter of John Lord Fitzwalter.—RALPH BROOKE, CATALOGUE, 173; DUGD., I., 195. [4] RETURN PARL., I., 271.

together with 160 representatives from 79 boroughs and cities, London sending four members, the rest two each. The sittings were held in St. Peter's Abbey, the Lords meeting in the Council Chamber,[1] and the Commons in the Freitour[2] or Refectory. The session opened on Monday, Oct. 24th, 1407. The Archbishop of Canterbury, as Chancellor, preached from the text, "Honour the King," claiming special honour for Henry in that he had not spared himself, but had worked in his own person for his country's good; that he was humane and forgiving towards his enemies; and that he must be supported if the country was to stand against attack, whether in Wales, Calais, Guienne, Ireland, or the north. On Tuesday, Oct. 25th,[3] the Commons chose as their Speaker Thomas Chaucer,[4] a son of the poet Geoffrey. He had married a daughter of Sir John Burghersh,[5] thereby becoming Lord of the Manor of Ewelme in Oxfordshire, and had amassed great wealth[6] from his office of Chief Butler[7] to the King. Like his father he had been in the service of Henry when Earl of

[1] ROT. PARL., III., 611. [2] *Ibid.*, 608, 609; PARKER, GLOSSARY, 56; BRITTON, DICT. S. V. REFECTORY; P. PLO., VI., 174; HODGES, HEXHAM ABBEY, p. 38; AUNGIER, 268. [3] PRYNNE, II., 486. [4] See Appendix X. [5] INQ. P. MORT., III., 133; SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 410; MANNING, 45; N. AND Q., 7th Ser., XII., 110, 338. On May 8th, 1407, he is escheator for the county of Bucks.—CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 11; also for Oxon and Berks.—REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., M., Oct. 21st, 1407. [6] LEL. ITIN., II., 6. [7] Appointed Nov. 5th, 1402.—CHAUCER (S.), I., XLVIII. (fr. PAT., 4 H. IV., 19; ROT. PARL., IV., 178 b). He appears as Chief Butler Jan. 15th, 1403, in Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6 \text{ s}}{4}$, APP. B. For his account dated Jan. 27th, 1405, see Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6 \text{ s}}{8}$, APP. B; see also CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 21; 9 H. IV., 31 (Jan. 20th, 1408); ISS. ROLL, 7 H. IV., *passim;* REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH. (Oct. 19th, 1408); PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 20 (Nov. 11th, 1409); ISS. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH. (Feb. 24th, 1411); REC. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH. (Feb. 4th, 1412); PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 14 (July 8th, 1412). During 1407 the office was held by Sir John Tiptot.—Vol. II., p. 476. PAT., 6 H. IV., 4, 1, gives Thomas Chaucer power to appoint deputies at Sandwich, Dover, Winchelsea, Rye, Hull, Scarborough, Hartlepool (*ibid.*, 2, 22), and Bristol (CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 28). On Oct. 10th, 1404, he

Derby, and had drawn an allowance[1] of £20 per annum from the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster. A few days after the coronation of Henry IV. he had been appointed Constable of the royal Castle of Wallingford.[2] He went with the Lady Blanche to Cologne in 1402,[3] and had sat as one of the Knights who represented Oxfordshire in the Parliaments of 1401, 1402, and 1406.[4]

The business of the Parliament did not seriously begin for some days after the appointment of the Speaker; but the King does not appear to have gone into Wales to receive the submission of Aberystwith. There is some probability that he was at Evesham on Nov. 16th,[5] though, on the other hand, official papers are extant dated from Gloucester[6] every day from Oct. 20th to Dec. 6th (both inclusive), with the exception of Oct. 25th and 29th, and Nov. 25th, while none are known to have been dated during this time from any place in Wales. Aberystwith, in fact, had not fallen. Before the stipulated date arrived Owen[7] had entered the castle secretly, disclaimed all responsibility for the proposed surrender, and branded those

was one of a commission appointed to take charge of the temporalities of the vacant Bishopric of Winchester (Vol. I., p. 483).—PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 31, 35. For his custody of other estates see *ibid.*, 33, Dec. 7th, 1404.

[1] For order for payment of his arrears see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 61, 5′, 51′, 53′ (June 5th, 1400). [2] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 29; NOTES AND QUERIES, 7th Ser., V., 290; CHAUCER (S.), I., XLVIII. For his account dated Wallingford, Oct. 4th, 1399, see Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{2}{28}$, APP. F. The latest historian of Berkshire (COOPER-KING, p. 95), thinks that "Henry IV. did no more remarkable deed throughout his reign" than make this appointment. [3] DEVON, 285. [4] Vol. II., p. 413; PRYNNE, II., 458, 462, 479. [5] Iss. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., shows that on that day Lord Grey of Codnor was at Evesham, and received payment for keeping the King of Scots (Vol. II., p. 402). On the same date is an entry showing payment to Robert Shore sent from Evesham to London on secret business of the King. [6] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, mm. 6, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35. [7] OTT., 261; WALS., II., 277; CAPGR., 295,

who had concerned themselves with it as traitors. Many of the English troops had deserted, and hints of treason were thrown out against the Duke of York. On Oct. 30th[1] the Prince of Wales arrived at Gloucester from Hereford, and took up quarters with his minstrels[2] and his suite in Llanthony Priory, where the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of York, the Earl of Arundel, and a large number of the Lords spiritual and temporal paid him a visit of ceremony on Nov. 28th, possibly in recognition of his recent coming of age. On Dec. 2nd[3] he was thanked by the Parliament for his great services and the "dis-ease"[4] that he had undergone for his country in resisting the great rebellion in Wales. Kneeling to the King he spoke some generous words of praise on behalf of the Duke of York, whose good advice and counsel, he said, had rescued the whole expedition from great peril and desolation. The Prince left Gloucester on Dec. 12th, spent two days at Tewkesbury, and reached Pershore on Dec. 14th, where he stayed three months, removing to Kenilworth before Easter, 1408; though there is evidence that he had visited London and Yorkshire in the interval. On Dec. 28th, 1407,[5] his commission as Lieutenant for North and South Wales had

[1] EXCH. TREAS. OF REC. MISC., $\frac{5}{11}$, APP. D. MONSTR. (I., 153), records that the Scots, led by the Earls of Buchan and Douglas, had broken the truce and overrun Lancashire and the district about Roxburgh, that the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and others led an army of 6000 men-at-arms and 6000 archers into Scotland about Nov. 1st, 1407, and that the Scots made very little resistance. But there must be something wrong with the date, though it is accepted without question by TYLER, I., 232, and DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXVI., 44. [2] The bailiffs' accounts for the year include allowance for gifts to the minstrels (39s. 7d.), to the Prince's herberger (11s. 6d.), expenses for the Duke of York (twice) (7s. 6d.), and his brother "Thurston" (4s. 3d.).—HIST. MSS., 12th REPT., IX., 421. [3] ROT. PARL., III., 611. For document dated Gloucester, Dec. 3rd, 1407, see Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{25}{36}$ (4), APP. F. [4] Cf. Vol. II., p. 424; WYCL. (A.), II., 211; CHAUCER (S.), II., 193. For "mesaise," see PASTORALET, 624. [5] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 19, 22, June 6th, 1408.

been extended for another year. Leaving Kenilworth on May 25th, 1408, he was at Alcester on May 25th and 26th, Worcester, May 26th, 28th, Bradfield Court,[1] near Bodenham, May 29th to June 9th, and arrived at Hereford[2] on June 10th, where he stayed till the 29th, completing his preparations for renewing the attack on Aberystwith.

The grants voted in the Long Parliament[3] would expire at Michaelmas, 1408, and it was necessary to be beforehand in securing supplies for the future. The members of the Council who had undertaken to govern the country instead of the King represented that they had entered upon a thankless task. They found themselves advancing money and working to no purpose, and they declined to be responsible any longer. In Northumberland and Cumberland no taxes could be raised of any kind; and, as they could not flay the flint,[4] they were forced to grant complete exemption again.[5] The Commons objected that the seas were not secure, that the Lords Marchers, who alone were interested, ought to bear the cost of operations against the Welsh; and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishops Beaufort and Langley, the Duke of York, the Earl of Somerset, and Lords Roos and Burnell were appointed to confer with them on the subject of their complaints. On Nov. 21st a deputation of 12 members of the Commons was

[1] DUNCUMB, II., 47. [2] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 12, June 11th, 1408. [3] Vol. II., p. 476. [4] GOWER, CONF., 273. [5] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 24, Nov. 30th, 1407; PRIV. SEAL, 648/6508, Mar. 24th, 1410, records exemptions from taxation for counties of Northumberland and Westmoreland, together with castles of Alnwick, Berwick, and Warkworth, lately destroyed and robbed by invasions and grandes mortalités. *Ibid.*, 648/6587, Mar. 27th, 1410, has exemption of Newcastle from taxation on account of desolation of the country, la chiertie des blees, la grande multitude des inhabitanz de nre dict' ville, mortz de pestilence en l'an darrein passez et aussi la guerre ore semblable a commencer illoeques par nos ennemys d'Escose.

informed that, if the country was to have peace, the money grants must be half as large again, *i.e.*, the boroughs and cities must raise[1] their tenth to three-twentieths, and the counties their fifteenth to a tenth, and that they must be prepared to vote the subsidy as before for two years from Michaelmas, 1408. This message caused them to be "hugely disturbed,"[2] and an "altercation" occurred. They cried out about their liberties, and objected to these repeated "tasks,"[3] and no wonder, when even the poor baxter's[4] little stock of bread, worth 1s. 3d., had to pay its share of the "King's silver."[5] But there was no help for it. The Council had chosen[6] their own ground at Gloucester; and, as Henry told the Hanse envoy,[7] he had the Parliament at his will. On Nov. 26th, 1407,[8] arrangements had been made for breaking up the meeting; the Chancery Rolls were to be sent back to London, and the King's bedding and stuff to Eltham. On Dec. 2nd the Commons voted all that was asked, the grants from boroughs and counties to be all paid in before Candlemas (Feb. 2nd), 1409. They requested that a better "substance" and a larger share of the windfalls (*casualtees*) should be secured for the Lords Thomas, John, and Humphrey.[9]

[1] DEP. KEEP., 2nd REPT., II., 184. REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH. (June 11th, 1408), refers to payment of 3rd moiety (*tertia medietas*) voted anno 9.—PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 1; CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 20, 32; HR., v., 406. In LAPPENBERG, II., 29, Feb. 26th, 1408, the Hansers in London are excused payment of 1½ tenths. [2] "Grandement destourbez."—ROT. PARL., III., 611; GNEIST, CONST., II., 29; PARL., 172, 194. [3] ROT. PARL., III., 619. [4] See the case of Agnes le Regrater in ROT. PARL., I., 252. In 1300 the Colchester men are taxed on a total value of 4s. 8d., 4s. 6d., 3s., and even 2s. 4d.—ROT. PARL., I., 148; MORANT, I., 46, though the 5s. limit had appeared as early as 1297.—ROT. PARL., I., 55, 239. When ⅛th was claimed the exemption limit was raised to 9s.—*Ibid.*, 63. For Lynn see NORFOLK ARCHÆOL., I., 338. [5] SMYTH, 104, 152, 176, and *passim*. [6] WALS., I., 380. [7] HR., v., 394. [8] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 25, 26, has orders for horses and carts. [9] In DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 19′ (Jan. 15th, 1411), Humphrey has profits of the castle and town of Donington in Leicestershire,

The King thanked them for the "great kindness and whole affection"[1] that they had shown towards him and his house, and then dismissed them to their homes. The sittings had lasted 44 days;[2] and each of the members as he left was supplied with a writ[3] promising that no extra taxation should be called for till after March 25th, 1410. So the Parliament broke up on Dec. 2nd, 1407,[4] and nought remained of its results save money-getting from the whole kingdom.[5]

Doubtless the monks were glad to see the last of it. They had had a similar experience of these perendinations[6] 30 years before, when their monastery had been made into a kind of fair; wrestlers[7] and ball-players[8] had tramped the greensward and set butts about their trim new cloisters, while meal-tides[9] and devotions had been turned clean up-so-down.[10] The King remained in Gloucester for the transaction of business till after Dec. 11th.[11] He had already granted a charter[12] for improving the endowments of the hospital of St. Bartholomew between the bridges, where sad bedemen[13] and bedewomen in burnet[14] coats and griset[15] hoods were to pray for the souls of his father and his wife with fastings and constant intercessions night

[1] "La grande naturesse et entière affection."—ROT. PARL., III., 612. Cf. P. PLO., A., III., 280; B., XIII., 390. Cf. "whom I love so entirely."—CHAUC. (S.), I., 208; ROM. OF ROSE, 4490. [2] PRYNNE, III., 488. [3] GOWER, CONF., 239. Cf. "scrit."—CHAUCER (S.), II., 224. [4] For payment of members see CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 8, Dec. 6th, 1407. [5] OTT., 261, where "London" should be "Gloucester." [6] WILLIS AND CLARK, I., LXXXVIII. [7] HIST. ET CART. MON. GLOUCESTR., I., 53; W. H. HART in HIST. MSS., 12th REPT., IX., 397; BRITTON, V., 24. [8] PROMPT. PARV., 22. [9] CHAUC. (S.), II., 237. [10] CHAUCER, KNIGHT'S TALE, 1379; CHAN. YEM., 16,093; CHAUCER (S.), I., 394; II., 39, 132. [11] RYM., VIII., 509, though in DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, there is an entry dated Evesham, Dec. 10th, 1407. [12] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 22, Nov. 19th, 1407; ATKYNS, 193; MONAST., VI., 689; HIST. MSS., 12th REPT., IX., 406. [13] WYCL. (A.), III., 306; GIBBONS, LINC., 140; ROCK, III., 131. [14] ARCHÆOLOGIA, LII., 299. A burnet cote (= brunete).—CHAUCER (S.), I., 102, 213. [15] DUCAREL, APP., 40.

and day. On leaving Gloucester he returned to Eltham[1] to spend Christmas, and on Feb. 20th, 1408, he was in London with "his body in health and real convalescence."[2]

The Convocation of the Province of Canterbury met on Nov. 28th, 1407,[3] at Oxford,[4] and agreed to increase[5] their usual grant from one-tenth to three-twentieths, to be paid in three instalments, viz., Easter, 1408, Nov. 1st., 1408, and Easter, 1409. But resistance was developed in the various dioceses[6] even before the first claim fell due. The Northern Convocation was summoned to meet at York on March 25th, 1408;[7] but, owing doubtless to the rising of the Earl of Northumberland, the meeting was delayed; and a fresh mandate was issued on May 8th[8] to the new Archbishop to summon his clergy to meet in the Minster before June 29th.[9] But no amount of pressure could make them grant any subsidy, and the sittings were adjourned till Dec. 10th, when the arguments of Archbishop Bowet were more effectual, and they voted a tenth "under certain conditions."

[1] L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12, 2, APP. C; Q. R. GREAT WARDROBE, $\frac{4\,5}{11}$, APP. B. For documents dated Eltham, Jan. 6th, 11th, 1408, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, pt. 3, mm. 124, 135, 138. [2] "Le corps en santé et vraye convalescence."—BELTZ, 406. [3] CONC., III., 306. [4] EUL., III., 412. For documents dated at Oxford, Dec. 4th, 5th, 8th, 10th, 11th, 1407, see CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 35, and PAT., 9 H. IV., 1., 14, 32, showing that the Chancellor, Archbishop Arundel, was there on these days. [5] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 314; REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., PASCH., April 20th, 1409, refers to 3rd half. For constant overtime at Exchequer receiving 3rd half of 15th and 10th from clergy and laity, see *ibid.*, July 16th, 1409. [6] *E.g.*, Chichester, Feb. 24th, 1408.—PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 5. [7] The writs dated Feb. 18th, 1408 (CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 26 d), were made out to the custos spiritualitatis. On March 16th, 1408, the diocese is still under a custos.—RYM., VIII., 512. [8] REPT. DIGN. PEER, III., 804; WAKE, 347, [9] CONC., III., 319.

CHAPTER LXXI.

BISHOPRICS.

THE refusal of Pope Innocent VII. to recognize the King's nominees had caused delay in filling up vacancies as they occurred in English bishoprics; but his successor had proved more pliable, and several of these difficulties had found their solution while the Parliament was sitting at Gloucester. Early in 1406 the see of London had become vacant owing to the death of Roger Walden after a very short tenure of power. The story of his later years marks once again most emphatically the utter extinction of the party which was supposed to cling to the memory of Richard II., if any such had ever had a coherent existence. Walden was another example of a poor man's[1] son finding a path for his ambition through the channels of a wealthy Church. Born in the turbulent district of Essex, he seems at first to have tried his fortune in some other career; but he was afterwards ordained a priest, and the records of Church patronage are dotted over with his continued run of promotions. In 1374 he was instituted through the Percy influence to the church of Kirkby Overblow[2] in Yorkshire. In 1382[3] he was parson of Drayton, near Market

[1] De pauperculo.—ANN., 417; WALS., II., 272. Carnificis filio.—Vol. I., p. 20; USK, 38, who gives a curious derivation: Walden quod est ereccio lapidum. [2] HOOK, IV., 529; called "Kirkeby Orblowers," in CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 23 d. [3] RYM., VII., 349.

Harborough. In 1387[1] he appears as Archdeacon of Winchester and Dean and Rector of the island of Jersey. In 1391[2] he became Rector of Fordham, near Colchester, which he soon exchanged for the rectory of St. Andrew's in Holborn.[3] He is thus rightly called a "considerable pluralist,"[4] and he held canonries and prebends in connection with the Cathedrals of Exeter, Lincoln, Salisbury, London, and York.[5] But this does not mean that he was attending Cathedral duties or meekly meditating over Scripture texts, as imagined by a modern writer.[6] A canon in those days loved dalliance[7] and fine clothes, and did no work but pricking on his hackney with a pack of dogs at his tail.[8] So Walden had the world to serve, and lived constantly in garrison both at home and over-

[1] LE NEVE, II., 23, 26. [2] NEWCOURT, II., 270; DUGDALE, ST. PAUL'S, 219. [3] NEWCOURT, I., 274. [4] HOOK, IV., 530. GASQUET, PEST., 214, attributes pluralities to the dearth of clergy caused by the Black Death, 1349; but this does not apply to 1400, and the practice was then universal all over Christendom.

Cf. O Churche to o man may not suffice
But algate he mote have pluralitee.
HOCCL., DE REG., 51.

But from his cure he him absentethe
And what there-of cometh he greedily hantethe.
Ibid., 52.

[5] WHARTON, 145; LE NEVE, I., 618; II., 126, 220, 451; III., 196; DUGD., ST. PAUL'S, 281; MILMAN, 84; W. H. JONES, 364; STAFF. REG., 168, 363. [6] HOOK, IV., 530. [7] DESCHAMPS., VII., 141; P. PLO., VI., 158; CHAUCER, CHAN. YEM., 16,060. Every resident canon on taking up his appointment was expected to spend from 800 to 1000 marks during the first year in "eatables and drinkables and other excessive and superfluous expenses."—CLAUS., 22 R. II., I, 4, in MONAST., III., 345 (1673). The value of canonries varied with the state of the funds in each Cathedral; *e.g.*, in Wells each canon received £13 19s. 8d. in 1395, £24 2s. 9d. in 1410, and £20 os. 6½d. in 1408.—HIST. MSS., 10th REPT., WELLS, 276. For Salisbury see SARUM STAT., 81. In 1413 a prebend at Ottery St. Mary's Collegiate Church was worth 40s. per annum, the sum originally fixed by the founder, Bishop Grandison, in 1337.—G. OLIVER, 265, 280. [8] Cf. Qui (*i.e.*, episcopi) totos in aucupio et venatu in ludis et palæstrâ dies agunt, qui noctes in conviviis accuratissimis in plausibus et choræis cum puellis etiam effæminati insomnes transeunt.—CLAMENGES, 18.

sea. On Oct. 6th, 1387,[1] he was made Captain of Marck, near Calais, and held the post till Oct. 10th, 1391. He then became High Bailiff of Guînes, and on Feb. 1st, 1397,[2] he was appointed Keeper of the Castle of Porchester. From 1388 to 1392 he was Treasurer of Calais.[3] He became Secretary to King Richard II., Treasurer of England (1395),[4] and Dean of York,[5] and two years later, on the exile of Arundel, he "stied up his father's couch,"[6] and was made, for a time, Archbishop of Canterbury. In this capacity he appears as one of the surveyors of the will[7] of John of Gaunt, in Feb., 1398. On the fall of Richard II. he was ignominiously deprived of the Archbishopric, his jewels were seized at Rochester[8] as he was removing them from Canterbury, and though he was not allowed to want,[9] yet, for the first five years of Henry's reign, he had to live in comparative obscurity. He was fond of display and sumptuous fare,[10] but now he was "in the dust and under feet of men."[11] It was probably during this time that he wrote his *General History*, "from the creation of the world, chronologically arranged," which still sleeps in manuscript on the shelves of the British Museum.[12] When the bishopric of London fell vacant through the death of Robert Braybrooke[13] in August,

[1] FROIS., XXV., 72. [2] HIST. MSS., 9th REPT., 57. [3] RYM., VII., 581, 607, 648; USK, 37. [4] HOOK, IV., 531; ROT. PARL., III., 344; KAL. AND INV., II., 52, 53. [5] LE NEVE, III., 124. [6] GEN., XLIX., 4; ANN., 213; WALS., II., 224; M. PARKER, 273. [7] WILLS OF KINGS, 165. [8] EUL., III., 382. [9] In 1403 he received two barrels of wine from the King.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{8}{4}$, APP. B. GODWIN (I., 187) imagines that he was living during these years in absolute poverty (*summâ inopiâ*). See also FULLER, WORTHIES, I., 345; GOUGH, III., 19; HOOK, IV., 534. [10] CONC., III., 378, 380. [11] From his will in GOUGH, III., 19. [12] JUL. B., XIII., 1. EUL., III., 377, calls him laicum literatum, though Bale has no notice of him. In ANN., 213, he is "viro penitus illiterato." [13] Vol. I., p. 482. For an order dated Dec. 10th, 1399, for restitution to him of articles forcibly taken from him in passing through Brecon, Yskenyn, and Carreg Kennen (for description, see ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., 1858, p. 10; LEL. ITIN., VIII., 119) on his way to Ireland, see DUC. LANC.

1404, Archbishop Arundel urged the claims of Walden, and Pope Innocent VII. issued a bull in his favour (Dec. 10th, 1404).[1] The King, however, pressed for the appointment first of Guy Mone, Bishop of St. David's, and next, of Thomas Langley,[2] Dean of York, while others were working in the interest of Doctor Robert Hallum,[3] then Chancellor of the University of Oxford. For six months there was a complete dead-lock. On Feb. 18th, 1405,[4] the see of London is still spoken of as vacant, and it was not till the outbreak in the North that the dispute was ended by the King giving way to the Archbishop and consenting to recognize his nominee. On June 24th, 1405,[5] Walden made a decent declaration to cover the King's retreat. On June 29th,[6] he was consecrated by Arch-

REC., XI., 15, 32, 144. He built the south porch and the tower of the church at Much Hadham.—CUSSANS, EDWINSTREE, 176. He tried to stop the traffickers and idlers from desecrating St. Paul's (Vol. II., p. 185, note 2), and he took steps to remove abuses amongst the chapter. For account of him see LOND. AND MIDD. ARCHÆOL. SOC., III., 528. For his privy seal, see PROCEEDINGS OF SOC. OF ANTIQUARIES, IV., 394. For inscription on his tombstone recording his death on Aug. 27th, 1404 (not 28th, as WHARTON, 143, quoting ARUNDEL'S REGISTER), see DUGD., ST. PAUL'S, 57. When the roof of St. Paul's fell in during the fire in 1666, his leaden coffin got smashed and his body was disclosed, "the flesh and sinews and skin cleaving to the bones, so that, being set upon the feet, it stood as stiff as a plank, the skin being tough like leather and not at all inclined to putrefaction, which some attributed to the sanctity of the person, offering much money for it."—DUGD., ST. PAUL'S, 124. It fell down into St. Faith's, below the great church (PEPYS, IV., 155), was picked out of the rubbish by some labourers after the fire, and for some years formed one of the sights of London. PEPYS (IV., 156) saw it and reported it to be like "spongy dry leather." Nine years later (1675) another distinguished visitor who "pryed very narrowly about it," pronounced it to be "rather like singed bacon."—Lord Coleraine in N. AND Q., SER. II., 3, 186; ANTIQ. REP., I., 75, where may be read how the Duchess of Cleveland indulged in a very "odd piece of devotion." It was seen by DINGLEY (II., 441) and NEWCOURT (I., 20) and James II., when Duke of York.

[1] WHARTON, 149. [2] Vol. II., p. 344, note 9. [3] Vol. II., p. 345, note 5. [4] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 8. [5] WEEVER, 435. [6] WHARTON, 150. Not Jan. 25th, as HIST. MSS., 9th REPT., p. 127.

bishop Arundel at Lambeth, and on the following day he was installed Bishop of London in St. Paul's Cathedral by Thomas Chillenden,[1] Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, the canons[2] processioning along the church with garlands of red roses. On July 28th,[3] the King granted him the temporalities, to date from the day on which he made his declaration. But Walden did not long survive his restoration to favour. He died at his palace at Much Hadham, in Hertfordshire, on Jan. 6th, 1406.[4] His body lay for a day or two in a new chapel that he had built in the Priory Church of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield, near his grandmother's[5] home, but on Jan. 14th,[6] it was removed, and found its final resting-place in St. Paul's.[7] Bishop Clifford of Worcester was present at the funeral, together with John Prophet, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and many others, and,

[1] Probably acting for Thomas Hallum, Archdeacon of Canterbury, to whom belonged the right and the fees by ancient custom.—BLOMEFIELD, II., 373. In ELMHAM, HIST. MON. AUG., 89, the Prior is called Chelingdene. He built the cloister and Chapter House at Canterbury, besides the Conduit, the Checkers Inn, the Great Dormitory, the Freitour, the Bakehouse, Brewhouse, and enclosing walls.—LEL. ITIN., VI., 2. [2] As noted by an eye-witness.—WHARTON, 150; ROCK, II., 422. [3] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 15. [4] CONC., III., 282, dated Maidstone, Jan. 11th, 1406 (HIST. MSS., 9th REPT., 111); WHARTON, 150. WEEVER, who copied his epitaph, is certainly wrong in giving Nov. 2nd, 1406. His will, dated at Hadham, Dec. 31st, 1405 (GOUGH, III., 19) was proved at Lambeth.—GENEALOGIST, VI., 225, from REG. ARUNDEL, P. 1, 257 a. He witnessed a charter at Westminster on Dec. 12th, 1405.—GEST. ABB., III., 499. [5] TRAIS., 75, 227; "avia."—BRANDO, 63. For Belsire = grandfather see WEEVER, 473, unless "belle mère" means mother-in-law. FULLER (WORTHIES, I., 345) was puzzled as to why he was buried at Smithfield, and found the riddle "too hard to resolve." The will of his brother and executor John Walden (for his interest in the Manor of Tottenham, see HARDY and PAGE, 167, 168) of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, dated 1417, proved at Lambeth (GENEAL., VI., 225, from REG. CHICHELE, P. 1, 310 b) shows that he had large property in Essex.—INQ. P. MORT., IV., 30, 40. ISS. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., Sept. 10th, 1408, has repayment to John Walden, Esquire, £10, lent May 9th, 1405. [6] For Prophet's account of the burial see HARL. MS., 431, 108 (97 b). [7] NEWCOURT, I., 754, from will of John Drayton, goldsmith, of London, dated Sept. 27th, 1456, where reference is made to his brother, John Walden, and Idonée, his wife.

as the corpse lay clad in pontificals, Prophet lifted the veil and they gazed on the face, which was fairer than wont and looked like a man in a sleep. To his contemporaries Walden was a by-word[1] for the sport of fickle fortune; and Archbishop Arundel[2] praised him as of honest life, devoted to the priestly office, not puffed up with prosperity, but ever patient in adversity.

He was succeeded by Nicholas Bubwith,[3] a Yorkshire lawyer, whose name likewise appears in the clerical lists[4] in a rich setting of chaplaincies, chantries, vicarages, rectories, prebends, canonries, archdeaconries and other such preferment. In 1397[5] he had parliamentary duties as a clerk in the Chancery. On Sept. 24th, 1402,[6] he became Keeper of the Chancery Rolls, and in the following year[7] he was chaplain to the King. He succeeded Langley as Keeper of the Privy Seal in March, 1405,[8] and held his post till Oct. 4th, 1406, when he was succeeded by John Prophet.[9] Bubwith's bull of appointment as Bishop of London is dated May 14th, 1406, and he was consecrated at Mortlake on Sept. 26th following.[10] On

[1] ANN., 417; WALS., II., 272; TRUSSELL (86) calls him "the tennis ball of Fortune;" cf. BAKER, CHRON., 240; KENNET, I., 295. [2] CONC., III., 282. Non obierat prælatus devocior in adversis paciencior in prosperis temperancior aut hominibus amabilior seu ampliori suffultus graciâ et virtute.—HARL. MS., 431, 108 (97 b). [3] He signs himself Bubbewyth in ROY. LET., I., 135. [4] LE NEVE, *passim;* W. H. JONES, 96, 372; RIPON MEM., II., 202; NEWCOURT, I., 21; STAFF. REG., 42, 168, 177, 210; PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 2, 30 (Archdeacon of Dorset); *ibid.*, 10 H. IV., 2, 9. [5] FOSS, IV., 154. [6] T. D. HARDY, 47; TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 3 (April 27th, 1403). Succeeding Sir Thomas Stanley (Vol. I., p. 32), who is called "Clerc de Rolles" in the will of the Duchess of Gloucester, dated Aug. 9th, 1399.—WILLS OF KINGS, 184. [7] DUGD., WARWICKSHIRE, 695, June 8th, 1403. [8] Vol. II., pp. 344, 428; GEST. ABB., III., 499; KAL. AND INV., II., 73; PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 15, Jan. 29th, 1406. [9] Vol. II., p. 484. [10] GODWIN, I., 187; CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 30; LE NEVE, II., 294; RYM., VIII., 443; W. H. JONES, 96. The *congé d'élire* was dated Jan. 16th, 1406 (PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 17); temporalities granted Sept. 27th, 1406 (RYM., VIII., 451; ISS. ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 24th, 1406).

the death of Lord Furnival[1] he became Treasurer of England. His account begins on April 16th, 1407,[2] and ends July 14th, 1408, when he was succeeded by Sir John Tiptot,[3] and before this date he had been twice translated as a Bishop.

Early in May, 1407, a vacancy occurred in the see of Salisbury by the death of Bishop Richard Mitford,[4] and Bubwith was transferred[5] from London to succeed him. He received the temporalities on Aug. 13th, 1407,[6] and took actual possession of the see of Salisbury on Aug. 31st.[7] But by this time the new Pope was beginning to see the folly of keeping up a quarrel about the vacancy at York. The King would not acknowledge Hallum[8] as Archbishop, and a compromise was arranged. English envoys went to Siena[9] and pressed for the withdrawal of Hallum's name. The cardinals objected, but the envoys brought money to bear, and Gregory had in fact already given way. For on the very day (June

[1] March, 1407, Vol. II., p. 113. [2] PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 24; REC. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH.; not 1406, as DUGD., CHRON. SER., 56. In ROY. LET., BOX 15, in Public Record Office, is an account of his as Treasurer of England, dated Gloucester, Oct. 23rd, 1407, with Thomas Wotton, a London draper, for sanguin, scarlet, murrey and mustredevylers (*al.* Monstreviller or Moustierviller.—LABORDE, I., 70, 73). [3] Vol. II., 414, 475; PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 10. Tiptot's account begins Aug. 2nd, 1408.—Iss. and REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH. See also KAL. AND INV., II., 78 (March, 1409, and May 20th, 1409); WILLS OF KINGS, 205; RYM., VIII., 683 (where he is called vôtre Tresorer major). In HARL. MS., 431, 134, he is Treasurer of England and Seneschal of the Landes and Dax, Sept. 12th, 1408. A vessel of his with horses, artillery, woollen and linen garments, jewels, wheat, beans, &c., to the value of £2500, had been seized by Castilian pirates (Vol. II., p. 54), and sold at Bilbao. The crew were hurried to Harfleur and held to ransom. "Bilbilitani" cannot be Calatayud on the Jalon, for this is in Aragon.—GRAESSE, 32. [4] His will, dated April 27th, 1407, was proved May 11th, 1407.—LE NEVE, II., 601. [5] The bull for his translation is dated June 22nd, 1407.—LE NEVE, II., 294, 601; GODWIN, I., 349; YEAR BOOK, 11 H. IV., MICH., p. 37. [6] PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 20; or 14th, as RYM., VIII., 496; GODWIN, I., 349. In PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 2, July 30th, 1407, Salisbury is referred to as vacant. Also REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., May 9th, 1408. [7] GODWIN, I., 187; CASSAN, 207. [8] Vol. II., p. 345. [9] NIEM, 178.

22nd, 1407)[1] on which he sanctioned the translation of Bubwith from London to Salisbury, he had signed a bull granting the bishopric of Salisbury to Hallum.[2] To rectify this confusion Bubwith was transferred to the see of Bath and Wells by bull dated Oct. 7th, 1407,[3] to fill the vacancy caused by the promotion of Bowet[4] to the archbishopric of York. Bubwith is still called Bishop of Salisbury on March 2nd, 1408;[5] but he received the temporalities of his new see on April 1st, 1408,[6] and remained Bishop of Bath and Wells till his death in 1424.[7] Like Walden and Hallum[8] he was a man of literary tastes; and when at Constance attending the Council in 1414, he and Hallum induced Giovanni Bartholdi da Serravalle,[9] Bishop of Fermo, to make a translation of the "Divina Commedia" into Latin verse, with a Latin commentary attached. Bubwith is called "a prudent man, discreet and circumspect,"[10] and the wealth that he amassed is proof enough of the correctness of the description. He had paid 13,000 gold florins (£2166 13s. 4d.)[11] to the Pope for his preferment from Salis-

[1] LE NEVE, II., 602; YEAR BOOK, 11 H. IV., MICH., p. 37. [2] In CIAC., II., 803, Hallum is called Bishop of Lisieux in Normandy, but there is no authority for this in GALLIA CHRIST., XI., or CASSAN, 243. [3] LE NEVE, I., 140. [4] Vol. II., p. 350. [5] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 308. [6] RYM., VIII., 512. [7] For his funeral feast, Nov. 4th, 1424, see HARL. MS., 279. [8] CASSAN, 246. [9] UGHELLI, II., 786; TIRABOSCHI, V., 496 (1805), who states that there was only one copy known to him then in the Vatican. A copy from the WOODHULL MSS. is now in the British Museum, and contains 400 pages of Latin commentary. The verse translation was begun Jan., 1416, and finished in May of the same year. The whole work was completed in little more than a year, and the Bishop apologizes for the baldness of the translation on account of want of time.—ACADEMY, 20/2/86, p. 132. SKEAT (CHAUCER, I., 76) thinks that "Chaucer was the *only* English writer who had a real acquaintance with Dante." For an early translation of Dante into French verse now in the University Library at Turin see ECOLE DES CHARTES, E., V., 304. [10] ANGL. SACR., I., 571. [11] W. H. JONES, 96. The English gold florin of Edward III. was worth 6s. (KENYON, 16), or two little florins of Florence, each of which was valued at 3s. of English money (RYM., X., 140), or 3s. 4d. (DUCKETT,

bury to Bath and Wells. But he was no hoarder of money for its own sake, and the rolls[1] contain several entries showing that he often returned to the Exchequer sums that he might have legitimately claimed, whether as Keeper of the Privy Seal, where his allowance[2] was 20s. per day, or as a member of the Council, in which capacity he was entitled to a remuneration amounting to £200 per annum.[3] He gave £266[4] for building the western tower and altering the walls of the church at Bubwith on the Derwent, opposite to his native village of Menthorpe, allowing for larger windows according to the architectural taste of the time.[5] At Wells, besides helping[6] neighbouring churches which were burdened with debt, he built the northern tower[7] of the west front of the Cathedral,

I., 196), *i.e.*, the half-noble (see KENYON, 40, and Plate iii.). In a document dated 1393 the gold florin of Florence = the gold franc of France (worth 16s. in 1362, EC. DES CH., XLIX., 369), or gold penny.—DUCKETT, I., 139, 146, 151, 162. See also the table, *ibid.*, II., 159, thus—

English.	French.
1d. sterling	= 7d. paris.
1 solidus sterling	= 6 sol. 9d. tournois.
£1 sterling	= 6 scuta or 3 nobles.

In 1392 the Italian ducat was worth 3s. 2d. English, and the French franc 3s. 4d.—DERBY ACCTS., LV., CII., CV.

[1] *E.g.*, Iss. ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH., May 18th, June 26th, 1406, &c.; *ibid.*, 8 H. IV., PASCH., June 1st, 1407. [2] Vol. II., p. 344; Iss. ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 3rd and Nov. 13th, 1405; *ibid.*, 11 H. IV., PASCH., June 23rd, 1410. [3] Iss. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., June 1st, 1407; *ibid.*, 9 H. IV., PASCH., July 11th, 1408; *ibid.*, 11 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 22nd, 1409, has 200 marks since Oct. 4th, 1406, Similarly *ibid.*, 13 H. IV., MICH. (Feb. 23rd, 1412); 14 H. IV., MICH. (Mar. 2nd, 1413). [4] NOTES AND QUERIES, 3rd Ser., III., 406. [5] Similar alterations may be seen at Cartmel, Lanercost, and St. Andrews.—WALCOTT, 90. See also S. A. GREEN, I., 18, 56. For Wycliffe's protest see Vol. II., p. 244, note.

Cf. Thou shouldest knely bifore Christ in compas of gold,
In the wyde window westward wel neigh in the mydel
And Saint Francis hymselfe shal folden the in his cope
And present the to the Trinite and praye for thy synnes.
P. PLO., CREDE, 123; LEWIS, 307.

[6] *E.g.*, Muchelney.—HIST. MSS., 10th REPT., APP. II., 200. [7] For description of figures in the tower, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIV., 84, 86.

and the library above the east cloister, while the Bishop Nichol Hostel[1] or Almshouse long remained a witness to his public spirit and munificence.

The see of London vacated by Bubwith was filled by the promotion of King Richard's boon-companion, Richard Clifford,[2] Bishop of Worcester, on Oct. 13th, 1407,[3] and we still have the *menu* of the feast at his stalling.[4] His place at Worcester was taken by Doctor Thomas Peverel,[5] a learned

[1] HIST. MSS., 10th REPT., Pt. II., 203; LEL. ITIN., 2, 33, f. 40; OTT., 679. For Bubwith's muniment chest see *ibid.*, 8th REPT., 639. For his funeral feast, Dec. 4th, 1424, six weeks after his death, see Two COOKERY BOOKS, 61. For his great barn still standing at Wells see ANTIQUARY, Aug., 1894, p. 70. For stone-barns (14th century) at Bredon (Worcestershire), and Bradford (Wilts), see CUNNINGHAM, I., 273. [2] Vol. I., pp. 2, 28. For his arms in the Chapter House at Canterbury see WILLEMENT, 66, 155. For a letter written by him when Bishop of Worcester, excusing his absence from Convocation, pridie graviter infirmante nec hactenus pristinæ sanitati undique restituto, see HARL. MS., 431, 52 (25). Also a letter written from his manor of B— addressed to the Council, explaining that while riding to Parliament he was suddenly struck with illness which in the course of one night disfigured his face, and made the whites of his eyes and his whole body from head to foot as if they had been smeared with saffron. It took away all his appetite, and he could ride no further. He looked at his face in the glass, and was ashamed that any one should see him. He begs therefore that the members of the Council will excuse him to the King.—*Ibid.*, 138 (114). For a letter written by him as Bishop of Worcester at his manor of Hillyndon (? Hillingdon), April 7th, 1404, to a relation condoling with him on the death of John Trevenant, Bishop of Hereford; also letter dated Nov. 10th, to the Abbot of St. Augustine's at Bristol to pray for Bishop Trevenant's soul, see H. O. COXE, II., C. C. C., 26; CONC., III., 278. For long private letters written by him when Bishop of London see HARL. MS., 431, 126 (108 b), 127 (109). In PAT., 14 H. IV., 2, he is distinctly called late Keeper of the Great Wardrobe to Richard II., and had journeyed to Cologne, pro solemnizatione matrimonii Blanchæ, see Vol. I., p. 254. [3] LE NEVE, II., 294; DUGD., ST. PAUL'S, 219; GODWIN, I., 187. The temporalities were granted Oct. 20th, 1407.—PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 31; CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 30. His will is dated Aug. 18th, 1416.—GENEALOGIST, V., 327. He died Aug. 20th, 1421. [4] COOKRY, 7. [5] He received the temporalities at Gloucester, Nov. 20th, 1407.—PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 26; LE NEVE, III., 60. For a letter written by him to Henry IV. from Alvechurch near Redditch, June 14th, 1410, see ROYAL LETTERS, Box 15, in Public Record Office. For his seal in Brit. Mus. (XXXV., 367), see ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., 5th Ser., VI., 290.

and high-born Carmelite,[1] who had studied at Oxford, had crossed with King Richard into Ireland, had been made Bishop of Ossory,[2] and had written some sermons and theological tracts.[3] For the last eight years he had been Bishop of Llandaff, but the condition of the country had probably made it quite impossible for him to visit his diocese. His castle or palace at Llandaff[4] had been burnt and sacked after the fall of Cardiff;[5] and the only glimpse that we get of him is in Sept., 1405,[6] when he was at Hereford with the King's army, preparing to enter South Wales. He was succeeded at Llandaff by John Zouche,[7] a Franciscan whose name and blazon[8] proclaim him akin to a great baronial house. He had been Provincial Minister of his Order in England, and had attempted some drastic reforms; but the friars proved too strong for him, and secured his deposition at a Chapter held at Oxford, May 3rd, 1406,[9] during his absence in Rome. The Pope reinstated him; but the Order refused obedience, and his elevation to a bishopric was probably a golden bridge for a serious difficulty.

On Aug. 31st, 1407,[10] Bishop Guy Mone[11] of St. David's

[1] HOLINS., II., 542; A. WOOD, I., 104; MONAST., VI., 1579; GODWIN, II., 496; though in II., 189, he calls him a Carthusian. [2] H. COTTON, II., 273. [3] BALE, 541. [4] JOHNS, IV., 28. [5] Vol. I., p. 445; Vol. II., p. 13. [6] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 15; Vol. II., p. 304. [7] RYM., VIII., 530, June 7th, 1408. [8] GODWIN, II., 189. [9] EUL., III., 405; LITTLE, 70, 253. [10] For his will at Lambeth see GENEALOGIST, VI., 130. For order to celebrate masses for him, dated Sept. 12th, 1407, see CONC., III., 305. [11] So spelt in PRIV. SEAL, 7059; not Mohun, as STUBBS, REG., 61, and HOOK, V., 11, following GODWIN, II., 162. See ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XXXVII., 57; W. H. JONES, 383, 386, 436; BERMONDSEY, 482; MONAST., V., 90, 99; HIST. MSS., 9th REPT., I., 138; HARDY AND PAGE, 167, 168, where he is a clerk in 1385, and a chaplain in 1386. For Master Ludovicus Mone at Aberystwith, Sept., 1407, see RYM., VIII., 497. John Mone of Havant was entered as a poor scholar at Winchester in 1397.—KIRBY, 24. In 1399 Simon Mone is referred to as dead.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 1, APP. A.

died at Charlton in his native county of Kent. He was buried in the Priory Church at Leeds, near to his old rectory of Maidstone.[1] A contemporary writer says that "while he lived he caused much mischief";[2] but in what way does not appear:—most probably by treasonable communications with the Welsh. His death, however, paved the way for the promotion of a man to whom the saying might with far more truth apply.

Henry Chichele was one of that respectable class of official priests whom the French satirist lashed for filling their bellies with the goods of the Crucified.[3] He had spent much of his life as a "Rome-runner,"[4] and had now been absent from England for more than a year[5] on an embassy to Pope Gregory XII., where he could "yawn and gape for a rich benefice."[6] Long before[7] the death of Bishop Mone the Pope had promised him the next opening at St. Taffy's,[8] and on Oct. 14th, 1407,[9] a bull was issued appointing him to the vacancy.

[1] INQ. P. MORT., III., 219; HASTED, II., 122. For his previous appointments in connection with Lincoln, St. Paul's, and elsewhere, see WILLIS, CATH., II., 243; DUGDALE, ST. PAUL'S, 231, 237; NEWCOURT, I., 105. [2] Dum vixit magnorum malorum causa fuit.—WALS., II., 277.

[3] Cures aussi pour emplir voz boyaux
Rendre vous fault les biens du crucifis.
DESCHAMPS, VII., 75.

[4] WYCL. (M.), 23, 66, 245, 495; P. PLO., V., 125; PURVEY, REM., 88; WYCL., LAT. SERM., II., 341; III., 298; DE OFF. REG., 74; BUDDENSIEG, I., 217. For "Romipeta," see GERSON, V., 654, and DUCANGE, s. v. Cf. "Wendinge to Rome to gete a fattere benefice," WYCL. (A.), I., 284; "rennen to Rome for dignites," *ibid.*, II., 167; III., 407, 459; "Popes loven men that thei clepen their frendis to fatte dignitees," *ibid.*, II., 152. [5] RYM., VIII., 479, 513.

[6] Full many men know I that yan and gape
After some fatte and riche benefice.
HOCCL., DE REG., 51.

[7] Longe temps devant son creation notre saint pier l'appost de son motion et volunte, &c.—YEAR BOOK, 11 H. IV., MICH., 38 a. [8] HIST. MSS., 9th REPT., Pt. I., 145; A. S. GREEN, I., 215. [9] LE NEVE, I., 296; BEKYNTON, I., 145; DUCK, 5.

His family probably had its origin in the parish of Chicheley, near Newport-Pagnell, and his father Thomas was a prosperous "draper"[1] or "clother"[2] at Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire, a manor with its conigree,[3] furnace and fishery belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster.[4] Here he died, and his body was buried in the chancel of the parish church.[5] Two of his sons, William and Robert Chichele, traded in London as grocers. In those days the grocers[6] held the Tron or Great Beam, and had the weighing[7] and garbelling[8] of every bale of merchandise that entered the city, and by means of their far-reaching combinations were able to command[9] the

[1] HEATH, 188; A. CLARK, 208. For the story of the rag-pie see HOOK, v., 4; A. S. GREEN, II., 68. [2] P. PLO., XII., 15. [3] "Coninger."—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 14, 53; XI., 15, 11'. For "conigries," or "coney-garth," see STAT., 13 R. II., cap. XIII.; DENTON, 164; CUNNINGHAM, I., 364; ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 331, 337. [4] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 4 (b), APP. A.; DEP. KEEP., 30th REPT., p. 10; WILLS OF KINGS, 236; ANTIQ. REPERT., I., 77. [5] For inscription dated Feb. 25th, 1400, see BRIDGES, II., 175; STEMMATA, Plate II., p. 1; GOUGH, III., 3; SHARPE, II., 422; HAINES, LXXIX., 175; also p. CLXXV. (edition 1861); BOUTELL, BRASSES, 26. [6] Vol. II., p. 110; ROT. PARL., II., 280; PROMPT. PARV., s. v. "groson;" DU CANGE, s. v. "Ingrossator." For "en gros" as opposed to "à retaille," see ROT. PARL., III., 598; STAT., II., 153; HEATH, 42; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 71; CUNNINGHAM, I., 341. KINGDON in GROC. ARCH., XIII., XV., XXXI., derives the name from the Great Beam, but this seems fanciful in face of the above evidence. For specimens of their wares see GROCERS' ARCHIVES, 12, extract X., 55; HERBERT, I., 310. A. S. GREEN, I., 77 (from PASTON LETTERS, III., 55, 56), speaks of the grocers as "dealers in foreign fruits." [7] For the King's Beam in Cornhill see BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 52. For the Weigh House (le meason le poyes le Roy) at Chichester see YEAR BOOK, 13 H. IV., 1; also A. S. GREEN, II., 27. [8] For the duty of the garbeller see LIB. CUST., 757. [9] Thei conspiren wickidly togidre that noon of them schal bie over a certeyn pris thouz the thing that thei bien be moche more worthi, and thei knowen wel this, and that non of them schal sille better chepe than another thouz he may wel forth it so and it be not so moche worth as another mannis chaffer.—WYCL. (A.), III., 334. In 1411 the Parliament prayed that the grocers might be compelled to sell their bales of pepper at 20d. a lb., until the arrival of the new pepper.—ROT. PARL., III., 662; COTTON, 482. In 1349 pepper cost 1S. per lb.—GASQUET, PEST., 138.

markets. So the Chichele brothers[1] amassed great wealth, and became Aldermen of wards in London. William appears on the earliest extant list[2] as a member of the Mistery of Grocers in 1373. He was a Master of the Fraternity in 1385, 1396, and 1406, and one of its first Companions in 1386. He represented the city of London in the Parliament that met at Shrewsbury in January, 1398.[3] On May 25th, 1406,[4] the grocers had a supper at his house, which cost them £2 19s. 2d.; and he served as Sheriff of London in 1409-10.[5] He purchased the manor of Woolwich,[6] died a rich landowner at Stanwell, near Staines, in 1425,[7] and was buried with his wife Beatrice in the church at Higham Ferrers.[8] His brother Robert, a big,[9] powerful man, became Sheriff of London in 1402,[10]

In 1399 the price was 8d.—WALCOTT, WYK., 284. In 1402 and 1433 it was 1s.—OXF. CITY DOC., 239; NOTT. REC., II., 134; in 1412 it had risen to 4s.—WALS., II., 288; and in 1413 to 8s.—BERMONDSEY, 484. In 1425 9½ lbs. cost 3s. (*i.e.*, 3¾d. per lb.)—HERBERT, I., 79. In 1436 it was 2s. 4d. per lb.; in 1438 it varied from 2s. to 2s. 8d.—NOTT. REC., II., 156, 166.

[1] In DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 5, APP. A, they are called John and Thomas. [2] GROCERS' ARCHIVES, 47, 58, 66, 76, and *passim*; HEATH, 58. [3] RETURN PARL., I., 256; GROCERS' ARCHIVES, 81. [4] *Ibid.*, 99. [5] CHRON. LOND., 92; FABYAN, 386; LAPPENBERG, II., 35 (Feb. 5th, 1410); BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 183; PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 13, June 20th, 1410. In REC. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 27th, 1410, he is *late* Sheriff. In GROCERS' ARCHIVES, 103, the editor has wrongly entered him among the Mayors. [6] HASTED, I., 44, 54. One of his sons, William Chichele, afterwards Archdeacon of Canterbury, got a prebend from Pope Innocent VII. in 1406, while still a scholar at Oxford.—PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 18, Nov. 29th, 1406. In PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 19, May 20th, 1410, he is Chancellor of Salisbury; see also PRIV. SEAL 649/6680 (Sept., 1410); LE NEVE, I., 42; II., 650; W. H. JONES, 338. [7] GENEALOGIST, V., 326. For his will dated London, July 20th, 1425, see SHARPE, II., 442. [8] See his fine brass in STEMMATA, Plate I.; GOUGH, III., 80: BOUTELL, BRASSES, 49. [9] Corpore procerus bis major et arte grocerus.—WEEVER, 409. His name first appears on the grocers' books in 1397, where it comes after that of his brother William.—GROCERS' ARCHIVES, 76. [10] CHRON. LOND., 88. His name appears 12th on a list of aldermen, Oct. 13th, 1406.—PRICE, 158; BRIDGES, II., 179.

and Mayor in 1411 and 1421.[1] He was thrice married,[2] and spent his time either at his London home in the Vintry or at Romford[3] in Essex, where he helped forward the rebuilding of the parish church in 1410. He had a princely fortune,[4] and a heart sitting to his wealth. He gave land, money, timber, and lead to rebuild[5] the old Church of St. Stephen on the Wallbrook, where his brother Henry had been for a short time Rector.[6] In 1437 he gave a staith, a crane, and a stable in the Vintry to his parish church of St. James, Garlickhithe.[7] In meditating over death he commissioned Hoccleve[8] to write him a religious ballad; and when he made his will Dec. 17th, 1438,[9] he left money to give a dinner on his birthday to 2400

[1] CHRON. LOND., 94; ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XLIV., 57; HEATH, 190; PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 33 d, Nov. 6th, 1411; CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 9; REC. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 26th, 1412; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 183, 198; SHARPE, LONDON, I., 251. In PAT., 14 H. IV., 16 d, Oct. 29th, 1412, he is *late* Mayor of London. In CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 35, Dec. 7th, 1411, the Mayor is called *William* by mistake. [2] His first wife Elizabeth was the widow of William More, the vintner (for "vyntyner," see WYCL. (A.), III., 405), who had been Sheriff in 1387 and Mayor in 1396.—CHRON. LOND., 77, 80; CLAUS., 9 H. IV.; ISS. ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH. (Oct. 27th, 1405). For articles pledged with More by King Henry in 1400 for loan of £500, see Q. R. WARDROBE ACCTS., $\frac{6}{1}\frac{8}{2}$, APP. B. R. Chichele's second and third wives were both called Agnes.—STRYPE, III., 11. [3] His name and that of his wife were in the chancel window, see inscription in MORANT, I., 75, where the date should evidently be 1410 (not 1407); see indenture with Warden and Fellows, dated Mar. 28th, 1410, in NEWCOURT, II., 338. [4] In 1412 his property in the city of London is returned as producing a rental of £42 19s. 2d.—SHARPE, LONDON, I., 252; ARCHÆOLOGICAL JOURNAL, XLIV., 62. [5] He laid the first stone May 11th, 1429. The new church was finished and consecrated April 30th, 1439.—NEWCOURT, I., 537; LOND. AND MIDDLX. ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 330; STRYPE, I., Bk. II., 196. For the 118 parish churches in London in addition to 36 minsters, abbeys, colleges, chapels, and other places of religion, see ARNOLD, 75. [6] NEWCOURT, I., 539; WALCOTT, WYK., 363. [7] LOND. AND MIDDLX. ARCHÆOL. SOC., III., 399. Garlick was imported in large quantities from Amiens and other places in the valley of the Somme, see LIB. ALB., I., 418; LIB. CUST., 64, 229, 234. For "garlick-monger," see OXF. CITY DOC., 33. Cf. Wel loved he garlicke, onions and lekes.—CHAUC., PROL., 636; ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIV., 160; BESANT, 71; DERBY ACCTS., 69, 216, 221. [8] HOCCLEVE, POEMS, 16; MIN. PO., 67. [9] GENEALOGIST, V., 326; SHARPE, II., 490, 492; STEMMATA, VIII.

poor householders, together with 2d. for each of them in cash.[1] His body was buried in the church at Garlickhithe,[2] according to the orthodox conception of the time that "where he was parisshene, right there should he be graven."[3]

Henry, the third[4] son of Thomas Chichele, was born at Higham Ferrers[5] about 1362.[6] When about ten years of age he was entered as one of the earliest of Bishop Wickham's poor scholars[7] at Winchester, even before the building of St. Mary College.[8] Here he would wear the long cloth gown and hood, sup his daily portion of beef-broth or beer, sweep out the chamber by day, and lie on the clay floor littered with straw at night. From Winchester he was sped to Oxford, where he was one of the first to share a chamber as a scholar[9] at Wickham's New College. He determined Bachelor of Laws in 1389,[10] and in 1396[11] his name appears as an advocate for Peterhouse at Cambridge in the Court of Arches, in a dispute between that college and the Bishop of Ely. He was ordained deacon in London by Bishop Stafford, May 26th, 1396,[12] though he had held livings[13] for some time before his ordination. Business

[1] CHRON. LOND., 124; STOW, LOND., 88; WEEVER, 409; NEWCOURT, I., 446; BESANT, LONDON, 154; WHITTINGTON, 184; but there is no mention of this either in the copy in All Souls' Library (STEMMATA, VIII.; HEATH, 189), or in STRYPE, III., 11; SHARPE, II., 492. [2] STOW, 261; not St. Mary Bothaw, as WEEVER, 409. [3] P. PLO., B. XI., 67. [4] I assume that he was the youngest son as he outlived his two brothers, who were both well established in London while he was yet a student. For a 15th century picture of him see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 233, where the name is spelt Chycheley. For supposed picture of him in a window in Battle Church see ANTIQ. REPERT., II., 338. [5] Ubi nativitatis traxit originem.—MONAST., VI., 1425; PARKER, 276. [6] In 1442 he calls himself octogenarius aut circiter.—BEKYNTON, I., 145. WALCOTT, 363, seems to mistake his brother Robert for his father. [7] The earliest list of the children dates from 1393.—KIRBY, XIV. For picture of them see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 229. [8] INQ. AD QUOD DAMN., 348, 349; BEKYNTON, I., 272. [9] HIST. MSS., 2nd REPT., 133; BURROWS, WORTHIES, 12. [10] HOOK, V., 8. [11] HIST. MSS., 1st REPT., 78. [12] STAFF. REG., 452. [13] Including St. Stephen's, Wallbrook (page 137). HOOK (V., 8) assumes

and preferment [1] poured in upon him. He was Archdeacon of Dorset (1397), Archdeacon of Salisbury (1402), Chancellor of Salisbury (1404),[2] and he held prebends [3] in connection with that Cathedral, besides a canonry and a prebend at Lincoln,[4] and various other sinecures and "fat dignities," as well as the livings of Brington [5] in Northamptonshire, Odiham in Hampshire, and Sherston in Wilts. He was consecrated Bishop of St. David's at Siena [6] in the spring of 1408, while still an envoy "on secret business";[7] but nearly four years elapsed ere he could find time to visit his distant diocese, which served him merely as a stepping-stone whence he could spring at a bound to the highest place then open to an English commoner.

Three more episcopal uncertainties were likewise set at rest about this time. Prior Totington was released from Windsor, and consecrated Bishop of Norwich in the Abbey at Gloucester, Oct. 23rd, 1407,[8] the day before the meeting of the Parliament. The temporalities were granted to him on the same day.[9] In the Welsh diocese of Bangor "a great part of the possessions of the Church" had been destroyed as far back as 1402,[10] and the Bishop, Richard Yonge, had had

that he settled and made his home at Wallbrook, but he only held the living from Mar. 30th, 1396, to Sept. 10th, 1397.—NEWCOURT, I., 539. For similar instances from Winchester Episcopal Registers, 1346-1363, see GASQUET, PEST., 306.

[1] W. H. JONES, 140, 160, and *passim*; WALCOTT, WYK., 363. In PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 25, Apr. 28th, 1410, he resigns canonries, prebends, parsonries, parishes, and benefices wholesale. [2] W. H. JONES, 338, 361, 382, 413, 434; not *Bishop* of Salisbury, as KENNET, I., 296. [3] YEAR BOOK, 11 H. IV., MICH., p. 37. [4] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 21. [5] BAKER, HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTON, I., 91. [6] GODWIN, II., 162; STUBBS, REGISTER, 63, gives Lucca, June 17th, 1408, but the temporalities were granted on April 3rd, 1408.—PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 23, 29. [7] Iss. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., Apr. 8th, 1408. Cf. RYM., VIII., 632, Apr. 28th, 1410. [8] Vol. III., p. 2. [9] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 30. [10] Vol. I., p. 249; DEVON, 290.

to maintain himself on royal gifts and the proceeds arising from embassies[1] to Scotland, France, or Sweden. In Feb., 1404, he was imprisoned by the Welsh, and Lewis (or Llewellyn) Bifort,[2] a partisan of Owen's, was appointed in his place. But the Archbishop of Canterbury refused to recognize Bifort or to admit that any vacancy had occurred, and straightway appointed an administrator for the diocese, on Feb. 26th, 1404. Like Bishop Trevor and others, Yonge had worked his way to his bishopric by serving as a Palace Auditor at Rome.[3] He was a learned[4] man and a fluent speaker, and was known as Archbishop Arundel's Mercury.[5] He was soon again at liberty, and was away on a mission to Scotland in Sept., 1404.[6] In the month following he lent his ready tongue to defend the property of the Church in the Coventry Parliament.[7] His interests were not likely to be long overlooked. On July 28th, 1404,[8] he was translated to the Bishopric of Rochester, vacant by the death of John Bottlesham,[9] though he still remained

[1] Vol. I., pp. 203, 258. Iss. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., Dec. 4th, 1409, has payment to him of £60 for expenses abroad in 2 H. IV., also £105 for expenses in Picardy. [2] Vol. II., pp. 177, 314; PENNANT, I., 367, from WILLIS, BANGOR, 84; LEWIS, s. v. BANGOR. In SCOTICHRON., II., 441, he is called Griffin, *i.e.*, Griffith; see also ECOLE DES CHARTES, XLIX., 420. On his seal, which is said to be "somewhat rude and probably foreign," he is Ludovicus.—PROCEEDINGS OF SOC. OF ANTIQUARIES, 2nd Ser., XI., 300; or Lewis.—ROWLAND WILLIAMS, 166. In HADDAN AND STUBBS (I., 668), his appointment is dated Nov. 11th, 1404; ROGERS (in GASC., 235), gives 1403; see also STUBBS, REG., 178. RAMSAY (I., 38), thinks that the diocese was vacant in 1400. [3] Capellano nostro et Auditori causarum palatii.—ERLER, 103, and APP. XVII., from LATERAN ARCHIVES, BONIFACE IX. (1395). He was consecrated Bishop of Bangor at Rome, May 20th, 1400.—STUBBS, REG., 62. [4] See his letter dated London, 1407, in MART., COLL., VII., 748. [5] ANN., 393. [6] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 71′ (dated Tutbury, Sept. 26th, 1404), refers to the Bishop of Bangor as then absent in Scotland. [7] Vol. I., pp. 476, 482, where the Bishop of Rochester is Yonge, not Bottlesham. [8] LE NEVE, I., 101; but GODWIN, II., 114, gives Nov. 11th, 1405 or 1406. Both quote REG. ARUNDEL, II., 35. [9] He died April 17th, 1404.—GODWIN, II., 113. From 1397 to 1400 he had been Master of Peterhouse at Cambridge, and left all his law books to the college, as well as £20 to the University Chest. —LE NEVE, III., 668; C. H. COOPER, MEM., I., 9; BAKER, I., 40.

officially[1] Bishop of Bangor, to prevent Owen's nominee from coming in. He went to Denmark to negotiate the marriage of Philippa in the winter of 1404,[2] and was an envoy to France in the following year. Early in 1407[3] he was seized by the French, while travelling with two clerks under safe-conduct in Picardy, for which he subsequently entered an action against the Duke of Burgundy. He took formal charge of his new diocese of Rochester on May 2nd, 1407.[4] In Feb., 1408, Bifort was captured at Bramham Moor, and a permanent successor to Yonge was found by the promotion of Benedict Nicole, a Bachelor of Laws, who had held the Rectory of Stalbridge[5] near Sherborne in Dorsetshire, since Oct., 1398. He was appointed Bishop of Bangor by bull dated April 18th, 1408,[6] and was consecrated on Aug. 12th[7] in the same year.

The vacant diocese of St. Asaph was at length filled by the appointment of Robert Lancaster,[8] Abbot of the Cistertian Abbey of Valle Crucis at Llanegwest, in Denbighshire. On Oct. 19th, 1409,[9] he is referred to as Bishop-elect of St. Asaph; but he was not actually consecrated till June 28th, 1411.[10]

[1] In KAL. AND INV., II., 67 (Mar. 6th, 1405), he is Epō [Bangorēn] Roffēn.; see RYM., VIII., 391, Mar. 12th, 1405; ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 257, April 7th, 1405; GALBA, B. I., 96, 9, May 4th, 10th, 1405. In writs for Parliament, dated Dec. 21st, 1405, the see of Rochester is still vacant. —REPT. DIGN. PEER, III., 793; also Jan. 19th, May 25th, Dec. 22nd, 1406 (PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 18; *ibid.*, 2, 30; ROT. PARL., III., 582; RYM., VIII., 463). On Feb. 26th and May 8th, 1407, Yonge is called Bishop of Rochester.—PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 6; RYM., VIII., 480, 627. On April 18th, 1407, the Archbishop of Canterbury still had jurisdiction over the sees of Bangor and St. Asaph.—CONC., III., 304. [2] Vol. II., p. 440. [3] RYM., VIII., 480, 627, May 8th, 1407. [4] LE NEVE, I., 101; HASTED, II., 39. His will is dated 1418.—GENEAL., VI., 228. [5] GODWIN, II., 203; HUTCHINS, III., 245; HADDAN AND STUBBS, I., 668. [6] LE NEVE, I., 101; RYM., VIII., 544. [7] STUBBS, REG., 63; HADDAN AND STUBBS, I., 668. [8] For his seal in the British Museum see ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., 5th Ser., VI., 276, 290. [9] DEP. KEEP., 36th REPT., II., 10. [10] GODWIN, II., 220; WILLIS, I., 78. The see was formally declared vacant on Oct. 8th, 1410. —HADDAN AND STUBBS, I., 669.

He continued to reside at Valle Crucis during the whole of his 22 years' tenure of the see; and for 50 years after his death the cathedral and palace at St. Asaph still stood in ruins.[1]

The arrangements for filling the vacant bishoprics were scarcely completed when a Great Council[2] was held at Westminster, which decreed (Feb. 21st, 1408)[3] that the property of alien priories or cells belonging to foreign[4] monasteries, as well as all the income from vacant bishoprics, should in future be appropriated to supply funds for the expenses of the Royal Household. Very little appears to have resulted from the commissions issued in 1405.[5] In some cases of proved mismanagement an Abbey[6] may have become so poor that the inmates called in the secular arm to administer their estates and save them from further loss; but on the whole the influence of Archbishop Arundel was paramount, and the religious of the English houses still held their own without serious molestation. But the case of the alien priories was different. For more than a century past they had been the constant hunting-ground for confiscators;[7] and in many cases had become a burden[8] rather than a profit to their foreign superiors. Their number at this time amounted to nearly 150,[9] and

[1] The Cathedral was rebuilt by Bishop Redman (1471-1495), and the palace by Bishop David ap Owen (1503-1512).—WILLIS, I., 87, 90. [2] WALS., II., 277. [3] RYM., VIII., 510; ROT. PARL., III., 654. [4] Usually French or Flemish.—Vol. I., p. 79; HASTED, I., 76; DUCKETT, I., 32. [5] Vol. II., p. 121. [6] For the case of Combermere in Cheshire see ORMEROD, III., 404. [7] WYCLIFFE, DE ECCLESIA, 332; DE EUCHARISTIA, 320; DE BLASPHEMIA, 156; STAT., 35 Ed. I., cap. III.; OLIVER, 242; GASQUET, I., 48; *ibid.*, PESTILENCE, 76, 176, 187; DENTON, 20; CUNNINGHAM, I., 254. DIXON, I., 321, carries the confiscations back to the time of John. For proposed confiscations in 1402 see ROT. PARL., III., 491, 499; ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 190-199. [8] DUCKETT, I., 31, 36, 124. [9] 126 are named in MONAST., VI., 987-1057; 146 in WARBURTON AND DUCAREL, I., VI.; II., 172, 208, followed by GASQUET, I., 42. For other

special permission[1] had to be asked and paid for before any foreigner could come from the parent-house abroad to reside in them. The favourable treatment that they had received at Henry's accession[2] was partly due to a desire on the part of the new King to conciliate the French;[3] but when experience had proved that this was hopeless, the old policy was revived; and "pensions," which should have been sent every year to the great religious houses at Tours, Cluni, Fécamp, Rheims, St. Omer, and elsewhere in France,[4] were seized to help to pay the King's expenses in England. At Monks Kirby,[5] near Rugby, after repeated impositions the aliens had put themselves under the protection of the Duke of Norfolk, who had attached them to the new Carthusian house that he was building at Epworth in Lincolnshire; but when the Earl Marshal was beheaded[6] for treason at York, the Prior of

lists see Vol. I., p. 79 (with Corrigenda); Vol. II., p. 285, note 8; RYM., IV., 246; VIII., 101; ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 192, where about half of them (Jan., 1403), are in the hands of *occupatores*. For Brimpsfield (Gloucestershire) see REC. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 26th, 1412; MONAST., VI., 1408. For Beggar or Begare near Richmond see REC. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 11th, 1412; MONAST., VI., 1055.

[1] *E.g.*, Nicholas Champene, Prior of Ware, has permission for one monk from the Abbey of St. Evroult in the Pays d'Ouche, Feb. 5th, 1410.—PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 10; and Thomas Mancien, Prior of Tutbury, for six monks from St. Pierre-sur-Dive in Normandy, July 18th, 1410.—PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 8; PRIV. SEAL, 649/6647. [2] Vol. I., p. 79. [3] DUCKETT, I., 188. For letter on behalf of the Abbot of Cluni addressed by Charles VI. to Henry as "Conte d'Arbile," see *ibid.*, I., 143. [4] *E.g.*, Angers, Evreux, Seez, Caen, Bec, Dives, Cherbourg, Fontevrault, St. Valery, Fontenay, Tiron, &c., &c. For a letter written by the Abbot of Cluni to King Henry VI. in 1458 (WHETHAMSTEDE, 433; MONAST., V., p. IX.), protesting against certain nobles for seizing his manors at Letcombe Regis (near Wantage), Offord Cluny (near Huntingdon), Tixover and Manton (near Uppingham), see DUCKETT, I., 178, who supposes it to have been addressed to Henry IV. But the expression "*jamdiu* sit pax reddita ecclesiæ et unitas procurata" shows that it was written long after the close of the Council of Constance (1418). [5] DUGDALE, WARWICKSHIRE, I., 76. [6] Vol. II., p. 240.

Monks Kirby did not wait for further confiscation, but took[1] what property he could with him and fled right away. Some of the aliens, as at Bermondsey,[2] paid a heavy fine to the Exchequer, and became naturalized for ever; others, as at Llangenith[3] on the east shore of Carmarthen Bay, saw their property bestowed upon monasteries which had suffered for their loyalty to the English King; others, as at Totnes[4] and Cowick[5] (near Exeter), paid contributions to the King, and remained undisturbed for a while longer. But in most cases the priories were taken over by "farmers,"[6] who paid a fixed sum to the Exchequer, and dealt with the property as they liked.

This treatment of the alien priories would be justified in the eyes of the English nation on the score of patriotism. For would it not be treason[7] to allow English money[8] to be

[1] PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 13, July 13th, 1405. [2] BERMONDSEY, 480. [3] Vol. II., p. 305, note 1. It belonged to Evreux in Normandy.—MONAST., VI., 1047. [4] REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 17th, 1408, where the Prior is Thomas Swynford. He had resigned before June 11th, 1407.—G. OLIVER, 239. [5] REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 17th, 1408, shows £13 6s. 6d. paid by Prior John Burgoill (or Bourgeauvyll, STAFF. REG., 33, 72, 159; MONAST., VI., 1043), RYM., VIII, 721. In G. OLIVER, 154, he is called Peter. In PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 20 (Apr. 28th, 1410), the Prior (John Fermer) has permission for seven or eight monks to come from Bec. For a suit brought by the Prior in 1410 see YEAR BOOK, 11 H. IV., HIL., p. 49 a. [6] REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., is full of returns to the Exchequer from this source. For possessor, detentor, and fermer see DUCKETT, I., 192. In ROT. PARL., III., 653, Sir John Cheyne pays a farm of £67 6s. 8d. to the King for custody of the lands of the alien priory of Newent, in the Forest of Dean. For Hinckley (ROT. PARL., III., 610) where £40 was found to be beyond the value of the priory lands, see J. NICHOLS, IV., 2, 681. For Pembroke see Vol. II., p. 309, note 3, and REC. ROLL, 11 H. IV., PASCH., May 2nd and 27th, 1410, where Sir F. Court pays £10 to the Exchequer. [7] DUCKETT, I., 174. For agreement between Sir Gilbert Talbot of Richard's Castle and the Provost of Cluni, evading the law, propter inhibitionem super hæc factam per regem Angliæ, see *ibid.*, I., 147. [8] 6000 gold crowns went from England each year to the Cluniacs abroad.—DUCKETT, I., 199. In 1346 the amount was £2000.—ROT. PARL., II., 163. In 1377 it is stated that the aliens possessed benefices in England to the value of £10,000 a year.—ROT. PARL., III., 19.

sent abroad to enrich the enemies of the country, and to keep high-born nuns in France from scarceness?[1] Besides, the religious houses over-sea on which their Norman forefathers had bestowed these lands were now in schism,[2] and as such unfit to receive the dues of the English faithful. But that the funds of English bishoprics should be stolen and secularized was flat sacrilege, and the fact that such a startling stroke was borne without a murmur marks at once the success of the new appointments and the subservience of the packed bench. The yield, however, of the new policy was all that could be wished, for, in spite of the exemptions still allowed to impoverished towns on the marches, such as Shrewsbury[3] and Newcastle, the total revenue for the year ending Sept. 29th, 1408, reached the unprecedented total of £139,760 14s. 11½d.[4]

[1] DUCKETT, I., 179; GOWER, CONF. AM., 273, 274, 310; WYCL. (M.), 316; "scantness," HOCCL., DE REG., 170, 192. [2] DUCKETT, I., 150, 152, 178, 189, [3] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 1, 4. [4] ANTIQUARY, VI., 104. In PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 16 (Nov. 22nd, 1408), £2000 was allowed from alien priories for the King's expenses, yet two years later the estimated yield from alien priories (from Sept. 29th, 1410, to June 24th, 1411) amounts to only £100.—ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 10; ISS. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH. (Sept. 10th, 1408), has payment to messengers calling controllers to Westminster with all that they have or can get in.

CHAPTER LXXII.

BRAMHAM MOOR.

WHILE the Council[1] was deliberating at Westminster, the last act of the drama of Shrewsbury was being played out in the North. Failing in their efforts to procure help in Paris,[2] the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolph passed into Flanders,[3] whence they crossed back to Scotland. Nothing had come of their constant wanderings and piteous entreaties, and they were forced in mere desperation to make their forward move alone. They had intelligence with Flemings, French, Welsh, and Scots, and had long and carefully sounded the chances of success. Civil words abounded, but they had not the prudence to gauge their hollowness; and in their chivalrous infatuation they "led their powers to death, and winking leaped into destruction."[4] Some reckless Welshmen[5] were ready with counsels of despair; but what effective aid could come from Owen, hemmed in with a declining cause round the steeps of Aberystwith? How could they look for help from Scotland with the Earl of Douglas just back on parole with plans afoot for the release of Murdach, and Albany all eager for a truce? The King of Scots and the son of

[1] It was still sitting Mar. 2nd, 1408, the Prince of Wales being then present.—ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 305-308. [2] Vol. II., p. 381. [3] HARD., 364; not Holland, as RAMSAY, I., 112. [4] HENRY IV., Pt. II., 1, 3, 32. [5] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 25, names Thomas ap Madoc ap Prene.

Owen were prisoners in King Henry's hand; the Flemings were sick of the stoppage of their trade, and the fateful deed in the Rue Barbette had put a muzzle on French aggression which no platonic friendliness towards ambitious traitors could unloose. They trusted, however, that they could still play upon English discontent.[1] In London some lesing-mongers[2] were posting notices that King Richard was coming to claim his kingdom; but the man that started the rumour was only laughed at for a "stupid liar,"[3] though the French[4] were led to believe that the Earl of Northumberland and James Douglas had had a great success, that King Henry had been defeated with a loss of 8000 men, and that his son John was amongst the prisoners.

There is no doubt, however, that encouragement was received in some quarters. Early in July, 1407,[5] a servant of Lord Bardolph was caught in the act of carrying letters and sent to prison in Nottingham Castle. Sir Thomas Rokeby,[6] the Sheriff of Yorkshire, wrote hopefully of the chances in that county. Sir John Skelton[7] of Armathwaite in Cumberland, the captor[8] of Murdach Stewart on the field of Humbledon, sent one of his servants into Scotland. The man passed

[1] CHRON. GILES, 53. [2] WYCL. (M.), 11, 125, 268, 270. [3] "Stultus commentor."—WALS., II., 276; OTT., 261. For "lyere" see CHAUCER (S.), II., 253. [4] ST. DENYS, III., 430. [5] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 304. [6] SCOTICHRON., II., 441, followed by G. BUCHANAN, 106, who is not the first to give the story, as supposed by LINGARD, III., 442. Rokeby had been one of the Knights of the Shire for Yorkshire in the Long Parliament, 1406.—RETURN PARL., I., 270. He is Sheriff of Yorkshire in REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 29th, 1408; RYM., VIII., 640; REC. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 3rd and 26th, 1412. [7] See Vol. II., p. 258. [8] ROT. PARL., III., 597; PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 7. In 1406 he received an annuity of 100 marks for this service.—PAT., 14 H. IV., 16, Dec. 1st, 1412; DEVON, 303. In PAT., 14 H. IV., 13, Richard Skelton is forester of Inglewood (HIGDEN, II., 66; HUTCHINSON, CUMBERLAND, II., 464), in which year (1412-13) it was granted to Richard Morerson.

under several *aliases*,[1] and at last succeeded in communicating with the Earl of Northumberland in person, leading him to believe that the train was ready to be fired. Terror was rampant in the midlands, and constant attacks were made upon the King's estates in Stafford and Derby.[2] His tenants' houses were broken into, their glass windows smashed, and their basins, lavers, pots, pans, and other necessaries all tumbled into the fields. The roads about Lichfield, Stafford, and Newcastle-under-Lyme were infested with marauders who threatened to behead peaceful people, or cut their children's legs off, if they resisted. At Uttoxeter a milner,[3] who paid a rent of £10 a year to King Henry as Duke of Lancaster,[4] was beaten and forbidden to work his mill till he had paid black-mail to the robbers. Women and old men were waylaid and beaten. Carts were stopped, the beasts unspanned, and the owners forbidden to allow their use henceforward. One of the King's officers was set upon while collecting the tax-silver, and stabbed three times to the heart.

A modern writer states that the Earl of Northumberland "recovered many of his old castles and lordships";[5] but in the absence of his authority we can only treat the statement as a guess. We know, however, that the English garrisons that still occupied his strongholds were by no means steady in their loyalty. At Alnwick[6] there was a party ripe for rebellion.

[1] He is called William Cok, or William of Kethyne, or Carlisle, or Holme.—RYM., VIII., 527. PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 29, May 6th, 1408, records his pardon at the request of the son and heir of the Earl of Douglas. [2] ROT. PARL., III., 630. [3] For milnere, mylner, see DERBY ACCTS., 32, 157. [4] DEP. KEEP., 45th REPT., 149. [5] COLLINS, II., 264. [6] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 27 (May 3rd, 1408), records pardon to William Ashburne, lately one of the rebels in the service of the Earl of Northumberland, infra castrum de Alnewyke. I can find no evidence for the statement in GARDINER, p. 296, that King Henry "demolished the fortifications of Alnwick, Warkworth, and Prudhoe."

At Warkworth John Hardyng had been superseded as Constable by John Middleham, who had previously held Alnwick[1] for the Earl. In August, 1407, the Earl sent a letter to Middleham, who read it and passed it on to William Alnwick, vicar of Chatton, near Wooler, one of the canons of Alnwick Abbey. But the plot broke down, and the castles were soon scared back into submission. Middleham was tried and condemned to death, confessing his treason; while Canon William[2] escaped into Scotland to report the failure to Lord Bardolph and the Earl.

But they had ventured too far on dangerous seas;[3] their resolve was taken and could not now be changed. The Duke of Albany[4] was by no means sanguine, and tried to dissuade them from their purpose; but a few devoted followers urged them to persevere, and many of the Scottish lords amused and cheered them on. "Go forth!" said they, "for England is with you:"[5]—and so they bowed them across the Tweed.

No doubt the blow should have been struck while the King was away in Gloucester, but this chance had been missed. It was a settled maxim with strategists[6] of that age

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 211, 215. [2] For his pardon dated April 24th, 1408, see PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 28; BATES, 107, where the third line from the bottom has been misplaced. In 1415 Alnwick was appointed the first confessor in the new convent of Sion, (MONAST., VI., 542,) and afterwards rose to be Bishop of Norwich (1426-1436) and Lincoln (1436-1449).—GODWIN, II., 19; BLOMEFIELD, II., 377; BATES, 108, from TATE, HIST. OF ALNWICK, I., 274. For a silvergilt cross and blue velvet cope given by him to Lincoln Cathedral see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 19, 30, 54. [3] HENRY IV., Pt. II., 1, 1, 180. [4] WYNT., III., 2577. [5] EUL., III., 411; HENRY IV., Pt. II., 1, 1, 175. In HALLE, 28 a (GRAFTON, 434, followed by HOLINS., II., 534), it is represented that a large number of Scots accompanied them to England.

[6] On doit aller gerroier en esté
Les chevaulx ont lors tous leurs biens a plenté,
Et le logeis de mal en bien se mue,
Arme toy lors, tien toy l'iver en mue.
DESCHAMPS, II., 58; cf. PALMIERI, 175; MONSTR., II., 183.

never to try a campaign in winter, when the fields were bare and the roads blocked; but, in defiance of all caution, the Earl took the field in the depth of the wildest winter that any man then living had ever known.[1] For years after it was known as the "big winter,"[2] and records of its severity abound in the annals of every country in Europe. In the broad entrance to the Baltic[3] one vast sheet of ice stretched from Rostock across to Giedser in Falster, and carts were run from Oeland right away to Gothland in the centre of the sea. The Garonne was frozen over at Bordeaux, "with great loss of shipping."[4] The Danube[5] was ice-bound, and with the melting of the snow the uplands of Bavaria were drowned in floods. The Rhine[6] was frozen at Cologne, and when the frost gave on Jan. 25th, 1408, mills and shipping were crashed into splinters by the moving floes. At Liége the stone Pont-des-Arches[7] was shaken to its foundations by the flooded Meuse, and the wooden bridges at Jemeppe[8] and Visé were swept clean away. Higher up in Switzerland[9] the frost lasted from Martinmas to Candlemas. Then came a rapid thaw, with rain and warm winds. All the bridges on the Rhine and the Aar were swept away except at Bern and Basle, and on the latter 1000 men worked for two days and a night with four windlasses hauling up big trees and wreckage that gathered about the piers. The Vistula[10] rose in its lower course and flooded the delta between Elbing and Danzig. At Rome[11] there was a three months' rainpour, from November to January,

[1] BRANDO, 110, 125. [2] Vol. III., p. 89. [3] LANGEBEK, I., 262; CORNER, 1191. Many dolphins were caught at Wisby.—FANT, I., 31, 36, 96. [4] LURBE, 32. [5] RATISBON, 2126. [6] NEUSS, 596; TRITHEIM, II., 328. [7] DYNTER, III., 174; PETRI SUFFR., 83. It fell in the following winter. —ZANTFLIET, 397. [8] FOULLON, I., 467; DEWEZ, I., 2951. [9] JUSTINGER, 203, 443, 453. [10] Als der winter abegink wart gros wassir.—POSILJE, 290. [11] A. PETRI, 985.

and about Este and Ferrara,[1] where snow fell thick, small birds and woodland animals perished in countless numbers, and nut-trees, vines, figs, and pomegranates were utterly destroyed. In Paris the frost began on the night that the Duke of Orleans was murdered; and when it broke on Feb. 1st, 1408,[2] the wooden bridge of St. Michel[3] and the new stone bridge known as the Petit Pont,[4] in the narrows of the Seine, fell in with the booths built on them for writers, barbers, spurriers, chasublers, and harpmakers, and the stalls for eggs, venison, poultry, and other market stuff.[5] Many women and children were drowned, and 14 of the goldsmiths' and changers' shops[6] on the Grand Pont, the centre of the wealth[7] and traffic[8] of Paris, tumbled with their gold and gems into the swollen river below, the bridge itself being only saved by the mills that clustered about the piers, and broke the force of the flood. During the whole

[1] DELAYTO, 1044. [2] BOUVIER, 417; COUSINOT, 117. [3] GODEFROY, 417; BAYE, I., 216, 250, 255; II., 295. It was begun in 1378 and finished in 1387.—CHAMPION, I., 42. "Pont neuf (*i.e.*, Pont St. Michel, LEROUX DE LINCY, 161) est bien maisonné."—G. METZ, 55. [4] Petit Pont est moult fort. Il est dis le fondement de grands lames attaciés ensemble à fer et a plont (*i.e.*, plomb). La est le petit chastelet.—G. METZ, 55. For pictures of it see LEROUX DE LINCY, 14, 44, 156. A Petit Pont ne font faucons leur vol, &c.—DESCHAMPS, V., 123 (written in 1389). It had fallen in 1280, 1296, 1325, 1376, and 1393, and was rebuilt in 1394.—LEROUX DE LINCY, 160; BAYE, I., 216; CHOISY, 239. [5] G. METZ, 59. For gastrimargii see ROGERS, I., 122. [6] ST. DENYS, III., 747; BAYE, I., 315, 325; G. METZ, XI., XXXVIII., 55; DESCHAMPS, V., 51; LENOIR, 268, with Plate in ATLAS, Vol. II.; CHAMPION, I., 43. For picture of the Grand Pont with the mills see LEROUX DE LINCY, 55. Cf. From Grand Pont (ou est l'horloge) jusqu' au pont neuf (*i.e.*, St. Michel).—G. METZ, 53.

[7] Tu as moult d'or, d'argent, de pierrerie,
Et de joyaulx sur Grant Pont.
DESCHAMPS, I., 301.
Vous n'estes pas sur Grant Pont à Paris.
Ibid., I., 150, 156; V., 140; VI., 92.
Cf. GESTE, 375, where TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 64, has sur le Petit Pont.

[8] It was said that you could always see a black monk and a black horse on it.—G. METZ in LEROUX DE LINCY, 122.

of the month of January, 1408, the official scribe[1] could make no entries in his register, for the ink[2] froze on his pointel[3] at every second word, though he kept his penner[4] close to the little copper chafer[5] beside his chair. In England the like had not been known for 100 years, and men dubbed it the "strong winter,"[6] or the "great frost and ice."[7] From December to March the country was covered with snow, and the merles, mavises, fieldfares,[8] quails,[9] cushats,[10] plovers, and other small birds,[11] which formed a staple article of food at the pulters,[12] died off in thousands.

[1] For representations see CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, Plate XLV., 285; BARROIS, 158, 258; LEROUX DE LINCY, 316; LACROIX, 21, 42, 51; BASTARD, Plate XXV. (from MS. LAT., 667, BIBL. NAT.). CHEVALIER EN CYGNE in MON. POUR SERVIR A L'HISTOIRE DE NAMUR, &c., Vol. 4; KNIGHT, HIST., II., 205; SHAW, DRESSES, Vol. I., from HARL. MS., 2897. [2] BAYE, I., 211-216; II., VII., 294; CHAMPION, II., 5. For recipe for making ink from pounded galls or blackthorn bark boiled in wine or vinegar with plum tree or apple tree gum to prevent running, see MS., 6741, in BIBL. NAT., from ERACLIUS, copied by Jehan de Bègue, 1431; MERRIFIELD, I., 61-69, 151, 289; DEHAISNES, II., 825; HAUTES ETUDES, XXXV., 209-227; M. STOKES, 8. For ancre cire pappier et parchemin, see DESCHAMPS, V., 19; cf. "ynke," WYCL. (A.), I., 332; "enke," *ibid.*, II., 2, 225; III., 187; "inke," CHAUCER (S.), II., 297; III., 167. In 1390 a bottle of ink costs 10d. and 1s. 1d.—DERBY ACCTS., 5, 155; PRUTZ, LVI., 7. In 1414 a bottle and a pint of ink cost 1s. 8d. in Ireland.—GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE, N. S., XLIII., 39; cf. WATTENBACH, 193-203. [3] WYCL. (A.), I., 364; CHAUCER (S.), II., 2, 141; WATTENBACH, 67. In DERBY ACCTS., 5, three pointels cost 1d. (1390). [4] PROMPT. PARV., 392; CATHOL., 196, 274. In 1402 a leaden standard to hold ink cost 1s. —DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 2; APP. A. Cf. pro j. pennario cum corner, 7d. (1392).—DERBY ACCTS., 159. [5] PROMPT. PARV., 68; cf. Calefactorium nullus ingrediatur nisi ad calefaciandum incaustum.—MONAST., VI., Pt. II., LV.* For one chafour de cupro, see L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., XI., 12, APP. C. For "chawfre," see HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., APP. 3, 76; A. S. GREEN, II., 62; "chawfour," DERBY ACCTS., 87. [6] CHRON. LOND., 91. [7] GREY FRIARS CHRON., 11; magnum gelu.—CHRON. GODSTOWE, 240. [8] CHAUCER (S.), II., 271, 479; DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, 6, APP. A. [9] Vol. II., 476; TWO COOKERY BOOKS, 61, 68. [10] *Ibid.*, 8. [11] WALS., II., 277. POL. VERG., 436, has ovium for avium, and HALLE, 29 (GRAFTON, 435), gives "sheep and birds." For parva volatilia, see DERBY ACCTS., 212, 214, 218, 227. [12] CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 10; LIB. ALB., I., 716; DERBY ACCTS., 130, 140; CHAUCER (S.), IV., 74, 294. In the London markets larks sold at four a

In such a winter the Earl of Northumberland[1] and Lord Bardolph crossed the Tweed[2] for their last fatal venture, accompanied by a few faithful Yorkshiremen, such as Robert Mauger[3] of Easingwold, and John Wath[4] of Assenby, who had been with them in all their wanderings. Before the end of Jan., 1408, the Earl displayed his banner at Thirsk,[5] proclaiming himself to be England's consolation and help under her oppression, and calling valiantly on all who loved liberty to take up arms and follow him. The clergy vindicated their right to rebel. Bishop Bifort was with him in arms, together with the Abbot of the Premonstrants of Halesowen near Dudley, the Prior of Hexham[6] with his monks, several of the monks of Fountains,[7] and chaplains from Helmsley, Osmotherly, and Topcliffe. Their following was not large; the leaders[8] were insignificant, and the rank and file were drawn from the barkers[9] of Silton, Ellerbeck, and Sowerby, together

1d., thrushes 5d. per dozen, finches 1d. per dozen.—LIB. ALB., I., LXXXIV.; HERBERT, I., 79; ROGERS, II., 645; WYCL., LAT. SERM., IV., 445; MONTREUIL, 1400; TWO COOKERY BOOKS, 9, 58. In P. MEYER (389) three fat madlardes (*i.e.*, mallards) de rivere cost 9d. For destruction wrought by them to crops see P PLO., A., VII., 35.

[1] One is tempted to attribute to the Earl the letter dated Semar, Jan. 7th (no year), printed in FACSIMILES, Pt. I., XXXV.; DEP. KEEP., 26th REPT., 60. It is signed "H," and is addressed to "my dearest cousin," Master Richard de Clifford. For a facsimile of the Earl's undoubted signature "H," see FONBLANQUE, I., 210. The letter is supposed by the editor to be written by the Prince of Wales; but he seems to have had no kinship with the Cliffords. On the other hand John, 7th Baron Clifford, had married Hotspur's daughter Elizabeth.—WHITAKER, CRAVEN, 316; AD QUOD DAMN., 351. [2] GARDINER (296), seems to think that he marched from *Wales* to Bramham Moor. [3] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 25. [4] *Ibid.*, 29. [5] WALS., II., 278; OTT., 262. [6] Called John Hexham in PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 6; RYM., VIII., 545. For scandals at Hexham see HEXHAM PRIORY, XCI., 167. The community was much demoralized. [7] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 2. [8] For a list see RYM., VIII., 394, 520, 545. There is no name of any note amongst them, except Nicholas Tempest, who, however, is not in WHITAKER, CRAVEN, 96, 106. He is wrongly called a Knight in LINGARD, III., 442; PAULI, V., 45, and RAMSAY, I., 113. [9] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 3, 6, 9, 11, 13, 14, 17, 25; *ibid.*, 10 H. IV., 1, 3, 26, 34; *ibid.*, 2, 21.

with smiths, tailors, mercers, souters, palisars, horse-leeches, and falconers from York and Ripon, and a mixed throng of countryfolks from Assenby, Camberwell, Catton, Crakehall, Dalton, Easingwold, Elyngeham, Gristhwaite,[1] Newby, Northallerton, Sand Hutton, Sessay, Wath, Snyleswath, and Westharlsey, most of them dwellers within a ring-fence round Thirsk and Topcliffe and the uplands about the Hambledon Hills. Moving forward they found that Sheriff Rokeby, in spite of his encouraging invitation,[2] had collected a small force, and held the passage of the Nidd against them at Grimbaldsbridge[3] near Knaresborough.[4] The river was swollen with the melting snows, and the Earl's troops were too weak to force a passage; so he turned aside to the left, skirted Hay Park,[5] crossed the Nidd lower down, and reached Wetherby in the night of Saturday, Feb. 18th, 1408. The next day he passed through Tadcaster, and posted his force on a bit of rising ground on Bramham Moor.[6] The spot is marked by the fields now called Spen Farm,[7] at the south-eastern corner of Bramham Park, a little to the north of the cross roads, and on the east side of the great north road running from Aberford to Wetherby. Behind him lay dense slopes of hazelwood,[8] and

[1] In parochia de Topclȳf.—FABR. ROLLS, 62; KIRKBY, 323. [2] Page 147. [3] HOLINS., II., 534; GRAINGE, BATTLEFIELDS, 43; HARROGATE AND KNARESBOROUGH FOREST, 283; not "the pass of Knaresborough," as GUTHRIE, II., 429. [4] For plan of Knaresborough Castle as it stood in 1648 see SURTEES SOC., Vol. 37. For Richard II.'s imprisonment there and at Pickering before Pontefract see HARD., 356; BEAMONT, 62. [5] OTT., 262. It is marked on SAXTON'S MAP, 1577. [6] The earliest official document describes it as "Bramham juxta Tadcastre."—RYM., VIII., 545, Aug. 2nd, 1408. Cf. "Bramyng More prope Hasylwode."—CHRON. GODSTOWE, 240. In SCOTICHRON., II., 441, 448, the battle is fought "apud Wedderbymore." Cf. "Tyl Tadecastyre in Yorkisschire."—WYNT., III., 2587; "juxta Heselwode."—WALS., II., 278. [7] I was assured on the spot by one who had farmed the land that spears are sometimes turned out by the plough, and that portions of the soil are still surprisingly fertile. [8] For proverbs on the "haselwode," see CHAUCER (S.), II., 271, 373, 394.

in front a great stretch of rolling limestone country, swelling northward to the Wharfe. He threw up a hasty entrenchment on his northern face, and posted scouts to warn him lest the Sheriff should escape. But at two o'clock in the afternoon of the same day (Sunday, Feb. 19th, 1408)[1] Rokeby with his little band fell upon him with fury.[2] No kings or royal dukes were present. Sheriff Rokeby, Peter of the Hay,[3] Robert Ellis of Kiddal,[4] William Wauton of Cliffe,[5] Sir Alexander[6] and Squire Henry Lound, and a few more Yorkshire stalwarts[7] and their tenants drove the blow home, and quelled the Percies in their own ground, within call of Plumpton, Spofforth, Healaugh, and Tadcaster. The snow was still deep on the ground, and the skirmish[8] was sharp, swift, and decisive. The Earl[9] fell fighting. Lord Bardolph turned to fly, but was captured[10] with his servants John Lesingham[11] and John Smethies[12] from Suffolk. He died of his wounds the same night; and the rebels were scattered, leaving the Bishop, the

[1] Not Monday, 20th, as STUBBS, III., 62; nor 29th, as HOLT, VII.; LANGLEY, 274. HARDYNG (364), says, "In Feveryer afore the fastyngange." In 1408 Ash Wednesday fell on Feb. 28. In CHRON. GODSTOWE, 240, "Matthæi" should be "Matthiæ," *i.e.*, Feb. 24th. CARTE, II., 669, followed by DOYLE, II., 646, places the battle on Feb. 28th, 1407. FONBLANQUE, I., 97, 238, says Feb. 17th, 1408, but in his pedigree the date is March 2nd, 1407. [2] "Rukby bolnyt in gret ire."—WYNT., III., 2588. [3] CAPGR., 295. [4] TEST. EBOR., I., 249. [5] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 16; TEST. EBOR., I., 381; FOSTER, VISITATIONS, 260. [6] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 23, 25; RYM., IX., 244. He was escheator of Yorkshire Nov. 26th, 1408, REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH.; ROT. PARL., III., 586 b; RYM., VIII., 640. He represented Yorkshire in the Parliaments of 1407, 1413, 1414.—RETURN PARL., I., 273, 280, 282. In PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 24 d, May 14th, 1410, he is one of the commissioners to array the forces of the East Riding. For will of his daughter Margaret, wife of Sir John Dawnay, see TEST. EBOR., II., 193; FOSTER, VISITATIONS, 80. [7] WYCL. (A.), II., 367; III., 14, 60, 118. [8] CHAUCER (S.), II., 208, 218, 405. [9] Neither he nor Lord Bardolph was sent to York for trial, as stated in POL. VERG., 436; MIR. F. MAG., 306; HALLE, 28 a; GRAFTON, 434. [10] CAPGR., 295. [11] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 4, records his pardon, Sept. 1st, 1408. [12] ROT. VIAG., 9 H. IV., 7, April 12th, 1408.

Abbot, and the Prior prisoners in the Sheriff's hands. The old Earl's head, with its fringe of silver hair,[1] was sent to London, where it was pitched[2] on a pike, paraded through the streets,[3] and huddled up[4] with insult on the tower in the middle[5] of London Bridge. His body was cut into quarters, which were parboiled[6] in a pickle of cloves, cumin, and anise, then tied in sacks, sealed, and distributed,[7] to be exposed at Berwick, Lincoln, Newcastle, and York. On July 2nd, 1408,[8] they were collected for burial in York Minster, beside the remains of Hotspur, "at the right hand of the high altar."[9] Lord Bardolph's head was sent to Lincoln, his unjointed limbs[10]

[1] Venerandâ decoratum canitie.—WALS., II., 278. In HARL. MS., 1319, he is represented with grey hair and grey beard.—ARCHÆOL., XX., 148; DOYLE, II., 645; ANTIQ. REPERT., IV., I, 8; FONBLANQUE, Vol. I.; STRUTT, REG. ANTIQ., 57. He was born Nov. 10th, 1341.—SCROPE AND GROSV., I., 215; MONAST., V., 516; or July 4th, according to Little Pedigree of Percy and Vesey in Alnwick Castle.—BATES, 101; not 1342 as DOYLE, II., 644; FONBLANQUE, I., 97. He was made Earl of Northumberland at the coronation of Richard II., July 15th, 1377.—RYM., VII., 160; DOYLE, II., 645; FONBLANQUE, I., 505; HIST. MSS., 3rd REPORT, p. 45. A contemporary record in Alnwick Abbey, which he "tenderly loved," describes him as "well-lettered"; he "waited well, and his answers were wise, ripe, and eloquent." Before his father's death he had travelled abroad and made his name feared by the Scots.—ARCH. ÆL., III., I., 42. For a letter from him to John Bradshaw of Bradshaw, near Bolton (Lancs), asking for help against the Scots, see St. George's visitation of Lancashire, CHET. SOC., Vol. 82, p. 58. This letter was carefully preserved, and produced to the herald in 1613. The Earl was named a surveyor of King Richard II.'s will, dated April 16th, 1399.—WILLS OF KINGS, 201. [2] FABYAN, 384; WYCL. (A.), II., 125, 127, 130, 132, &c. [3] CAPGR., 295. [4] Confusibiliter.—WALS., II., 278; see DU CANGE, s. v. CONFUSIBILIS. [5] HARRISON, I., LVI.; JUSSERAND, 53; BESANT, 63, 214, 302. [6] EUL., III., LXV., quoting FOR. ACCTS., 1-6 H. IV., for Hotspur. [7] A. S. GREEN, I., 213. [8] CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 10; FONBLANQUE, I., 536; not May, as DUGDALE, I., 278; BRAND, II., 421.

[9] In Yorke minster this honurable knight (*i.e.*, Hotspur),
By the Earl, his father, lieth openly in sight.

PEERIS in ANTIQ. REPERT., IV., 382; ARCH. ÆL., 15, 183. Peeris was Chaplain to the fifth Earl (1489-1537); FONBLANQUE (I., 140) considers him to be contemporary with the first Earl, misled apparently by the heading in ANTIQ. REPERT., IV., 381. [10] GOWER, CONF., 179.

going to London, Lynn, Shrewsbury, and York,[1] where they were shown on the gates till April 13th.[2]

On receiving news of the rising the King deemed it his duty to repair again to the north. Four days before the battle he had issued a summons[3] to his forces to join him without delay. On March 12th[4] he was at Leicester, and on the 16th[5] of the same month at Nottingham, whence he moved by Pontefract and Rothwellhaigh to Bishopthorpe and York. From March 26th to April 6th, he took up his quarters in the Bishop of Durham's[6] manor at Wheelhall[7] on the Ouse below Cawood. Informers were ready in crops to swear away the lives and properties of suspects. Confiscations, executions, pardons, and rewards followed in business-like order. The Abbot of Halesowen was hanged; but Bishop Bifort was spared,[8] after undergoing five months'[9] imprisonment in Windsor Castle. The Prior of Hexham was tried for treason;[10] but he was pardoned Aug. 2nd, 1408.[11] He gave up all Bifort's jewels and valuables[12] that had been placed in

[1] STAPLETON, CXLVI.; CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 19, March 10th, 1408. [2] CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 11; ROT. VIAG., 5; STAPLETON, CXLVIII. [3] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 110‴, dated Feb. 15th, 1408. [4] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 114‴; Q. R. GREAT WARDROBE, $\frac{45}{11}$, APP. B. [5] RYM., VIII., 512; Q. R. GREAT WARDROBE, $\frac{45}{11}$, APP. B. [6] TEST. EBOR., I., 314, 315; CHAMBRE, 97, CXXVI., CXXVII., CCCCXIV. [7] ROT. VIAG., 9 H. IV., 6, 7, has documents dated here Mar. 26th, 30th, April 4th and 6th, 1408. He was also at Bishopthorpe and Cawood.—Q. R. GREAT WARDROBE, $\frac{45}{11}$, APP. B. [8] CAPGR., 295. [9] *I.e.*, from May 23rd to Oct. 13th.—ROGERS, III., 675; STUBBS, REG., 178, where the year should probably be 1408 (not 1405). From Dec. 3rd, 1414, to Feb. 22nd, 1415, he was again in Paris as an ambassador from Owen.—ECOLE DES CHARTES, XLIX., 420, where he is called Griffin, see p. 140, note 2. His name occurs at the Council of Constance.—HADDAN AND STUBBS, I., 668. [10] See commission issued by Archbishop Bowet, April 30th, 1408, with the seal of the see of Bath and Wells, quod nunc ad manus habemus, in HEXHAM PRIORY, I., APP., XCIV. [11] RYM., VIII., 545. [12] PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 8; PRIV. SEAL, 647/6406, 6408 (Jan. 25th, 1410), shows that he handed them by the King's order to Thomas Bewyke, one of the Canons of Guisborough.

his charge, and before the year closed[1] he was made Chancellor of the Liberty of Hexham. Sir Thomas Rokeby was rewarded with the Earl of Northumberland's manor of Spofforth, together with Linton and Leathley[2] for life, and Peter of the Hay was made Controller of the Customs and Subsidy at Hull.[3] The King then made his way back south. On April 8th, 1408,[4] he was at Selby, and on the same day he reached Pontefract,[5] where he authorized his son John and the Earl of Westmoreland to negotiate a year's truce with the Scots. At the same time a commission[6] was issued to the Earl of Westmoreland, Judge Gascoigne, Sir Ralph Ewere, Richard Redman, Robert Waterton, and John Conyers, empowering them to accept submissions and levy fines upon those adherents of the late Earl who would yield of their own accord. The King spent his Easter at Pontefract,[7] and was there till after April 30th.[8] On May 3rd he was at Newstead Priory;[9] from the 8th to the 12th of May he was at Leicester,[10] and he moved southward as his health allowed. We find him at Windsor Park[11] on May 24th, at his manor of Sutton[12] (May 26th); on May 29th and 31st he was at the Tower, and pieces

[1] Dec. 15th, 1408.—HEXHAM PRIORY, I., CLXXI. [2] RYM., VIII., 529, May 30th, 1408. The value of the three was estimated at £80 per annum.—PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 25. For Rokeby's account for surplus of Spofforth from May 30th, 1408, to Michaelmas, 1411, see FOR. ACCTS., 12 H. IV. [3] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 17, 30 (June 13th, 1408); ISS. ROLL, 10 H. IV., PASCH. (May 17th, 1409); RYM., VIII., 640. In PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 24 d, he is a commissioner to array the forces of the East Riding. [4] ROT. VIAG., 9 H. IV., 6. [5] RYM., VIII., 514. [6] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 8 (April 25th, 1408); *ibid.*, 2, 11 (July 10th, 1408). The documents in RYM., VIII., 394, 520, are evidently identical. [7] DEP. KEEP., 45th REPT., 315. [8] RYM., VIII., 525. For documents dated at Pontefract, April 8th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 15th, 20th, 22nd, 24th, 25th, 27th, 28th, 30th, 1408, see ROT. VIAG., 5, 6, 7; PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 8; CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 11; FR. ROLL, 9 H. IV., 10; DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, pt. 3, mm. 111, 112, 115, 123. [9] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 129'''. [10] RYM., VIII., 527, 528; ROT. VIAG., 9 H. IV., 5, 7. [11] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16; PRIV. SEAL, 7193; L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12, 3, APP. C. [12] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 6 (a), APP. A.

of velvet, silk, and other stuffs for garments were submitted to him for his approval at Easthampstead, Chertsey, Hertford, and Waltham Abbey, on various days during the same summer. From June 19th to July 12th,[1] he was at Archbishop Arundel's[2] manor at Mortlake. Here his weakness had so much increased that for a time he lay unconscious, and was believed to be dying.[3] Nevertheless, he revived, and under pressure from the Archbishop gave thanks to God for his restoration to life, and promised amendment for all his past misdeeds. By July 17th, 1408, he was able to return to Hertford,[4] where he remained till July 22nd.[5] On July 29th[6] he attended a meeting in the Chapter House at St. Paul's, to consider the grave developments of the Schism that were taking place in Italy. On Aug. 16th[7] he was at Waltham Abbey, and on Sept. 7th[8] at Sir Hugh Waterton's[9] hostel in London. On Nov. 1st, 1408, he was at Bishop Beaufort's Inn in Southwark,[10] and in the same month he received the Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux in state at Westminster.[11] On Nov. 15th and Dec. 17th he was at Hugh Waterton's hostel again.[12] Dec. 8th found him at Langley,[13] Dec. 24th at Lambeth,[14] and he spent the rest of the winter at Eltham.[15]

[1] RYM., VIII., 539. For documents dated Mortlake, July 6th and 12th, 1408, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 113'''. [2] Not a royal manor, as PAULI, V., 66. [3] OTT., 263. [4] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 8. [5] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 129'''. [6] CONC., III., 310. [7] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 6 (a), APP. A. [8] PRIV. SEAL, 7193. [9] See Vol. II., p. 292, note 4; 428, note 3. On Nov. 7th, 1379, he acknowledges receipt of money assigned for expenses of Henry when Earl of Derby.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 14, 17. In 1390 and 1392 he accompanied him as his chamberlain to Prussia and the Holy Land.—DERBY ACCTS., XLIII., XLVII., LI., XCII., 293. For his signature "Hue de Waterton," see LANC. REC. CHANCERY MISC., 1-4, H. IV., 27. [10] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{4}{15}$, APP. B. For view see BESANT, LOND., 120. [11] EUL., III., 413. [12] PRIV. SEAL., 7193. [13] L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12, 3, APP. C; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{5}{13}$, APP. B. [14] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16. [15] RYM., VIII., 569 (Jan. 12th, 1409); DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16 (Jan. 4th, 1409).

CHAPTER LXXIII.

IRELAND UNDER LORD THOMAS.

THUS every stirring home trouble was sinking into a momentary calm, and even in the seething pot of distant Ireland some hope of quiet seemed at length at hand. After the death of the Earl of Ormonde (Sept. 7th, 1405)[1] the Irish had pressed sore on the settlers. County Wexford[2] was laid waste, West Meath was overrun by the O'Connors of Offaly, Carbury was plundered by the O'Donnells, Carlow and Castledermot were burnt by MacMorough, and Newcastle Mackinnegan by the O'Byrnes. The citizens of Dublin, stung by their insults, gathered themselves together and struck a handsome blow. On June 10th, 1406, they attacked the Irish, and brought in a few heads and banners as trophies. At Great Connell,[3] near Newbridge on the upper Liffey, the Prior, with 20 Englishmen, withstood a force of 200 armed Irish, and drove them off with loss. By such small means the Irish were occasionally held in check, until some forces could be sent from England to stem them.

On March 1st, 1406,[4] Lord Thomas' commission as

[1] Vol. II., p. 132. [2] LOCH CÉ, II., 111, 113, 117; FOUR MASTERS, II., 787, 793. [3] WARE, 65. [4] Vol. II., p. 124; PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 3; 10 H. IV., 2, 17; 11 H. IV., 2, 9 d; CAL. ROT. HIB., 192, 195; RYM., VIII., 431; ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 313. He was still Steward of England (Vol. I., p. 29), PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 3 (Mar. 1st, 1408); RYM., VIII., 626, 745 (Feb. 28th, 1410, June 8th, 1412); PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 31 d. (1412). For his will proved at Lambeth in 1423 see GENEAL., V., 326.

Lieutenant of Ireland was re-affirmed for 12 years; but the chance of his actual return was becoming more and more remote, for, after disbanding his fleet on his return from the attack on the Côtentin in 1405,[1] he took service as Captain of Guînes[2] on the March of Calais, in place of John Norbury.[3] He had special permission[4] to absent himself from his command in Ireland, though he continued to receive[5] large sums of money in lieu of bills and tallies,[6] issued when he had been in actual residence. In May, 1406, Archbishop Cranley[7] resigned the seals as Chancellor of Ireland. He had been for some time in broken health,[8] and had twice been compelled to appoint a deputy. He had now permission to travel to Rome;[9] and in 1412 he settled in England,[10] where he died in 1417, and was buried in the chapel of Wickham's New

[1] Vol. II., p. 105. [2] Iss. Roll., 7 H. IV., Pasch. (May 13th, 1406); Pat., 8 H. IV., 2, 9 (July 1st, 1407); Fr. Roll, 8 H. IV., 11 (Feb. 19th, 1407); Iss. Roll, 9 H. IV., Mich. (Oct. 3rd, 1407). [3] Pages 43, 65; Fr. Roll, 7 H. IV. (Mar. 18th, 1406). See also Iss. Roll, 7 H. IV., Mich. (Jan. 21st, 1406); *ibid.*, 6 H. IV., Mich. (Feb. 18th, 1405). In Pat., 8 H. IV., 1, 12 (Feb. 8th, 1407), he is still called Captain of Guînes, though he gave up the command Dec. 8th, 1406 (Fr. Roll, 8 H. IV., 19), having held it since June 28th, 1401 (Vol. I., p. 28) with the revenues of Frétun, Coquelles (called Calkwell by the English, Archæologia, liii., 335), Galymot, Ostrewyk, and Bolington.—Q. R. Wardrobe, $\frac{2}{22}$, App. E. His appointment as Constable of Leeds Castle (Vol. I., p. 28) dates from June 28th, 1401.—Pat., 14 H. IV., 18; Priv. Seal, 657/9405. For his account as Keeper of the King's Privy Wardrobe in the Tower from Nov. 5th, 1399, to Feb. 13th, 1405, when he was succeeded by Henry Somer, see Q. R. Wardrobe, $\frac{1}{14}$, App. E. [4] Rot. Parl., iii., 625. [5] *E.g.*, £600 (May 18th, 1406), £433 6s. 8d. (Aug. 14th, 1406).—Iss. Roll, 7 H. IV., Pasch. [6] Vol. II., p. 123. For "tayles and billes," see Aungier, 397; cf. "taylyhe," Wynt., IX., xi., 22; "taile," Gower, Conf., 239; P. Plo., v., 61. For specimen of a tally temp. Ed. III., see Ramsay, i., 160. For a tally in 1819 see Cunningham, i., 152. [7] Vol. II., p. 132, [8] In Cal. Rot. Hib., 172 (Nov. 9th, 1402), Thomas de Evdm, Keeper of the Chancery Rolls, is to fill the office of Chancellor of Ireland during the absence of Cranley, qui gravi infirmitate detentus est. [9] Fr. Roll, 7 H. IV., 2, July 16th, 1406. [10] For his permit dated Feb. 11th, 1412, see Cal. Rot. Hib., 198.

College at Oxford, of which he had once been Warden.[1] He was succeeded as Chancellor of Ireland on June 12th, 1406, by the Treasurer, Sir Lawrence Merbury,[2] whose appointment was to last for 10 years, with an allowance of 6s. 8d. per day. The vacant post of Treasurer was then filled by William Alington,[3] who had held the office previously in 1403.[4] In May, 1406,[5] preparations were making for the return of Sir Stephen Scrope[6] as Deputy for the Lord Thomas, with very limited powers as to granting lands.[7] He was to be accompanied by 50 men-at-arms and 300 archers,[8] who would embark at Chester, Liverpool, and Bristol; and on Aug. 14th, 1406, he received £2120 to pay them. On Oct. 8th,[9] he

[1] For his monument see GOUGH, III., 50; GARDINER, 292. For a 15th century representation of him see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 232. He had been a prebendary of Knaresborough and a Fellow of Merton.—A. WOOD., II., 152; BRODRICK, 204. He was the first Warden of Winchester, 1382 (LOWTH, 190), Chancellor of Oxford University, 1390, and Warden of New College, Oxford, 1393-1396 (WALCOTT, WYKEHAM, 345, 363; LOWTH, 366; KIRBY, I.; HIST. MSS., 2nd REPT., 133). [2] Vol. II., p. 133; CAL. ROT. HIB., 184, 185. The great seal was committed to him in St. Patrick's Close in Dublin, and handed to the keeping of Robert Sutton, see Vol. II., p. 137; CAL. ROT. HIB., 187 (9 H. IV.); PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 10, 15, 16 d, and CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 4, July 14th, 1406, where he is to draw an additional £30 per annum even when in England, in spite of the statutes against absentees. PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 5 (June 28th, 1407), has Sutton's appointment as Keeper of the Rolls. Both Cranley and Merbury were present in the Council Chamber in Trinity Church, Dublin (see Vol. II., p. 141), on Jan. 11th, 1406.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 181. [3] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 10, July 14th, 1406; IRISH RECORDS, 336. [4] Vol. I., p. 233. [5] Iss. ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH., May 18th, 1406. *Ibid.*, Aug. 14th, 1406, has payment of £100 for wages of men in Ireland. See also PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 2 (Sept. 27th, 1406). Iss. ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH. (Dec. 13th, 1406), has further payment of £347 for troops. For payment to William Eirmyte, sent from Sheffield to Liverpool for passage of troops to Ireland, see *ibid.*, Dec. 13th, 1406. [6] His letter dated at Chester April 27th (SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 49, quoting HOWARD'S COLLECTION OF LETTERS, 1756, I., 65), probably refers to this year. In it he asks for a grant of the Isle of Man, as the heir of his brother William, Vol. II., pp. 194, 294. [7] *I.e.*, restricted to lands under £10 per annum.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 195. [8] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 6, Aug. 17th, Sept. 4th, 1406. [9] DEP. KEEP., 36th REPT., p. 425.

was still at Chester, waiting for means of transport for his retinue; but he crossed the sea soon afterwards, and held a Parliament in Dublin on Jan. 13th, 1407. But Dublin was unsafe, and the castle was in danger of capture,[1] so the sittings were transferred to Trim,[2] where the meetings ended during the following Lent. A sum of money was probably voted, and on the strength of this the new Deputy marched valiantly out into the country. He set out from Dublin on Sept. 14th, 1407,[3] accompanied by the young Earl of Ormonde, the Earl of Desmond, and the Prior of Kilmainham. In a brush with MacMorough they had all to do to hold their own; but encountering a force of the Carrols and Burkes from Munster at Callan, on the western side of County Kilkenny, Scrope smote[4] them hip and thigh. 800 Irishmen were killed, amongst them being Tighe O'Carrol, King of Eile, and the bards worked up again their old Joshua song, how the sun[5] stood still in heaven while the English rode six miles. Scrope was back in Dublin by Oct. 1st, 1407,[6] but soon afterwards he seems to have returned to England. The young Earl of Ormonde was appointed Lord Justice,[7] the task of governing Ireland was entrusted to Sir Edward Perrers,[8] as Deputy-Lieutenant during the King's pleasure, and another Parliament

[1] CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 22. [2] PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 22, shows that Scrope was at Trim on April 1st, 1407. [3] WARE, 66. [4] LOCH CÉ, II., 123; FOUR MASTERS, III., 791. [5] HOLINS., 74. Yong refers to a similar miracle when James, second Earl of Ormonde, slaughtered the Irish on the Red Moor of Athy.—GILBERT, FACSIMILES, 118. [6] PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 22. [7] WARE, 66. Yet on his letters of general-attorney, dated Mar. 1st, 1409, he is not so styled.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 190. [8] Appointed Sept. 29th, 1407. —PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 10 (June 28th, 1407). For previous grants to him see GRAVES, 158, &c. Yong calls him the good knight.—GILBERT, FACSIMILES, 118. On Jan. 25th, 1410, he and his wife Joan were allowed a market every Tuesday at their town of Newcastle MacCormekian.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 194.

was held in Dublin. On March 8th, 1408,[1] Prince Thomas, being then in London, though still Captain of Guînes,[2] put his hand to an indenture agreeing to accept 7000 marks (£4666 13s. 4d.) per annum for the government of Ireland for the next three years, in place of the £6000[3] per annum which had been previously stipulated. But it mattered little what they stipulated, for the payments were always in arrear. His claim against the Exchequer had now risen to £20,000,[4] and he urged feelingly that he had just had to borrow £600 from the Genoese merchants to meet his Christmas bills.

About this time it was decided that as the land was being depleted of labourers[5] who were passing across to work in England, every English parish[6] should send over a man and his wife to occupy the waste lands on the Irish Marches, though they would need to have been a very hardy couple indeed to volunteer for such a risky exchange. Arrangements were likewise to be made for protecting traders on the eastern coasts of Ireland against plunderers who were always at work from the Western Isles of Scotland. For this purpose negotiations were taken up with Donald, Lord of the Isles, and his brother John of Islay. We have already[7] seen them in 1400 and 1401 treating with the King of England on equal terms, and in subsequent documents[8] the Lord of the Isles is recognized as

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 313; PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 26; REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., PASCH. (May 18th, 1409); ISS. ROLL, 10 H. IV.. PASCH. (May 20th, 1409). [2] FR. ROLL, 9 H. IV., 18 (Feb. 12th, 1408); ISS. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH. (Nov. 30th, 1409); PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 13 (June 20th, 1410). [3] RYM., VIII., 431. [4] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 18, Jan. 26th, 1408. He was still petitioning for payment of arrears in 1410.—ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 339. [5] In 11 H. IV. a Statute of Labourers was passed in an Irish Parliament forbidding shippers to carry husbandmen from Ireland without leave.—KILKENNY ARCHÆOL. SOC. PROCEEDINGS, III., 44. [6] CAREW MSS., 387. [7] Vol. I., pp. 129, 170. For MacDonnell of the Isles see SAVAGES OF THE ARDS, 79. [8] RYM., IX., 93, 401.

perfectly independent of the Crown of Scotland, making separate alliances as suited his own interests and policy. He ruled over Mull, Skye, Rathlin and the Out-Isles,[1] as well as Kintire, Knapdale, Argyle and Lochaber, with the coasts of Ayr and Galloway, and far up into the Clyde at Paisley, while by marriage[2] he claimed the great earldom of Ross with the town of Inverness. He made his attacks upon the "foreigners in Alba"[3] (*i.e.*, the Scots) with as much impartiality as upon the English in Cumberland or Ulster. Early in Henry's reign Lord Donald had made descents upon the coasts of Ulster, where his family had long claimed[4] rights as High Constables. In the summer of 1400 the Constable of Dublin Castle with an English fleet came down upon the plunderers at Strangford;[5] but the English were worsted, and lost many men in the encounter. The negotiations of 1400 and 1401 were probably hastened by this disaster. But whatever understanding may have been come to at the time, the rovers did not cease their attacks. In 1403 it was reported that the town of Carrickfergus[6] was totally burned; and we have already[7] seen that the warfare was continued in the two following years. In Sept., 1407,[8] attempts were made to secure a more friendly understanding, the negotiators on the

[1] "De forinsecis insulis."—CAL. ROT. HIB., 178. [2] DOUGLAS, 360. For a document dated Inverness, Feb. 18th, 1406, sanctioning the building of Kilravock Castle, and signed by "John of Yle (*i.e.*, Islay), Earl of Ross, and Lord of the Isles," see G. T. CLARK, MIL. ARCH., I., 171, quoting INNIS, SKETCHES, 444. [3] LOCH CÉ, II., 137. [4] FOUR MASTERS, III., 629. [5] HOLINS., 73. [6] CAL. ROT. HIB., July 2nd, 1403, allows burgesses 100s. from their customs to rebuild the town. On Oct. 12th, 1406, the castle was still in great danger, when Geoffrey Bentley was appointed Constable during the minority of the Earl of March.—*Ibid.*, 185. On Jan. 20th and March 1st, 1409, Nicholas Orell is Constable.—*Ibid.*, 190, 193. [7] Vol. II., pp. 66, 136. [8] RYM., VIII., 418, where the year should be 1407 (not 1405).—CHRON. OF MAN, II., 415.

English side being the Admiral Janico Dartas[1] and John Dongan,[2] Bishop of Down;[3] and on May 8th, 1408,[4] Dartas and Sir Christopher Preston[5] were authorized to conclude a peace and alliance with the Lord of the Isles. But precautions were by no means relaxed; for in 1410 we have a note that cementers were hired to build a warship at Drogheda to operate against the Scots, and two Deputy-Admirals were appointed to guard the south and west coasts, from Wicklow Head to Slepe's Island.[6]

On May 30th, 1408,[7] it was known that Prince Thomas would soon cross again to take up the command in Ireland; and a week before this, orders[8] were sent out for barges, balingers and other vessels to be ready at Liverpool and Chester. News of his coming and of the great preparations

[1] Vol. I., pp. 83, 227; Vol. II., p. 134. He was steward to Henry when Earl of Derby in 1392.—DERBY ACCTS., LV., 108, where he is called Jenico or Janico Dartache. On Oct. 27th, 1399, he gave up some compromising state documents then in his possession (KAL. AND INV., II., 81), and was granted a pension of 100 marks per annum on Nov. 10th, 1399.—Iss. ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 20th, 1405 (= £100, *ibid.*, Feb. 27th, 1406), but CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 8, July 13th, 1412, shows that it was in arrear since Easter, 1405, and has order to the Sheriff of London to pay it. PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 7, Aug. 26th, 1412, has grant to him of 12d. per day. In 1408, 1413, and 1422 he is Steward of Ulster; cf. CAL. ROT. HIB., 172, 174. He was still in Ireland in 1422 (IRISH ACAD., XIX., 52), and he died in 1426.—SAVAGES OF THE ARDS, 139. He had a son called Janico.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 190; PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 28 (Apr. 14th, 1410). For grants to him of manor of Ardmulgan, Co. Meath, Apr. 7th, 1407, see CAL. ROT. HIB., 186; also Holt Castle in Denbighshire, 1 H. V., HARRIS, HIBERNIA, II., 155. For an order to him dated Nov. 1st, 1405, to ship horses to Ireland from Liverpool, Chester, and Denwall near Neston on the Dee, see ORMEROD, II., 582. For Jeannicot (= Jean) see CABARET, 222, 238, 248. [2] In 1401 and 1405 he was Steward of the Cross and Liberty of Ulster, with power to treat with certain Scots, Irish, and rebel English.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 160, 179. [3] Not Derry, as T. MOORE, III., 145. He had been translated to Down in 1395, and died in 1412.—H. COTTON, III., 200. [4] RYM., VIII., 527. [5] Vol. II., p. 137. [6] Slepesyland.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 193, 194. [7] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 22. [8] *Ibid.*, m. 28, May 22nd, 1408.

of the English Government were forwarded[1] over by some wide-awake Irishmen who were studying at Oxford. On July 11th[2] the Exchequer allotted £140 to pay for the passage of the troops; and on Aug. 2nd[3] the Prince set sail, accompanied by Sir Stephen Scrope, Gilbert Lord Talbot,[4] and others, including Sir John Dabridgecourt,[5] or Dabrycoat, a member of a Hainault family, who had just been naturalized[6] for his long services to King Henry and his house. The party landed at Carlingford,[7] and reached Dublin in the week following. The first official act of the Lieutenant was to seize the Earl of Kildare and his three sons, and imprison them in Dublin Castle for attempting to dispute the royal prerogative. It is not known in what their offence consisted, but there is an entry in the English Chancery Rolls, dated Jan. 26th, 1406,[8]

[1] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, m. 8, July 26th, 1408. [2] ISS. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH. [3] LOCH CÉ, II., 125; FOUR MASTERS, II., 795; HOLINS., 75; WARE, 66. [4] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 26 (Nov. 28th, 1407) has permission for him to be in Ireland for one year. [5] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 11. For grant to him of manors of Eskyr, Newcastle near Lyons, and Tassagard (or Saggart, Vol. II., p. 136), with 100 marks per annum for nine years from Sept. 23rd, 1408, see CAL. ROT. HIB., 187. [6] He was born in England, and had stayed in England since his youth. He was naturalized (March 3rd, 1407) for his services to Edward III. and John of Gaunt, and to the Lord Thomas beyond the sea (*i.e.*, in 1405).—PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 5; WOODWARD, III., 275. He was an executor of the will of John of Gaunt.—WILLS OF KINGS, 163; TEST. EBOR., I., 234; GIBBONS, 100. He joined Henry as soon as he landed at Ravenser.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 2, APP. A. On March 23rd, 1390, he fought in the lists at St. Inglevert.—PICHON, 71; FROIS., XIV., 106, 136. For his will dated Wimborne, April 20th, 1415, see GIBBONS, LINC., 117; GENEALOGIST, V., 329; see also FROIS., XX., 199. [7] For the tradition of the King's Seat from which the Lord Thomas is said to have enjoyed the view over Carlingford Lough, see MURRAY'S IRELAND, 39. The entrance to the Lough was secured by the two castles of Carlingford-in-Cooley and Greencastle. For appointment of Stephen Gernon as Constable of both castles, April 28th, 1400, see CAL. ROT. HIB., 156, 160. On Dec. 12th, 1401, 40 crannocks of wheat and oats were granted to victual both castles.—*Ibid.*, 161. On June 3rd, 1407, John More is Constable of both castles during the minority of the Earl of March.—*Ibid.*, 186. For position of Carlingford in a valley surrounded by wooded mountains divided by an arm of the sea, see *ibid.*, 196. [8] PAT., 7 H. IV., 12. Bray was ultimately appointed Feb. 6th, 1407. —PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 13.

cancelling the appointment of Stephen Bray as Chief Justice of Ireland made when the Earl of Kildare was in power,[1] on the ground that the nomination rested with the King's Lieutenant and his Deputy. Prince Thomas then led a hosting a little way into Leinster; but he was wounded at Kilmainham, and had a narrow escape for his life.

The pestilence was devastating Ireland, and Sir Stephen Scrope[2] fell a victim at Castledermot on Sept. 4th, 1408.[3] Four months afterwards (Jan. 13th, 1409)[4] his widow Milicent[5] married John Fastolf,[6] a Norfolk man, 30 years of age,[7] who was then serving as a squire[8] in Ireland. The Earl of Kildare

[1] Vol. II., p. 133. [2] LOCH CÉ, II., 125; WARE, 66. [3] His will, dated Jan. 6th, 1406 (proved at Lambeth, Dec. 2nd, 1409, GENEALOGIST, VI., 127), is printed in SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 50, and TEST. EBOR., III., 38; see also TEST. VET., I., 157. One editor places his death on Feb. 10th, 1408, the other on Feb. 10th, 1409; but the day is fixed as St. Marcel the Martyr (*i.e.*, Sept. 4th) in WARE, 66, and HOLINS., 75. The only reference to Ireland in the will seems to be a legacy of £20 to Magister de Rosse, qui fuit arestatus apud Watreforth, *i.e.*, Waterford, though the editor supposes it to be Water Fulford, near York. For Scrope's claim for expenses for three-quarters of a year as Deputy for Thomas of Lancaster see ADD. CH., 18225. He had with him 49 men-at-arms and 251 archers (reading xijxx, not xijcc as in HISTORY OF CASTLECOMBE, 138). His claim amounts to £3254 12s. 6d., including £66 13s. 4d., expenses of the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond, then in hospitio suo existentes (*i.e.*, in 1407, according to NICHOLAS in SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 50). Against this he has only received £1966 6s. 8d., the remainder he hopes to get from subsidies and customs. [4] ANSTIS., I., 141; BLOMEFIELD, V., 1550; not 1408, as DICT. NAT. BIOG., XVIII., 235. [5] HOLINS., 74; SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 47. For "Mylisand" see MON. FRAN., 260. [6] For notice of him see PASTON LETTERS, I., LXXXVII., CXII.; JAMES, 137; HUNTER, NEW ILLUSTRATIONS, II., 41; FULLER, WORTHIES, II., 131; BIOGR. BRIT., III., 1899; HALLIWELL, ON CHARACTER OF SIR JOHN FALSTAFFE; FORTNIGHTLY REV., 2nd Ser., XIII., 334; NOTES AND QUERIES, 7th Ser., XI., 269; GENT. MAG., May, 1887, pp. 428-446; MORLEY, VI., 155. [7] ANSTIS, I., 133, 136. [8] In PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 12, he has letters of protection in Ireland dated Nov. 17th, 1408; see WORCESTER, 452; WARS OF ENGLISH IN FRANCE, II., 759. In GENT. MAG., May, 1887, p. 430, is a document dated London, April 14th, 1406, in which Thomas of Lancaster, as Lieutenant of Ireland, grants the office of Chief Butler of Ireland to John Fastolf and John Radclef, esquires, from Jan. 1st, 1406, during the

was released on paying a fine of 300 marks, and Stephen Bray remained Chief Justice of Ireland. MacMorough[1] and O'Connor returned to their trade, and plundered on to their hearts' content. The walls of Waterford, Kilmallock and Gort were destroyed, and large allowances[2] had to be made from the customs for their repair. The Lord Thomas held a Parliament at Kilkenny on Jan. 13th, 1409,[3] and was back in Dublin by March 1st,[4] but on March 9th[5] he was recalled to England on account of his father's illness, leaving Thomas Butler,[6] Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham,[7] to be his deputy for three months, on the understanding that no land should be granted away by him of the value of more than £40.

When a year had elapsed since Lord Thomas had accepted the new conditions of payment he received (May 20th, 1409)[8] his first annual stipend of 7000 marks, together with £3000 in part payment of his arrears; and on Aug. 18th, 1409,[9] it was

minority of the young Earl of Ormonde; N. AND Q., 7th Ser., XI., 335, 432. In a document dated Kilmainham, Sept. 7th, 1402 (3 H. IV.), Lord Thomas grants him two forfeited horses.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 165. For a letter of Thomas dated Kilmainham, Sep. 5th (no year, but possibly 1402) see ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 71. Several documents are dated from Kilmainham in Sept., Oct., and Nov., 1402, and Ardee in Dec., 1402. The Lord Thomas witnessed a document at Dublin, Oct 21st, 1402.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 172; see Vol. I., p. 232.

[1] FOUR MASTERS, II., 797. [2] CAL. ROT. HIB., 190, 192; GRAVES, 266. [3] WARE, 66; GUTCH, I., 38. For reference to a letter addressed to him in Hibernia existenti, see ISS. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., Dec. 4th, 1408. [4] PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 22. [5] CAL. ROT. HIB., 191, 192; GILBERT, VICEROYS, 300; DEVON, 310; LOCH CÉ, II., 127; PRIV. SEAL, 650/6774, Jan. 7th, 1411. John Hertilpoole, his chancellor, gets the prebend of Lusk, in St. Patrick's, Dublin, in succession to Thomas Bache, who was Archdeacon of Meath in 1403, (CAL. ROT. HIB., 176, 177,) and Precentor of St. Patrick's in 1408, (H. COTTON, II., 110.) [6] For indenture dated June 1st, 1409, see PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 17; PRIV. SEAL, 650/6702, dated Nov. 1st, 1410, refers to Butler as still deputy for the Lord Thomas. [7] Vol. II., p. 129; BLACK BOOK OF ADMIRALTY, I., 387; KUNZE, 198. [8] REC. AND ISS. ROLLS, 10 H. IV., PASCH.; ISS. ROLL, 11 H. IV., PASCH., June 16th, 1410, has payment to him of £3983 6s. 8d. assigned May 20th, 1409. [9] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 320; TYLER, I., 254.

proposed in the Council at Westminster that Sir John Stanley should take his place, handing over to him 2000 marks yearly from the revenues of Ireland, to be supplemented by another 1000 marks from the King. But this arrangement fell through, and the Lord Thomas remained nominally Lieutenant of Ireland with Prior Butler as his deputy. On March 18th, 1410, Lawrence Merbury[1] ceased to be Chancellor of Ireland, and his place was taken by Patrick Barrett,[2] Bishop of Ferns. But the new Chancellor's hands were already too full elsewhere. He was busy building a castle at Mountgarret[3] on the Barrow, near New Ross, and he found himself so much occupied with the government of County Wexford that on May 4th, 1412,[4] he had to appoint Robert Sutton to act as his deputy. He died on Nov. 10th, 1415,[5] and was buried in the Abbey of Kells.

One of the first acts of the new Deputy-Lieutenant, Thomas Butler, was to endeavour to enforce the Statute of Dublin,[6] which forbade the keeping of kernes, coigns, hoblers and idlemen in time of peace except on the marches, and so to reduce unruly subjects in the neighbourhood of Dublin. On Sept. 6th, 1409,[7] he appointed Sir Edward Perrers to be his chief lieutenant, with the title of Overseer of all the guardians of the peace. On May 18th, 1410,[8] a Parliament met in Dublin, and again enacted that no Irishman should leave the country without permission, and that all masters of ships would

[1] On April 28th, 1409, he has letters of general-attorney.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 191. [2] PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 1; though in PAT., 12 H. IV., 18, the appointment seems to be dated March 19th, 1411. He is still chancellor, May 20th, 1411.—*Ibid.*, m. 13. [3] CAL. ROT. HIB., 193, May 9th, 1409. On Aug. 28th, 1409, he has leave of absence for two years.—*Ibid.*, 192; cf. Vol. II., p. 146. [4] CAL. ROT. HIB., 199. [5] H. COTTON, II., 334. [6] Vol. II., p. 142; CAL. ROT. HIB., 193. [7] CAL. ROT. HIB., 194. [8] *I.e.*, Wednesday before Trinity Sunday.

be liable to a penalty if they carried labourers or servants without special leave. In the same year the English in Westmeath, led by the Justiciar, captured the castle of Moybreckrie [1] from the O'Farrells; but the success was only momentary, and in April, 1412,[2] the Sheriff of Meath was taken prisoner by the O'Connors, and only released on payment of a heavy ransom. In the same year also the O'Farrells burnt the town of Fore [3] in Westmeath. The City of Dublin was so impoverished by sickness and attacks of the Irish that an abatement of £20 from its annual due of 200 marks had been allowed for 10 years since 1403, and the remission was now extended [4] for 12 years further. The loyalists of County Wexford met at Ross, and voted 300 marks for defence at Kilkenny; 6s. 8d. was levied on each hide of cultivated land, and arrangements were made for strengthening the walls of Dundalk.[5] On May 4th, 1412,[6] the Deputy was at Naas, and on May 14th [7] it was announced that he was about to start to attack the rebels in County Dublin, Meath, Louth, Kildare, and Carlow. But these great plans had no result; for on Aug. 1st [8] he was cited to appear in London before Michaelmas, and on the same day an order [9] was made out for his arrest. This summons he appears not to have obeyed, and a further order was issued, on Nov. 20th, 1412,[10] requiring him peremptorily to be in London by Candlemas next (Feb. 2nd, 1413), and calling upon Chief Justice Bray to see that his place as Deputy-Lieutenant was adequately filled in the meantime.

[1] FOUR MASTERS, III., 803; LOCH CÉ, II., 604. [2] FOUR MASTERS, III., 807; LOCH CÉ, II., 137; WARE, 67. [3] LOCH CÉ, II., 141. [4] Vol. I., p. 226; CAL. ROT. HIB., 197, Feb. 12th, 1411. [5] *Ibid.*, 200. The country between Carlingford and Dundalk was all laid waste by the O'Neills, Magennises and O'Hanlans.—*Ibid.*, 174. [6] PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 12. [7] CAL. ROT. HIB., 199. [8] CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 5. [9] PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 26; the order is addressed to Sir John Barry, Janico Dartas, Stephen Drax, Christopher Holiwood, and others. [10] CLAUS., 14 H. IV., 25 d.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

TRAVEL.

THE general calm that was settling over English affairs is indicated by the number of knights and nobles who started about this time to travel beyond sea. Two centuries before, it was reckoned that about forty miles[1] of ground would be covered in a day's journey; but the almost incredible speed[2] with which express journeys could be now made is illustrated by the case of Thomas de la Croix,[3] who was in London on March 19th, 1406, and six days afterwards presented himself in Milan,[4] having travelled a distance of 600 miles as

[1] GIRALD., v., 24; DUCKETT, CLUNIAC VISITATIONS, p. 10. In P. MEYER, 394, the knight starts at 10 a.m., and travels 30 miles before night. Members of Parliament were supposed to travel at the rate of 20 miles a day.—Vol. II., p. 477, note 6. In 1447 Mayor Shillingford left Exeter on Wednesday morning at six, and reached London on Saturday morning at seven, travelling 150 miles in three days.—SHILLINGFORD'S LETTERS, 67; A. S. GREEN, I., 346. In BRACTON, III., 584, a day's journey is 20 miles. [2] For speed of 100 miles a day on Roman roads see GIBBON (editn. 1797), I., 83, quoting LIBANIUS, ORAT., XXII. For a journey from Lyons to York in 10 days in 1316 see JUSSERAND, 228. Cf. "For that he bereth but a boxe a brevet therynne."—P. PLO., C., XIV., 33; JUSSERAND, 230. Anglure left Paris July 16th, 1395, crossed Mont Cenis, and arrived in Asti on July 29th.—ANGLURE, 2. In 1421 Henry V. travelled from Rouen to Dover in one day, and on the next day he arrived at Westminster, having covered about 200 miles in two days.—TYLER, II., 287; see also Vol. I., p. 95. [3] He fought at Shrewsbury and received compensation for his losses.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 3, APP. A. He is one of the few specially named in the King's will as one that had served him well and truly.—WILLS OF KINGS, 204. For reference to him, Thomaxinus de Cruce, as a squire of the Duke of Milan in 1405, see HARL. MS., 431, 15 (10 b). [4] RYM., X., 138. Adam of Usk left Billingsgate on Feb. 19th, 1402, crossed in one day to Bergen-op-

the crow flies, or an average of 100 miles a day, including the Channel and the Alps, which to the mediæval traveller were a very hell upon earth,[1] in the storms of the opening spring.

Through the enterprise of the hackneyman[2] the means of posting along the trunk roads leading to Italy[3] had been brought to high perfection for all who could pay for speed and comfort; while every day bands of poorer wanderers begged their way barefoot by divers paths to Rome[4] for their souls' health.[5] Every year many cog-loads[6] of English pilgrims were

Zoom in the Scheldt, arrived at Bellinzona at the head of Lago Maggiore on March 18th, and in Rome on April 5th. But he had bitterly cold weather in crossing the St. Gothard, and stayed two days to rest his horses wherever he found a first-class inn (in omni notabili hospitio).—USK, 72. In 1363 a journey from Avignon to Calais takes 18 days.—HIST. MSS., 2nd REPT., 140; ROGERS, I., 137; II., 632. The journey across France from the Alps to Calais was usually reckoned at 17 days (CHALCO., 91), though couriers could get from Avignon to Paris in five days.—FAUCON, I., X. In ITIN., p. v., the Duke of Burgundy travels from Dijon to Paris (about 170 miles) in three days. Henry IV., when Earl of Derby, left Milan on May 17th, 1393, and reached London on July 5th, travelling very leisurely.—DERBY ACCTS., LXVIII., LXXI., LXXVIII., LXXIX.

[1] Un enfer en ce monde.—DESCHAMPS, VII., 66. Many kunnynge men and able ben dede by the weie, what with traveile and cold and other myschefes and enemyes and efte raunsonyd.—WYCL. (M.), 66. [2] A. S. GREEN, I., 209; CUNNINGHAM, I., 278. For "hakenay," see DERBY ACCTS., 31, 163; PRUTZ, LIII., 30. [3] For stations and distances between Rome and Calais see ARNOLD, 241; CUNNINGHAM, I., 185. [4] SHARPE, II., XXVIII., 107; CHAUCER (S.), IV., 176. In 1411 Gregory, an extern brother of the Brigittines at Wadstena, had begged 150 nobles in Norway and elsewhere in crossing to Rome.—FANT., I., 130. [5] GIBBONS, LINC., 29, 62, 66, 114; ANGLIA, V., 34; P. PLO., XVII., 39; XX., 218. [6] FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 17, Feb. 14th, 1412, refers to St. Saviourcogg of Dartmouth, carrying 60 pilgrims to Galicia. In Feb., 1413, a barge, the Mary of Kingswear, carries 40.—RYM., VIII., 775. In FR. ROLL, 14 H. IV., 1, 2, Feb. 24th, 1413, the James of Plymouth carries 50. For larger vessels for 200 pilgrims temp. Hy. VI., see CUNNINGHAM, I., 370. For prohibition to Venetian merchant galleys against carrying pilgrims, see VEN. STATE PP., I., 46. In CLAUS., 14 H. IV., 7 d, 9 d; PRIV. SEAL, 656/7336, the Kok Johan of Bristol is called a navis, *i.e.*, a large ship. For "cog-jon," see DEP. KEEP., 36th REPT., 105; "cogship," PRIV. SEAL, 655/7299; "cogge," CHAUC. (S.), III., 134, 327. In HIRSCH, DANZIG, 263, a "kogge" is a sea-vessel as opposed to a river-craft.

shipped from Dartmouth or Plymouth to Corunna, to visit the shrine of St. James at Compostella.[1] The wonders of Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Egypt were also open to all who could face the cost and unease of a passage over the Great Sea,[2] and for these the starting-point was usually Venice, whence six weeks'[3] voyage would bring them to Alexandria, and three or four days more to Cairo. This route was taken in 1392 by Sir Thomas Swinburn,[4] who records his wonder at the sight of an elephant, a giraffe, and "cocodrills" as long as a man. He crossed the desert, where he saw the fig-tree[5] beneath which the Virgin Mother rested on her way down to Egypt. He was shown her head and two large arm bones at Sinai, where the monks swarmed[6] with fleas which never bit them. Or the pious pilgrim might pass to the Holy Land and see the cave at Hebron where God made Adam, the place where Cain killed Abel, and the stone where Jacob dreamed his ladder. At Bethlehem he could look at the crache[7] where the infant Jesus lay, with His tub and His swaddling clothes. At Jerusalem he would find the same in duplicate, or he could peep into the house where the rich man lived when he refused the crumbs to Lazarus, and the chapel where David wrote the Psalms.[8] He could then see Adam's head[9] and the table[10] which was used at the Last Supper; the post at which the Lord was scourged; the Calvary where St. Helen found the stump of the Cross; the stone that was rolled away from

[1] Called St. James in Gales in MYROURE, LI.; or Galys, P. PLO., I., 48; V., 124; VIII., 166; RYM., X., 567; cf. "In Galice at Seint James," CHAUCER, PROL., 468; "la voye en Galice," DESCHAMPS, VIII., 330. [2] GOWER, CONF., 129, 171, 193, 347. [3] Anglure sailed from Venice on Aug. 29th, 1395, and landed at Beyrout Sep. 24th.—ANGLURE, 10. [4] Vol. II., p. 55, note 7; ORIENT LATIN, II., 378; ROEHRICHT, 113. [5] ANGLURE, 58. [6] *Ibid.*, 49. [7] CHESTER PLAYS, I., 111. [8] ANGLURE, 23. [9] *Ibid.*, 26. [10] For a fragment of it in Lincoln Cathedral, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 7, 18.

the Sepulchre, and another one with Jesus' footprints left on it as He ascended into Heaven; and the countless Holy Places[1] where they took backsheesh from the credulous Christian at every step of his road.[2] He could go on to Jericho or the Jordan or Damascus, to see the hole in the wall where Paul was let down by a rope (*per spartum*), and when he had made his way to Beyrout to take ship for his return he could take a look at the spot where Noah built the Ark and St. George killed the Dragon.

A modern writer has laboriously collected the evidence supplied by mediæval travellers of their experience in those distant lands, and the picture[3] is a mixed one. The galleys usually carried a barber-surgeon,[4] and Mass was sung at starting. On the calmer days the pilgrims, who were often criminals convicted of rape[5] or other desperate offences, played cards or dice,[6] or listened to the sailors' yarns about the sea-serpent and the fish a mile long; but before they reached their port of landing they had much to tell of sea-sickness,[7] fleas,[8] rats, filthiness, hair-breadth scapes from storms and pirates, lurching and rolling of the ship with the passengers lying on the top of each other,[9] or packed in a close dark

[1] ANGLURE, 13; JUSSERAND, 400. [2] PRUTZ, XCIV.; RÖHRICHT, 8; JUSSERAND, 399; though Miss L. T. Smith thinks that the "religious dues" in Jerusalem were very light.—DERBY ACCTS., LXIV. [3] RÖHRICHT, *passim;* BESANT (LOND., 48; WHITTINGTON, 102) looks upon pilgrimages as "delightful expeditions in which every kind of pleasure was found." [4] RÖHRICHT, 15. [5] Quiconque enlevera une femme ou aidera à l'enlever ne pourra rentrer en ville après avoir fait un pèlerinage en Galice.—COMPTE RENDU, 7th Ser., III., 256. [6] For games with dice on board ship see DERBY ACCTS., 115; PRUTZ, XLIII., LVIII., 35, 107. [7] Cf. Vol. II., p. 387, note 5; P. PLO., I., 50. PILGRIM'S SEA VOYAGE AND SEA-SICKNESS (circ. 1370), quoted in H. M. PERCIVAL, NOTES TO FAERIE QUEENE, p. 324. [8] ANGLURE, 112.

[9] L'un mettre a bort l'autre desgosiller
L'un dessus l'autre et venir et aler.
Et soy bouter en soulte u fons aval
Pour le tempest.—DESCHAMPS, IV., 309.

cabin[1] approached by a ladder, shifting sails, foul water, bad biscuit,[2] warm flat wine, and bread[3] breeding worms and as hard as a stone. After landing at Jaffa and paying their gifts to the sandjak, they made their way on donkeys[4] to Ramleh, and thence to the Holy City afoot. Fourteen days was the usual stay,[5] including the journey from Jaffa to Jerusalem and back, during all which time they were supposed to be under strict regulations. They must always take a Turkish guide,[6] never run over Turkish graves or laugh aloud, and not be seen drinking wine.[7] But however excellent these rules look on paper, their practical effect was little. Pilgrimages were often scenes of the grossest immorality even in the holiest of the Holy Places; and the Jerusalem-farer,[8] with his "scrip bretful of lies,"[9] was a caution to all decent folks in the mediæval world.

So long as the Christian visitors acted discreetly there was no risk of unpleasant conflicts with the Infidels, who

[1] Vol. II., p. 449; GOWER, CONF., 419; PRUTZ, XCI.; DERBY ACCTS., XXXIV., 20, 21, 26, 76, 157, 281. [2] Il me convient aux et becuit riffler.—DESCHAMPS, IV., 309. Pro vi mattes ad coöperiendum le biscwhit in galeia.—DERBY ACCTS., 222. [3] Adieu, pain frès!—DESCHAMPS, IV., 309. [4] JUSSERAND, 398; RÖHRICHT, 22, 65; DERBY ACCTS., 225, 226; PRUTZ, XCIII. [5] RÖHRICHT, 28. For St. Brigit's journey to Jerusalem in 1372, see ACT. SANCT., Oct. 8th, p. 454. [6] RÖHRICHT, 22; PRUTZ, XCIII. [7] For contrast between the luxury of the Christians and the abstemiousness of the Saracens, cf.:—

L'eaue clère et un pou de pain
Est grand diner d'un Sarrazin,
Sy ne cure de noble vin
Ni de char qui soit de saison.—
BONET, APPARITION, 23.

[8] "Hüte dich vor jedem Jerusalemfahrer"; "Wahlfahrt bringt keyn wolfahrt," &c., &c.—RÖHRICHT, 22; "renne thow nevere forther to Rome ne to Rochemadore."—P. PLO., B.. XII., 37; JUSSERAND, 364; "pilgrimage is mene for to do lecherie."—WYCL. (A.), I., 83; cf. Vol. I., p. 195.

Car le voyage d'oultremer
A fait en amours maint dommage.—
PISAN, I., 56.

[9] CHAUC. (S.), IV., 63; JUSSERAND, 223; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 119.

made large profits out of them. But there was a limit even to Mussulman patience; and when four Grey Friars made it their business to provoke the Cadi at Jerusalem by telling him that the Koran was all lies, and the Prophet a glutton and a murderer, it is not surprising to hear that they were beaten to death, and their bodies cut up and thrown into a fire, the logs being heaped on by the exasperated mob all day, and the ashes kicked and scattered about at night.[1]

But the mere love of travel[2] for its own sake was keenly astir in all active minds, and those who could afford it made journeys of real hazard and adventure. On Oct. 3rd, 1407,[3] Geoffrey Scrope, brother to the Lord of Masham, was starting for "distant parts." On Dec. 20th,[4] Eudo de Welle was going to travel abroad; and about Aug. 3rd, 1408, Sir Henry Fitzhugh[5] set out for Prussia, taking spears, arrows, and

[1] ORIENT LATIN, I., 546. [2] For books of travel see JEAN LELONG in CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 138; BROCQUIÈRE, BREYDENBACH, RUYSBROEK, &c. For Iceland (said to have been discovered by Robert Bacon of Cromer), see HERALD AND GENEAL., VII., 71. For China see BRETSCHNEIDER, MEDIÆVAL RESEARCHES FROM EASTERN SOURCES. [3] FR. ROLL, 9 H. IV., 22. [4] *Ibid.*, m. 20. [5] CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 1. In PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 14 d, 20 d, Nov. 28th, 1409, he is on a commission to inquire as to offenders who drove off 112 cattle from Nunwick and Norton Conyers, near Ripon, to Hartlington in Craven, where they killed some and sold others. In CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 38, Oct. 24th, 1409, he has permission to ship 12 bows, 20 sheaf of arrows, 6 dozen bowstrings, and a stained cloth to Rhodes (cf. RYM., VIII., 605), to stock the new castle of St. Pierre, which the Grand Master had just built at Budrum, on the site of the ancient Halicarnassus, to protect the island against the Turks.—VERTOT, I., 306. For his arms still on the castle, see PROCEEDINGS OF SOC. OF ANTIQUARIES, 2nd Ser., XIV., 286. Cf. Apud Rhodes redeundo per manus Mowbray Herald, pro viii. tabulis per ipsum emptis ibidem pro scochons domini (*i.e.*, Henry) militum et scutiferorum suorum faciendis in castello. Item pro pictura dictarum tabularum. Item ad pendendum dictas tabulas in castello et pro cheynes clavis hokes.—DERBY ACCTS., LXVI., 227; PRUTZ, XCVII., Feb., 1393. Item per manus Mowbray le Herald, pro viii. scochons armorum domini factis ibidem per eundem, viii. duc.—DERBY ACCTS., 283.

other artillery for a raid on the Letts.[1] In May[2] of the same year the Earl of Warwick (Richard Beauchamp) had started to perform vows and pilgrimages to which he had pledged himself some time before. Taking with him "good provision of English cloth," "both scarlet[3] and other cloth of colour," and furred gowns of black puke,[4] as suitable presents to be dispensed by the way, he crossed the Channel with a

[1] For popularity of this sport see GILBERT, 553; PRUTZ, IX.-XIX., XXXIV. Cf. "en Pruce vint pluseurs ceste saison."—DESCHAMPS, IV., 145; P. PLO., VII., 279. [2] FR. ROLL, 9 H. IV., 13 (May 2nd, 1408); CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 17 (April 5th, 1408); DUGD., WARW., I., 325. He was in the Chancery at Westminster on May 9th, 1408.—CLAUS., 9 H. IV. From RYM., VIII., 588, we might infer that he was in Wales in May, 1409. On May 2nd, 1410, he was appointed a member of the Council with an allowance of £200 per annum.—ISS. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 17th, 1413; ROT. PARL., III., 634. His father Thomas died April 8th, 1401.—ROWS ROLL, 48; ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XLV., 247; DEVON, 271. For his brass at Warwick see GOUGH, III., 5; WALLER quoted in ARCHÆOL. INST., 1846; CATALOGUE OF ANTIQUITIES, p. 22. In his will dated April 1st, 1401 (administered May 27th, 1401, ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXIV., 54; GENEALOGIST, V., 214; VII., 205), he left to his son Richard a silk bed embroidered with bears, also something wrought with the arms and story of Guy of Warwick, and the sword and coat of mail "which was that worthy knight's."—TEST. VET., I., 154. For inventory of his satin mattresses and beds of Racamat and black velvet see Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{1}{1}\frac{5}{5}$. The son Richard was born at Salwarp near Droitwich, Jan. 28th, 1382.—ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XXIX., 355. For summary of his life by DUGDALE (from ROWS) see HEARNE, VIT. R. II., p. 359. For his knighting see STRUTT, ANGEL-CYNNAN, II., fol. XIV. For his will dated Aug. 8th, 1437, proved Oct. 26th, 1439, see HEARNE, 240. For his monument in the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick see BLORE, STOTHARD, and ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XLV., 248. The office of Sheriff of Worcestershire was hereditary in his family.—PIPE ROLL, 7 H. IV. In REC. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., April 22nd, 1407, Sir John Beauchamp of Holt is subsheriff, also *ibid.*, 9 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 27th, 1407; PASCH., May 15th, 1408. [3] Cf. Vol. I., p. 253, note 6. In DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 3, APP. A., 26½ ells of scarlet cost £7 19s. od.; for xxbras scarleti Anglici (1393) see DERBY ACCTS., 284. DEHAISNES, II., 901, has une pieche d'escarlatte vermeille d'Engleterre en xvi. aulnes d'Arras, £21 16s. 5d.; see also CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 114. In 1397 some pieces of scarlet cloth from Brussels were specially sent to Bajazet as a present from the Duke of Burgundy when opening negotiations for the ransom of his son.—BARANTE, II., 62: LETTENHOVE, FLANDRE, III., 48. For English cloth dyed scarlet in Italy see A. S. GREEN, II., 326, from BEKYNTON, I., 230. [4] Not "peak," as DUGD., I., 243.

chaplain and a suite of attendants. He rode into Paris before May 21st,[1] and was met by the Scottish Earl of Mar,[2] with whom he spent eight days of pleasuring. The two Earls were present at the mangery at the Louvre on Whitsunday, June 3rd, and the Earl of Warwick then went on with a French herald to Lombardy. He visited Rome, fought in a tournament at Verona,[3] and reached Venice in the beginning of August, 1408. Here he took passage on a Beyrout galley, where the whole of the armoury, the cook-room, and the poop-scandler[4] had been cleared and chartered to accommodate his party. They landed at Jaffa, and went up to Jerusalem, where the Earl was received by the Patriarch's Deputy. He made his offering at the Holy Sepulchre, and having been licensed to commune with "the heathen people," was asked to dine with Balderdain,[5] the Lieutenant of Pharadge, the Saracen Sultan[6] of Egypt. Balderdain, who was "cunning in many languages," took a special interest in a live descendant of the great Sir Guy[7] of romance, "whose life they had there in books of their language." After 10 days the Earl re-embarked at Jaffa, sailed back to Venice,[8] made his way overland through "Russy and Lettowe and Poleyn and Spruce," and returned by Westphalia to his own country in the spring of 1409.

Other adventures, meanwhile, had befallen his comrade the Scottish Earl of Mar.[9] This royal ruffian was one of the many bastard[10] sons of the ferocious "Wolf of Badenoch," and a

[1] MONSTR., I., 256, where "Wilbich" should be "Warwick." [2] WYNT., III., 2925. This is probably the same as the "Duke of Bar" in Rows, 361. [3] Page 108, note 15; not Mantua, as ROWS ROLL (No. 50). For picture of these lists see GARDINER, 297. [4] Amarolus comiti, barcha, scandolarium pupis.—Cf. VEN. STATE PP., I., 46. [5] Vol. I., p. 316; "Baltredam."—DUGD., I., 243. [6] For "Soudon," see WYCL. (M.), 98. [7] WARTON, I., 142-145. [8] For his arms on the castle at Budrum see PROCEEDINGS SOC. OF ANTIQUARIES, XIV., 284. [9] Vol. II., p. 276. [10] SCOTICHRON., II., 500.

nephew, therefore, of King Robert III. and the Duke of Albany.[1] In 1405 he had established himself in the affections of Isabel Douglas,[2] Countess of Mar and the Garioch, by murdering her husband and forcing her to accept him on his own terms at Kildrummy on Donside. In 1406[3] he met his match tilting with the Earl of Kent in Smithfield, and now he had crossed to Paris with 60 Scottish squires and knights, "all great gentlemen" according to the chronicler.[4] They were inned[5] at the Tin Plate,[6] where they kept open house for 12 weeks, swaggering and singing and dancing and flirting in the favour of the Duke of Burgundy.[7] After the Whitsun feasts they moved on to Bruges, intending to cross thence to the Forth. But the weather was not to their mind, so they joined the Duke of Burgundy's expedition to punish the "hate-rights"[8] of Liége, who were besieging their Bishop at Maestricht. The Earl of

[1] Vol. II., p. 392. He witnessed a document dated Perth, Oct. 24th, 1407, in which the Duke of Albany calls him "consanguineus noster."—FRASER, II., 21. [2] See extracts from documents dated Aug. 12th, Sep. 19th, and Dec. 9th, 1404, and Jan. 21st, 1405, in DOUGLAS, PEERAGE, 461; GENEALOGIST, Jan., 1886, pp. 6, 22; REG. MAG. SIG., II., 1239; DOUGLAS BOOK, I., 288; III., 37. [3] Vol. II., p. 461. [4] WYNT., III., 2900.

Cil de maine (? Mar) et maint Ecossays
Y fut en moult nobles envoys.—
POEM ON BATTLE, 246.

Des nobles Ecossois y fu
En cestuy jour que bien le scay
Lors messire Guillaume Hay.—
Ibid., 249-250.

Other names in the list are Sir Alexander de Commach, Andrieu Stewart, de Huy, Sire Gillebert, Sire Jehan de Sudrelant, Sire Alexandre Diernin, Jean de Mimez (= cil qui porta la bannière du Comte), Monsieur Jacques Seveigour, Sire Helis de Guemmont and Jean de Bouteville. [5] Rows in HEARNE, VIT. RIC. II., 362; STRUTT, ANGEL-CYNNAN, II., 123. [6] For the names of 40 inns in Paris, *e.g.*, The Bald Head, the Cock and Hen, the Salmon, the Turbot, the Hartshorn, &c., see DENIFLE, PROC., I., LVIII. [7] WYNT., III., 3100. [8] DU CANGE, S. V. HEIDEOTI; ST. DENYS, IV., 162. "Hédrois."—POEM, 252, 254, 255, 256, 257, 262, 268. Heydroit id est osores justitiæ.—HÖFLER, RUPR., 363. Exlegum seu Haedrotorum or Haydrois.—DEWEZ, I., 282. "Heydroets."—CHRON. DES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE, III., 343.

Mar started with the muster from Tournai on Sep. 11th,[1] and took part in the merciless carnage at Othée near Tongres, on Sunday, Sep. 23rd, 1408,[2] where the Duke of Burgundy, after making his confession,[3] gave the word "Let them all die together!" and 25,000[4] half-armed and half-

[1] MONSTRELET, I., 351; ST. DENYS, IV., 152; SCOTICHRON., II., 441. [2] Vol. II., p. 83; MONSTR., I., 379; DYNTER, III., 175; BRANDO, 123; CHRON. DES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE, III., 345; JUV., 448; BOUVIER, 417; ZANTFLIET, 390; MEYER, 230; not 20th, as TRITHEIM, II., 327; nor 21st, as COCHON, 241; nor Oct. 25th, as COUSINOT, 123; nor Sep. 23rd, 1468 (*sic*), as POEM, 245, 267. "Juxta villam de Othey."—ZANTFLIET (390), who is the first to name the exact site. STAVELOT (118), has vers Othée en Hesbain. DEWEZ, I., 300. The French authorities call it the battle near Tongres, or in the country of Hasbain, *i.e.*, the province of Hesbaie. Cf. Tongor in climate bassæ Alemanniæ in conterminis Galliæ ubi tandem idiomate Gallico homines utuntur.—DELAYTO, 1052. In pago Eichtensi.—PETRI SUFFR., 81, see BARANTE, II., 296, The Duke's letter (dated Sep. 25th, 1408), is written "en mon host" (not "Montost," as BARANTE, II., 302), "sur les champs devant Tongres," PLANCHER, III., cclxi.; ITIN., 366; GACHARD, 2; cf. "au camp de Courbe en Hazebain."—LEROUX DE LINCY, CHANTS HISTORIQUES, 13. Champ du Comble. —MONSTR., I., 1, 131. "Au mont de la Tombielle."—GESTE, 331, 516. [3] ITIN., 587. [4] The Duke's letter, written two days after the battle, says from 24,000 to 26,000, on the authority of those who had seen the names. —BARANTE, II.; GACHARD, 5. LANNOY (5), who was present in the battle, says 28,000, though his memory of course played him false in dating it in August, 1404, cf. p. 94, note 3. He had been also present in the preliminary attacks on Fosse and Florenne, when 500 or 600 villages were destroyed. Here he was wounded in the foot and arm, and had to be carried in a cart to Nivelles. The same figures (28,000) are given in POSILJE, 293; COCHON, 241; FENIN, 12; LEFÈVRE, I., 12; THE BALLAD, 15; and MONSTR., I., 364, 365. The latter includes 120 English archers (= 300 according to ST. DENYS, IV., 160; see also ZANTFLIET, 387; called 200 in FABERT, 41). ST. DENYS, IV., 172 says 24,000; so also JUV., 448. In England it was believed to be 30,000.—WALS., II., 280; HARL. MS., 431, 86 (47 b); ADD. MS., 24062 f. 192, and WYNT., III., 3248, who was told that the Earl of Mar slew the Maimbour (see METZ, CHRON., 127) with his own hand (cf., et ei data fuit magna laus victoriæ. PLUSCARD., I., 349), though ST. DENYS (IV., 172), who had his account from eye-witnesses expressly says that no one knew who killed him. See also MONSTR., I., 368; LA MARCHE, I., 84, 200, gives both 15,000 and 30,000; COUSINOT, 123; GESTE, 268.

Cf. Que trente mille de leurs gens
Ou plus demoura en la place.—
POEM, 260.
Et maint Liégeois mort abaty.—PASTORALET, 851.

clad[1] craftsmen from Liége and the neighbouring towns were butchered in an hour and a half,[2] most of them without striking a blow;[3] and the dead lay piled so high that a man could not reach the topmost corpse standing on the ground and stretching up his arm. The incidents of the day, showing the heads that the Duke had cut off and the folks that he had drowned, were at once worked in tapestry to adorn the walls of his castle at Arras.[4] The Earl of Mar returned to Paris and recrossed to Scotland in the winter of the same year.[5]

BENSHEIM, writing within a year of the battle, gives 35,000 killed in one day.—RTA., VI., 675. For various estimates cf. 13,000 (ZANTFLIET, 391, but this does not include the prisoners who were slaughtered after the fight was done); 16,000 (DYNTER, III., 176; BOUVIER, 418); 20,000 (BRANDO, 119); 30,000 (GESTE, 331, 333); 32,000 (JUSTINGER, 203, 453; DELAYTO, 1052); 34,000 (TWINGER, II., 911); 35,000 (SERCAMBI, 895; RATISBON, 2129); 36,000 (GOBELIN, 327; CORNER, 1194); 38,000 (LIGNAMINE, 1303); 40,000 (EUL., I., 288; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 38; BRANDO, 112; ROLEWINCK, sub anno 1408; J. MEYER, 231; FOULLON, I., 471). The loss on the Duke's side was at the highest computation from 1500 to 1600, 120 of them being "men," and the rest "varlets."—MONSTR., I., 366; VI., 202.

[1] ZANTFLIET, 387, 391. Fere inermes vel leviter armati.—BRANDO, 119; meschamment estoient armés.—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 38, though according to the Duke's letter (in PLANCHER, III., CCLXI.; BARANTE, II., 301), there were 30,000 Liégois "all or the greater part armed," including 500 mounted men and 500 English archers. In the BALLAD, p. 12, their number is 40,000. [2] Car la bataille dura près d'une heure et demie et il y eut bien une demi-heure oú l'on ne savait pas qui avait le meilleur. —DUKE'S LETTER in BARANTE, II., 301.

Que la crueuse bataille
Ne dura une ferme et seure
Pleinement la valeur d'un heure.—
POEM, 260.

[3] Sans coup ferir.—JUV., 448. [4] TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 114. Des tiestes c'on copa des gens c'on fist noyer. – GESTE, 516. [5] For his safe conduct, dated Dec. 29th, 1408, see J. ROBERTSON, IV., 177; ROT. SCOT., II., 190; MONSTR., I., 259; J. MEYER, 230.

CHAPTER LXXV.

Gilds and Misteries.

The institution of a notable religious gild at York, in 1408, may serve to draw a moment's attention to one or two forgotten phases of the common life of mediæval England. In 1388[1] the advisers of Richard II. had called for a return from all gilds throughout England, with a detailed statement from each as to its origin, privileges, possessions, and forms of government. This order was probably intended to open a new field for royal extortion[2] by exposing the gilds to be plundered and suppressed unless they could raise money enough to purchase the King's protection by the issue of a fresh authority in his name. In response to this pressure returns came in in plenty, mostly from newly-formed fraternities[3] who owned to having very little or no property. More than 500 of these returns remain to the present day, and have been lately perused by a zealous antiquary, thanks to whose industry it is now possible to gather a tolerably vivid picture of old-English municipal life.

In every important town an association of traders had long ago been established and sanctioned by charter as a privileged body. Men engaged in conducting every kind of chapman-

[1] A. S. Green, II., 145. [2] Brentano cannot be right in attributing it to a desire to reform internal abuses in the craft-gilds.—T. Smith, cxl. [3] *E.g.*, Norwich, Lincoln, Oxburgh.—T. Smith, 32, 44, 112, 121, 122, 184.

hood[1] in the town would agree together to pay the whole or a part of the fee-farm,[2] *i.e.*, the sum due annually to the King or the lord, and in return they secured immunity from tolls and other restrictions upon their trade. These formed the Merchants' Gild,[3] variously known as the "gilde markande,"[4] "gilde chaffare,"[5] or "chapman's gild."[6] None but "gildein,"[7] or members of the gild, could sell anything in the town.[8] They held fairs or markets free of toll, met regularly in their Gildhall, elected their aldermen or provosts,[9] and made ordinances, each according to the circumstances of its locality. In course of time their commanding influence secured for them the lead in the government of the town; and though no doubt the administration of the borough and the gild were originally distinct, there soon set in "a general drift towards identity."[10] The gildhall, chapmanshall,[11] hanse,[12] or hanshouse,[13] became the centre of municipal life, where

[1] GOWER, CONF., 203. [2] Propositum suum facere qui de firmâ meâ pro ipsis respondeat.—NOTT. REC., I., 8. Par ceo qu'ils sont chargeez a paier a notre seigneur le Roi une grande ferme pur la dite vile (*i.e.*, Oxford).—MUN. ACAD., 161; RELIQUARY, IV., 148; A. S. GREEN, I., 231. [3] Gilda Mercatorum.—NOTT. REC., I., 8, 12, 188. Gilda mercandizandi (of Welshpool).—MONTGOM. COLL., I., 303. For various forms of the name see GROSS, I., 6. [4] GROSS, II., 256; CUNNINGHAM, I., 206; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 68; cf. yeld marchaunt, gilda mercatoria.—T. SMITH, 376. "Gillemercatura."—GILBERT, MUN. DOC., 82, 136. [5] ARCHÆOL. JOURN., IX., 73; T. SMITH, 357. For "chaffare" see GOWER, CONF., 271; WYCL. (A.), I., 74, 102. [6] "Cepmanne gilde."—STUBBS, I., 416; THOMPSON, MUN. HIST., 14; CUNNINGHAM, I., 124. [7] ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XVI., 284. [8] GROSS, I., 43; A. S. GREEN, II., 40, 51; CUNNINGHAM, I., 206. For Southampton see DAVIES, 141. For Oxford, BOASE, 33; STUBBS, III., 563; LIB. CUST., 672; PRICE, 29; Preston, A. S. GREEN, I., 181; Drogheda, GILBERT, MUN. DOC., 94, 108. [9] NOTT. REC., I., 8, 12; GILBERT, MUN. DOC., 82, 136. [10] GROSS, I., 76; A. S. GREEN, II., 201; CUNNINGHAM, I., 207, 211. [11] MADOX, EXCHEQ., 234; "Koepmanshalle."—LAPPENBERG, II., 119. [12] MONTGOM. COLL., I., 303; ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XLVI., 325, for Norwich. [13] Vol. II., p. 72; RAINE, YORK, 193.

pleas[1] were held, weights and measures tested,[2] and Mayors,[3] Sheriffs,[4] and Members of Parliament[5] elected. The Mayor[6] or Alderman[7] of the gild became the head of the town;[8] the brethren of the gild became the franchisemen,[9] who alone had the right of choosing the Mayor, Jurats, Chamberlains, Clerks, Auditors, Beadles, and all officers that took part in the management of town affairs. In Preston[10] and Newcastle-under-Lyme[11] the gild met at uncertain intervals and controlled the list of burgesses, no man being eligible as Mayor, Bailiff, or Sergeant of the town who had not been formally entered on the roll at the last meeting of the gild. In some

[1] WELFORD, 226. In PROMPT. PARV., 193, "gydehalle" is translated Domehouse, Pretorium. [2] MUN. ACAD., 162. [3] For a notification of the election of a Mayor of Norwich (May 5th, 1411), script. in le Gyldhalle and addressed to the Chancellor, see ROY. LET., BOX 15 (P. R. O.). For London see SHARPE, LONDON, I., 206. [4] For a document dated in Gildhald de Bristol, Thursday before Michaelmas, 1402, notifying to the Chancellor the names of three persons selected, one of whom shall be appointed Sheriff by the King and his council, see ROY. LET., BOX 15 (P. R. O.). [5] For Lynn temp. Ed. II., where the bederoll contained 867 names, see HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., APP. III., 152, 157, 162, 186, 193, 210, 240; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXIV., 320; A. S. GREEN, III., 420. In London the election was left to a few members of the misteries. – HERBERT, I., 32; PRICE, 29. For the 12 and the 24 at York, see YORK MAN., 123. At Worcester the Members of Parliament were elected "by the most voice openly not privily," and were to be "of freehold yearly at least 40s."—T. SMITH, 393. Each member was guaranteed by two mainpernors or sureties, whose names were endorsed on the writ returned.—YEAR BOOK, 2 H. IV., 6; P. PLO., V., 107. [6] THOMPSON, MUN. HIST., 50, 54. [7] For "Gildalderneman" at Ludlow, see SHROPSH. ARCHÆOL. SOC., I., 362. [8] "Chevetyn de la vill."—ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XVI., 292. [9] ANTIQUARY, XI., 109; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 70; CUNNINGHAM, I., 341. [10] ABRAM, X., XVII.; *ibid.*, MEMORIALS, 8; THOMPSON, MUN. HIST., 96. The roll was revised every 20 years. The earliest list preserved is dated 1397, and is now in the possession of the corporation of Preston. There were then 207 members, including 18 "foreigners" (*i.e.*, neighbouring knights and gentry), and 106 new craftsmen were admitted on payment of sums varying from 2s. to 40s., such as websters, flesh-hewers, drapers, tailors, spicers, masons, mercers, souters, coallers, sadlers, fletchers, &c. 18 names of women appear on the back of the roll. These were daughters or widows of members. [11] DOBSON, 7.

places, such as Oxford,[1] Reading,[2] and Southampton,[3] the gild met twice in the year, and dominated the Commonalty,[4] which might be called together as often as required. In others, such as Bristol,[5] Chichester,[6] Gloucester,[7] Worcester,[8] and Winchester,[9] the gild became identical[10] with the Commune. At Lynn[11] the gildsmen advanced money for town purposes, and made grants for repairing the town ditches, having at the same time a monopoly[12] of the sale of grindstones, paving-stones, gravestones, and marble; and there are abundant evidences of the leading place taken by the Merchant-Gild in towns[13] of such various positions as Andover,[14] Bath,[15] Beverley,[16] Cambridge,[17] Cardiff,[18] Carlisle,[19] Chester, Drogheda,[20] Dublin,[21] Dunwich,[22] Flint,[23] Guildford,[24] Helston, Hereford,[25]

[1] BOASE, 35, 42. [2] LIB. CUST., 671; MONAST., IV., 47; T. SMITH, 298; RELIQUARY, IV., 144; A. S. GREEN, I., 299. [3] DAVIES, 136; A. S. GREEN, II., 119; CUNNINGHAM, I., 203. [4] Cf. "commynaltie," communitas.—NOTT. REC. II., 424; III., 425, 427; comonté.—WYCL. (M.), 363; comunte, comynte, comountee. —WYCL. (A.), II., 173, 247, 350. Cf. A. S. GREEN, II., 232, 368, 409, 423; SHARPE, LONDON, 49, 64; CUNNINGHAM, I., 208. [5] HUNT, 57; NICHOLLS AND TAYLOR, I., 152; II., 255. [6] DALLAWAY, I., 153; CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 9 (Sep. 27th, 1408), shows that the mob interfered with the election of the Mayor at the Gildhall on the Monday before Michaelmas, 1408. [7] MADOX, EXCHEQ., 234; HIST. MSS., 12th REPT., IX., 421, 422. [8] T. SMITH, 239, 376. [9] STUBBS, I., 416; III., 565; ARCHÆOL. JOURN., IX., 87; KITCHIN, 164. [10] Ita quod in eorum communem Gydam tanquam civis receptus fuerit.—GLANVIL, 37. [11] HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., APP., III., 211, 221, 222, 226, 228; A. S. GREEN, I., 286-294; II., 410; called "Lenne," T. SMITH, 45, 51, 52; "Bisshopes Lenne," *ibid.*, 74; or "Lenn Bushopp," GENEAL., VI., 224. [12] GROSS, I., 49; A. S. GREEN, II., 406. [13] For list of towns with Merchant Gilds (= 102 in England, 30 in Wales, and 38 in Ireland), see GROSS, I., 9-20; A. S. GREEN, I., 11; CUNNINGHAM, I., 209. [14] HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., APP., III., 10; A. S. GREEN, II., 199. [15] N. AND Q., 7th Ser., VIII., 364. [16] STUBBS, III., 564; CUNNINGHAM, I., 310. [17] FULLER, UNIV. CAMB., 17. [18] G. T. CLARK, CARTÆ, II., 106. [19] A. S. GREEN, II., 185. [20] GILBERT, MUN. DOC., 93, 108. [21] *Ibid.*, 82, 136. [22] MADOX, FIRMA, 27; CUNNINGHAM, I., 206. [23] ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., 5th Ser., VII., 39; TAYLOR, 31; CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOL. ASSOC., p. 6 (Aug., 1890). [24] MANNING AND BRAY, I., 334. [25] MADOX, EXCHEQ., 284.

Ipswich,[1] Kingston,[2] Leicester,[3] Lincoln,[4] Liverpool,[5] Montgomery,[6] Nottingham,[7] Totnes,[8] Welshpool,[9] Yarmouth, and York.[10]

But with the growth of population the towns were becoming incorporated under municipal government. One gild was insufficient to deal with all the complications of increasing trade; and the members of each separate craft[11] had learned to form themselves into fraternities for mutual defence and the protection of their separate trade interests. At the beginning of the 15th century the city of York[12] contained at least 96 organized trades; and though the position of such crafts as the bollers,[13] broggers, dubbers, horners, and hairsters[14] was probably neither numerically nor financially strong, yet several of the trades were rich and powerful enough to arouse the apprehensions of the civic authorities and attract the cupidity of the advisers of the King. Each craft wore its own distinctive livery,[15] had its regular times and places for meeting, elected its own wardens, masters, rulers,[16] bailiffs,[17] or overlookers,[18] assessed contributions for its expenses, and managed all its own internal affairs. When the

[1] A. S. GREEN, I., 225; CUNNINGHAM, I., 211. [2] MANNING AND BRAY, I., 334. [3] THOMPSON, 29; *ibid.*, MUN. HIST., 49; A. S. GREEN, I., 167, 356; CUNNINGHAM, I., 211. [4] RYM., I., 40 (editn. 1816). [5] A. S. GREEN, I., 270. [6] EYTON, XI., 137. [7] NOTT. REC., IV., X.; A. S. GREEN, I., 356. [8] A. S. GREEN, I., 176, 251; II., 33, 220, 332. [9] MONTGOM. COLL., I., 303. [10] DRAKE, 203, 211; FROST, APP., p. 95; RAINE, 192, 206. [11] GROSS (I., 109) proves the supposed struggle between the craft-gilds and the merchant-gild to be a "myth"; see also A. S. GREEN, II., 197; CUNNINGHAM, I., 310, 315, 340. For list of crafts, see APP. K. [12] DRAKE, APP. 30; SHARPE, 135; HIST. MSS., 1ST REPT., 109; POLLARD, XXXI., gives 83. For a list of 58 crafts (not 57, as GROSS, I., 129; A. S. GREEN, I., 150), see R. DAVIES, REC., 233. RAINE (YORK, 207) gives the number of trades temp. Ed. III., at 180. [13] POLLARD (XXXI.) suggests "bowl-makers." [14] *I.e.*, makers of hair-cloth.—PROMPT. PARV., 221; CATHOL., 170. [15] ROT. PARL., III., 662 b; STAT., II., 167; Vol. I., p. 69. [16] LIB. ALB., I., 666. [17] LIB. CUST., 416. [18] T. SMITH, 130; LIB. ALB., I., 589.

members were thus organized or incorporated they were said to be gilded,[1] and were known as the Gild,[2] or Fraternity,[3] or Fellowship,[4] or Brotherhood[5] of that particular craft or mistery.[6] In London,[7] York,[8] Nottingham,[9] Lincoln, Beverley, Marlborough, Oxford,[10] Huntingdon, and Winchester, the teliers[11] or weavers had long ago secured charters of incorporation, for which they paid a fixed sum every year to the King's Exchequer;[12] and the same is true of the London bakers, saddlers,[13] tailors, pellipars[14] and linen-armourers[15] who quilted jacks. Various other trades soon banded together without the requisite authority, such as the goldsmiths, the butchers, the drapers,[16] and the pepperers, though these were before long

[1] MADOX, FIRMA, I., 29, 206.

[2] Cf. Let mellerys and bakerys gadre hem a gilde
And alle of assent make a fraternité.—
CHRON. LOND., 274.

[3] T. SMITH, 28, 54, 229, 305, 310; ROT. PARL., III., 662 b; WYCL. (A.), III., 332; CHAUCER, PROL., 366. [4] COV. MYST., 242, 365, 381; HERBERT, 54, 421; WYCL. (A.), II., 350. "Company" is rare.—HERBERT, II., 130. In 1345 the Pepperers are "compaignons."—GROCERS' ARCH., 8. For "compagnie" see *ibid.*, 10, 13, 18, 19, 43, 49, 54, &c. "Craft-gild" is altogether a modern term, invented to distinguish them from the gild-merchant. [5] WYCL. (A.), II., 326; HONE, 79; MADOX, EXCH., 25. [6] Cf. "craftes and mestiers."—GOWER, CONF., 360; MADOX, FIRMA BURGI, 32, 284; A. S. GREEN, II., 117; "eny maner myster."—P. PLO., X., 7; A. S. GREEN, II., 302; HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., APP. III., 112; CUNNINGHAM, I., 310. Not "mystery," as VAUGHAN, I., 205. In MONSTR., II., 72, the whole proceedings at the coronation of Pope John XXIII., are called a "mistère." [7] SHARPE, LONDON, 154, 200; CUNNINGHAM, I., 313. [8] In REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH. (Oct. 21st, 1407); 10 H. IV., MICH. (Oct. 9th, 1408), the Telarii of York pay 100s. per annum pro firmâ Gildæ suæ. [9] REC. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 26th, 1412. [10] BOASE, 36. [11] MADOX, FIRMA, 26, 189, 191; LIB. CUST., 33, 131; LOFTIE, 49; DENTON, 34; CUNNINGHAM, I., 179, 282. In CHESTER PLAY, 6, "teler," means tailor. [12] In 1394 the mercers of London paid £87 8s. 8½d. for their charter.—LOND. AND MID. ARCHÆOL. SOC., IV., 136. [13] MADOX, FIRMA, 27. [14] PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 2, May, 1, 1409. [15] LIB. ALB., I., 727; PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 5, Aug. 3rd, 1408; SHARPE, LONDON, 200. For Fraternitas Cissorum et liniarum armaturarum Armuariorum, see DUGD., ST. PAUL'S, 355; lynge armurer, PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 22; linei armatoris nostri, PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 5. [16] Pararii (or ? Pannarii).—MADOX, FIRMA, 204.

detected and fined[1] as spurious gilds. But the 14th century saw the rise of immense numbers of new gilds, and they were still multiplying fast. In Bristol[2] there were at least 26 crafts ingilded. In Exeter[3] strong jealousies existed between the crafts and the city authorities, resulting sometimes in open rioting. In Norwich[4] the extension of trade-gilds had been stopped as early as 1256, as hurtful to the King and a detriment to the city. In Coventry an order was issued from the Council, dated Nov. 18th, 1406,[5] on the petition of the Mayor that no more gilds should be allowed there for the sake of the peace of the town. In London the Mayor and citizens had often petitioned[6] in former days against the excessive privileges vested in the chartered gilds; but long before the time that we are now considering, the trades had resigned themselves to a position of complete subordination.[7] The institution of new gilds was checked; the Wardens or Headsmen[8] of the misteries took an oath[9] of fidelity to the city as well as to the King; and henceforward in every charter granted the authority of the Mayor or Bailiff was secured by a special clause. When the craftsmen held their law-hallmotes[10] the Sheriff was present;[11] no officers could be appointed without taking an oath before him;[12] and every order[13] and statute for

[1] MADOX, EXCHEQ., 390; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 15, 68. [2] HUNT, 52. [3] T. SMITH, 303, 334; A. S. GREEN, II., chap. vii. In THORPE'S TESTAMENT the Brotherhoods are the "cause of mickle dissension."—ENGL. GARNER, VI., 115. [4] ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XLVI., 327; A. S. GREEN, I., 242; ENG. HIST. REV., Oct., 1894. [5] PAT., 8 H. IV., 1-21; DUGD., WARWICKSHIRE, 196; not 1407, as A. S. GREEN, II., 208. [6] MADOX, FIRMA, 192; LIB. ALB., I., 134; A. S. GREEN, II., 142; CUNNINGHAM, I., 313. [7] GROSS, I., 113; A. S. GREEN, II., 149, 175, 182; CUNNINGHAM, I., 181, 309. [8] HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., APP. III., p. 165. [9] HERBERT, I., 35; II., 14; T. SMITH, 232, 309. [10] LIB. CUST., I., 104, 397, 402, For "lagahalimotz," see LIB. ALB., I., 373, 379. For "lyhalmode," see HERBERT, II., 23. [11] LIB. ALB., I., 379, 383; LIB. CUST., 403; ANTIQUARY, XI., 106. [12] LIB. CUST., 422; HERBERT, I., 481; II., 19; HUNT, 80. [13] LIB. ALB., I., 528; CUNNINGHAM, I., 312.

the regulation of their trade had to be approved in his court before it could be carried into effect.

In such necessaries[1] as ale, wine,[2] bread, meat, coals, talewood[3] and faggots,[4] the Mayor undertook to test the stuff and check dearthing[5] as a part of his ordinary duties. He took heed[6] to the victuals of the people, and stopped the sale of 'fective fish or festered flesh;[7] punished the taverner who meddled his wine,[8] and the inn-holder who kept "any bawdry within him." Every loaf of bread had to be cocketted with the baker's name or mark,[9] as required by the statute.[10] The baker[11] had to take out a licence,[12] for which he paid two shillings every year to the King, and if he did not sell "wholesome bread of lawful bolter"[13] in full weight he would be drawn on a hurdle[14] with the light loaf tied about his neck, for stealing paste.[15] The pasteler[16] must sell his pies by half-pennies. The brew-wife's[17] ale must not be red or ropy,[18] but well sod and scummed,[19] and certified on the ale-konner's[20] assay as "good,

[1] T. SMITH, 342, 343, 381, 424; RICART, 82; RELIQUARY, IV., 146; A. S. GREEN, II., 35. [2] CUNNINGHAM, I., 294. [3] ROT. PARL., I., 228, 230; LIB. ALB., I., 730. "Talwode for our halle."—GROC. ARCH., 226; WILLIS AND CLARK, I., 389; MYROURE, XXX. For "talshides" see WILLIS AND CLARK, I., 388, 391; III., 621. [4] DERBY ACCTS., 29, 30, 155, 156. [5] NORTHAMPTONSHIRE NOTES AND QUERIES, V., 29, 31, from LIB. CUST. VILLÆ NORTHAMPTONIÆ. [6] CHAUCER (S.), II., 61. For the provost and visitors at Bordeaux see BOUILLONS, 512, 529; JURADE, 247, 253, 295. [7] COLCHESTER REC., 36-39. [8] A. S. GREEN, I., 359. [9] For specimens see KUNZE, 241-255, 282, 324. [10] *I.e.*, 51 H. III.; T. SMITH, 355, 365; LIB. ALB., I., 264, 356; LIB. CUST., 106; DAVIES, 149; ARNOLD, 49; MUN. ACAD., 182. [11] For "baker" see HOCCL., DE REG., 126; P PLO., I., 221; V., 120; DERBY ACCTS., 315. [12] T. SMITH, 354; ARCHÆOL. JOURN., IX., 72. [13] HIST. MSS., 12th REPT., IX., 433. For bulter, bulting-cloth, bulting-tonne, &c., see DERBY ACCTS., 24, 80, 336. [14] See the picture in LIB. ALB., I., LXVI., CI.; III., 425. [15] ARNOLD, 9. [16] LIB. ALB., I., 680, 717. [17] P. PLO., VII., 354. [18] HIST. MSS., 12th REPT., IX., 433. [19] For "ladels and scomers," or "skemours" (1390), see DERBY ACCTS., 24, 153, 154. [20] LIB. ALB., I., 316; DENTON, 202. For good ale v. small ale or feeble ale see AUNGIER, 384; WYCL. (M.), 61. In COLCHESTER

able,[1] and sety for man's body." The timber-monger[2] could only sell his boards,[3] billets,[4] shides,[5] kids,[6] and astells,[7] at the fixed price, length and quantity; and the sack of coals[8] must be

REC., 37, a pot of the best ale (three pints) costs 1d. For peny ale, podyng ale, half-peny ale, thick ale and thin ale see P. PLO., VII., 226; IX., 329; X., 92; XXII., 402; A. S. GREEN, II., 38. "Joan Gode-ale-house" occurs as a proper name in a will dated July 8th, 1481, in TEST. EBOR., III., 269; cf. also Goddaile, Gudale, Goydhale, *ibid.*, III., 1, 3, 5, 8, 37, 96; MUN. ACAD., 751; Vol. I., p. 100, note 5; Vol. II., p. 98, note 6; p. 321, note 5. For adulterations of ale

> Cf. For many a heavy and droncken head
> Cause of thy ale were brought to bed,
> Farre worse than anye beeste.—
>
> CHESTER PLAYS, II., 82.

For the "immoderate drinking of fools" in London see FITZSTEPHEN in BESANT, LONDON, 43. Cf. Mony pore laboreres ben blemyschid in dronkenesse for uneven norisching. Ffor now thei hungren and thristen and therwith travelen fast, and now thei come to meete and drinke and taken to myche therof as swyne eten hor meete. Soche men schulden warly ete and drinke and take sum drinke on werk day and not spend al on holy day, for this thing makes hom to feght as wode men ye more then beestes don.—WYCL. (A.), III., 160. Bot if thou sey that hit spedes a mon to be dronken ones in a moneth for myche gode comes therof thou fallyng in dronkenesse ryses sone therof and better is disposed for to do his werk, &c.—*Ibid.*, 161. Cf. Cantat Normannus, bibit Anglicus, est Alemannus.—DENIFLE, PROC., I., LVI.; yet cf. Et buvez com fait un Normant.—DESCHAMPS, VIII., 25.

[1] T. SMITH, 397. For abilis cerevisie see SHROPSH. ARCHÆOL. SOC., II., 202. [2] PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 28; CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 7. [3] For "Estrychbordes" see WILLIS AND CLARK, III., 610. [4] ARNOLD, 97; STAT., 34, 35 H. VIII., cap. 3. For billets at 6s. 8d. or 9s. the 1000 in 1390 see DERBY ACCTS., 7, 9, 12, 153. [5] PROMPT. PARV., 16, 274, 446; CATHOL., 202, 336; GOWER, CONF., 153; BURTON, MELSA, 388; FABR. ROLLS, 34, 37, 136; P. PLO., XI., 222; XII., 239; ROT. PARL., III., 665, where "staffes-hides" should be "staffe-shides." [6] For "kyddes" sive "fagettes" see ATHENÆUM, 20/12/90, p. 847. [7] For "aschelers" see DERBY ACCTS., 181, 182. [8] LIB. ALB., I., 602, 731. For coal at 6d. or 8d. the sack in 1390 see DERBY ACCTS., 9, 14, 338. Cf. "Sitten at even by the hote coles."—P. PLO., X., 142; XVI., 143; RICH. REDELES, II., 52; A. S. GREEN, I., 373. For the coal trade between London and Newcastle see JUSSERAND, 235; DENTON, 33. In 1392 the Receiver General for the Bishop of Durham paid £312 to the Mayor and Commonalty of Newcastle-on-Tyne for "13 score kells of coal."—DEP. KEEP., 33rd REPT., 85. For coal at Cossal, near Nottingham, in 1348, see NOTT. REC., I., 145; A. S. GREEN, II., 325. In EXCH. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., 600, is an account dated 1434, showing £33 18s. paid for 838 loads of coal from the colliery at Tranent, near Prestonpans, *i.e.*, about 9d. per load,

full-top for the coal-meter,[1] or the collier[2] would have to "show out his visage" in the pillory.[3] But in the other trades each gild appointed its own searchers,[4] who had power to enter any workhouses[5] where their craft was plied, and watch the honesty of the work.[6] If any stuff was "deceitously wrought," or "wasted for lack of cunning;" if a goldsmith wrought gold baser than the Paris touch;[7] if a grocer dubbed[8] his saffron (*i.e.*, put the best at the top of the bale), or damped his ginger, or coloured his mace,[9] or beat false sanders,[10] or melled his spice[11] with dust and dirt,[12] or gave short weight with his comfits, powders, plasters or ointments, or if his currants[13] were wet or old, the offender was haled before the Mayor or Bailiff or other authorities of the town, or fined at the next assembly[14] of the mistery for the benefit of the common box.

The strength of each gild lay in its monopoly. In London,[15] which was reckoned the wealthiest[16] city in Western Europe, a man must be a member of one of the misteries before he could be a freeman or hold shop[17] within the franchise. In Lincoln[18] no one could be a tiler or a pointer who was not a member of

also £12 for making a new trench (*fossa*) in the same colliery for winning the coal (*pro carbonibus extrahendis*), see COCHRAN-PATRICK, MINING, XLIV.

[1] SHARPE, I., 410. [2] Cf. RAUF COILYEAR in E. E. T. S., Extra Ser., XXXIX. [3] STAT., I., 201; cf. Publicé denunciatus et proclamatus.—MUN. ACAD., 517, 566; CHRON. LOND., 273; LYDGATE, 207; P. PLO., IV., 79; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 115. [4] ANTIQUARY, XI., 107. [5] SHARPE, I., 196. [6] T. SMITH, 321, 332; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 74. [7] CUNNINGHAM, I., 263, 394. [8] GROCERS' ARCH., 73, 129, 151. [9] DERBY ACCTS., 22, 153, 159, 221. [10] Cf. Caundres.—DERBY ACCTS., 22, 353; *i.e.*, Sandal wood. —GROCERS' ARCH., 224; CATHOL., 319; GOWER, CONF., 122; HOLT, 105, 115; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 78. [11] In ROT. PARL., III., 662, pepper is "the most usual spicery in the kingdom." See page 135. [12] "Poudre et ordure." Cf. "meddle venym with his seed."—WYCL. (M.), 442. [13] GROCERS' ARCH., 190. For racemi, or "reysyngs" de Corenc or Coraunt, see DERBY ACCTS., 11, 79, 154. [14] "Oure asemble."—GROCERS' ARCH., 157, 159; HERBERT, I., 84. [15] PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 9; SHARPE, II., LI.; HERBERT, I., 27, 32; ARNOLD, 4. [16] CHALCO., II., 49. [17] GROC. ARCH., 117. [18] T. SMITH, 185, 398.

the Helliers' Gild. The same is known to have been true of the joiners and carpenters at Worcester,[1] and the cordwainers at Oxford,[2] whose gild was certainly as old as the reign of Henry I.[3] At Shrewsbury[4] no barber could open a shop or shave a man in private unless he belonged to the Barbers' Gild; in London[5] no tailor could have a table unless he had been approved by the goodmen of the mistery; and at Oswestry[6] and elsewhere, wherever the records have been examined, the proof abounds that no man was allowed to ply any sort of trade unless he were "franchised of the Fellowship."[7] Having this power, the gilds were able to regulate wages,[8] fix the hours of work, and enforce many curious restrictions in the supposed narrow interest of the craftsmen, forgetful of those of the public, upon whose favour the whole craft depended. No gildsman must slock[9] another's prentice,[10] or "steure"[11] or tice[12] away his customers, or hance[13] his rent, if he were of the same fraternity. No fuller in Bristol[14] might pay his men more than 4d. per day, and cloth which should be walked within the town must not be sent to the fulling-mills outside. No fuster[15] was allowed to work at his saddle-bows after dark, and no bridlesmith[16] at his bits and lorimery.

[1] T. SMITH., 209. [2] BOASE, 36; MUN. ACAD., 786. [3] ARCHÆOL. JOURN., VI., 146. [4] SHROPSH. ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 266. [5] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 5. [6] Quod nullus qui non sit de gilda illa mercandisam aliquam faciat in burgo predicto.—SHROPSH. ARCHÆOL. SOC., II., 192; VIII., 278; OWEN AND BLAKEWAY, I., 100, 102; RELIQUARY, III., 62. [7] GROCERS' ARCH., 124; A. S. GREEN, II., 113. [8] That no man of here craft schal take lesse on a day than thei setten though he schulde bi good conscience take moche lesse.—WYCL. (A.), III., 333; DENTON, 241. [9] T. SMITH, 317; CUNNINGHAM, I., 310, 314; cf. "locken," in LAPPENBERG, 27. [10] P. PLO., VII., 208, 279. [11] CHESTER PLAYS, II., 197. [12] SHROPSH. ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 267. [13] GROC. ARCH., 121; cf. "enhaunsen."—WYCL. (A.), III., 396; CHAUC. (S.), III., 132; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 76. [14] T. SMITH, 285; LIB. CUST., 128. [15] LIB. CUST., 50, 78, 81. For fray between saddlers and fusters in Cripplegate in 1327, see *ibid.*, I., LX. [16] NOTT. REC., II., 124.

In London the weaverscraft[1] had ordered that no weaver should work by candlelight,[2] and at one time they insisted that work should absolutely cease[3] for six weeks in mid-winter, from Christmas to Candlemas. They required that a piece of cloth of a certain quality should take at least four days in the making, long after it had become notorious that it could be well made with ease in half the time. They ruled that if any man mixed Spanish wool with English, the cloth should be confiscated and burnt.[4] The Plantagenet kings had endeavoured to revive the declining trade of England by encouraging the settlement of Flemish weavers; but the London craftsmen did their best to strangle the experiment by insisting[5] that the number of looms in the city of London should be limited to 80, and that no "foreign"[6] should be allowed to trade there unless he was enrolled in their gild. They hugged their obsolete rules, and claimed the right to settle such questions[7] without the interference of the sheriff's court. But the King's

[1] MADOX, FIRMA, 286. [2] For four candlesticks and one ladle for the wax bought for tailors and furriers working in winter time, see L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., XI., 12 (1400), APP. C. Cf. That serveth these swynkeres to sew by a nyghtes.—P. PLO., XX., 173.

> As glowynge gledes gladeth nat these workemen
> That worchen and waken in wynteres nyghtes
> As doth a kyx other a candele.—
>
> P. PLO., XX., 183.
>
> What proferestow thy light here for to selle,
> Go selle it hem that smale seles graven. —
>
> CHAUCER (S.), II., 290.

Also the Lollard protest that the wax burnt before "rotten stocks" (*i.e.*, images of saints) might profit "for to lizt pore men and creaturis at ther werke."—WYCL. (A.) III., 463. Cf A. S. GREEN, II., 147, 161. [3] LIB. CUST., 124, 417. [4] *Ibid.*, 125, 417, 420; MADOX, FIRMA, 199. Cf. "A man schulde not were wollen and lynnen togedur."—WYCL. (A.), III., 178. [5] MADOX, FIRMA, 200; ROT. PARL., III., 600; LIB. CUST., 424. See also the tailors of Southampton in DAVIES, 276; HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., APP. III., 11. [6] T. SMITH, 384, 391; SHROPSH. ARCHÆOL. SOC., VIII., 270; HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., APP. III., 9. [7] LIB. CUST., 123.

judges[1] over-ruled them when their claims were proved to be injurious to the public good. The marshal[2] who pared the horse's hoof must himself put on the shoe; and if a horse was brought to him to tend by a man who owed money to a brother of the same craft, he was bound to refuse the job. The butcher[3] was not to deal in hides or occupy cookscraft,[4] unless he "abjured his axe." The meggacer[5] or tawyer[6] might not tan, nor the tanner taw.[7] The silversmith[8] might not meddle with gold, nor the goldsmith with white metal. The corvyser[9] or cordwainer might not mend old shoes, nor the cobbler[10] lift his whittle[11] or shaping-knife[12] to make new ones; and in London[13] great disputes raged round this point. The cordeners or workers in new[14] leather were bound not to sell old boots or shoes or goloches, but on the other hand they objected to the cobblers using new leather to clout[15] old ware, whether for the sole, the forefoot, the heel or the overleather. So the fact of the disagreement was registered before the Mayor in the Gildhall and proclaimed at a husting.[16] An inquiry was

[1] SHROPSH. ARCH. SOC., VIII., 282. [2] ANTIQUARY, XI., 107; MURAT., III., 2, 823. [3] T. SMITH, 343; DAVIES, 149. [4] T. SMITH, 405. [5] SHARPE, I., II, 41; LIB. ALB., I., 737; III., 394. Cf. Pour leurs megis et peaulx courrer.—DESCHAMPS, VIII., 293. [6] AD QUOD DAMN., 359. [7] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 2, has entries for tawing 500 bisses (3s. 4d.) and three timmer of ermines. For soft leather for feather pillows see APP. A. [8] RUDING, I., 446. [9] T. SMITH, 384; CHESTER PLAYS, II., 1; LIB. CUST., LXX. = "corsour," CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 34 d; or "coresour," *ibid.*, 12 H. IV., 21 d. [10] In PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 31, cobblers still learn the mistery of tanners and *vice versâ*, in spite of Statute 13 R. II. [11] Cultell' appelé Thwetill.—PRIV. SEAL, 648/6564. [12] Un instrument appelé shapyng-knyfe.—*Ibid.*, 650/6714. [13] PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 9, Feb. 12th, 1410; cf. A. S. GREEN, I., 72; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 121; CUNNINGHAM, I., 395. [14] ARCHÆOL. JOURN., VI., 147, 149. Calceamenta nova conficientes.—CONC. III., 218; RELIQUARY, IV., 147; A. S. GREEN, II., 166. [15] "Thei may cloute hem of sacchis."—WYCL. (M.), 41, 193; also (A.), I., 84, 353, 400; II., 127, 147, 280; III., 406. [16] Cf. "In hustengo nostro."—PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 29; *ibid.*, 14 H. IV., 8. "De hustengo in hustengum."—CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 5 d; *ibid.*, 14 H. IV., 10 d; ARNOLD, 2, 4, 17.

then held before 12 cordeners and 12 cobblers to see if a *modus vivendi* could be found; and on June 15th, 1409, they solemnly decided that if an old boot is burst, the cobbler may vamp it with "a *little* piece of new leather, which is more profitable for the common profit." No skinner[1] might deal both in old and new peltry, and no girdler[2] might work lead among other metal except in solder. A dyer of wool[3] was not to dye caps, and the Fleet Street cappers[4] ordered caps to be made only of grey, black, or white wool, and that no old ones should be dyed black and sold a second time, because the colours would run in the rain. But it was all to no purpose; the caps got scoured with chalk[5] or charcoal[6] according to demand; and London was flooded with pokes and barrels of shoddy felt hats[7] made of flocks[8] brought over from Germany in spite of them. The prices[9] that tailors might charge for shaping, cutting, sewing, furring, purfling and lining[10] coats, hoods, dresses and sleeves, were all minutely fixed. The furrier[11] must not take more than a fixed price per thousand for dressing his stranling,[12] polan, pople, bisses,[13] grisever[14] or other peltry. The oldclothes-man[15] was not allowed to do

[1] LOND. AND MID. ARCHÆOL. SOC., v., 104. [2] ENGL. MISCEL., I. [3] LIB. ALB., I., 724. [4] LIB. CUST., 102, 428. [5] LOND. AND MID. ARCHÆOL. SOC., v., 105. Cf. "Pro chalking furruris."—DERBY ACCTS., 93. [6] Cf. "Some paint with coles and chalke."—CHAUC., TEST. OF LOVE, PROL. "Cole-black."—GOWER, CONF., 150, 291. [7] Pilleorum que vulgo dicuntur vilcinhüde.—KUNZE, XLV., 8, 274, 292, 338. Among the imports at Hull in 1401 are 31 pokes of black hats.—ROT. PARL., III., 466. In LONDON LICKPENNY the Flemings outside Westminster Hall sell fine felt hats. —CHRON. LOND., 262; SKEAT, 25. For a "Flaundrish bever hat," see CHAUCER, PROL., 274. [8] For "flokkys," see COV. MYST., 241. [9] LIB. ALB., I., 727. [10] P. PLO., VI., 17. [11] LIB. CUST., 94. [12] *I.e.*, Squirrel.—LIB. CUST., 829; L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 11, m. 12, APP. C; not "stanling," as ROGERS, I., 582. [13] LIB. CUST., 98. [14] *Ibid.*, 806. For furrura de grys see DERBY ACCTS., 92, 93, 342. [15] LIB. ALB., I., 718. For the fripperer at Norwich see ENGL. HIST. REV., Oct., 1894.

down his cast clouts, or redub[1] his fur.[2] He must sell his slops[3] and frippery[4] just as he bought them, or not at all. The widow[5] of a master weaver could only carry on her dead husband's business by marrying another weaver for her second husband. The mason was only to hew stone; he might not do the cementer's[6] work and lay on a wall, "though it might profit his master twenty pound in one day's work without harm or paining himself."[7] A saddle was made partly of wood and partly of leather. The wooden frame or saddle-bow was to be done by the fuster,[8] the saddler might only do the rest. Swords and knives were wrought by the cutler,[9] but the ornaments on the hilt and handle were the peculiar of the goldsmith. In draping a piece of cloth there was work for the kember,[10] carder, spinster, tister, tenterer,[11] and walker,[12] and each of these misteries must keep to its own special ground,[13] without trenching on that of the others. Sundays[14] and the principal feasts[15] were *dies non* for work, every one being expected to

[1] LIB. CUST., 78, 751; DENTON, 165. For the dubbeour des veils draps see P. MEYER, 398. [2] The value of fur on a gown is £20 in HOCCLEVE, DE REG.; MORLEY, VI., 126; A. S. GREEN, I., 256, from RICH. REDELES, C. III., 177. [3] PROMPT. PARV., 460; SHARPE, II., 252; SHARP, 28; N. AND Q., 7th Ser., VII., 450; Hy. IV., Pt. II., I., 2, 28; HOLT, 93; CHAUCER, CHAN. YEM., 16101; APP. A, *passim*. [4] SHARPE, I., 241. [5] LIB. CUST., 125, 131. In Preston the widow of a member of the Merchant Gild took her husband's place on the roll, and paid her dues until the next revision.—ABRAM, XVII. [6] In DERBY ACCTS., 169, a cementer is paid for making a hearth in a kitchen (1390). [7] WYCL. (A.), III., 333. [8] Vol. II., p. 342, note 5; LIB. CUST., I., 80, 81; CHESTER PLAYS, 6; A. S. GREEN, II., 163. [9] ROT. PARL., III., 536. [10] STAT., II., 345; P. PLO., X., 80; XII., 15; CHAUC. (S.), IV., 5. [11] "Rakkyng, streynyng and tenturyng."—STAT., II., 403; SHARPE, I., 75; II., 234; not to be confused with "teynturere," *i.e.*, dyer, GROC. ARCH., 78. For tozer or toseler see N. AND Q., 7th Ser., VII., 454. [12] T. SMITH, 383; RIPON CHAP. ACTS., 84; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 67; CUNNINGHAM, I., 391. [13] HERBERT, I., 480. [14] LIB. CUST., 78; STAT., 4 H. IV., c. 14; Vol. I., p. 300; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 94. [15] For protest against "this multitude of festis" see WYCL. (A.), I., 330.

attend Mass [1] in his parish church. On these days no farrier [2] might shoe a horse except in great emergency, and no barber could shave a customer (except in harvest-time or Lammas), unless he were about to preach or do some religious act [3] required by the day. Other general holidays were Lady Day and all the Apostles' days, as well as half of each preceding day,[4] when the parish church bell sounded noon. By the time of Edward I. [5] it had become the custom in London to work on Saturdays and vigils until the evening, though as late as 1429 the London grocers had a rule that they should "sell no ware on Sunday or holiday that vigil is, but that great high need may excuse." [6] The trades took a week's holiday at Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide, besides playing all the special days of obligation enjoined in the calendar.

No doubt there were abuses in all this overlawing, but when they became unbearable, the courts could interfere and set the gild ordinances aside. It must be admitted, however, that on every hand the benefits were great. The public were guaranteed,[7] or were supposed [8] to be guaranteed, against dishonest or faulty workmanship; [9] the workman was certain of his holidays and his wage; while the regulations against night-work secured fair-play for the poorest who could not afford to pay for candlelight.[10] The honest master was protected against

[1] CONC., III., 218. [2] ANTIQUARY, XI., 106, 107. For "ferour" or ferrour see WYCL. (A.), I., 407; DERBY ACCTS., 94, 201, 237.

Cf. Adviser se doit mareschal,
Qui ferre d'autruy le cheval.—
DESCHAMPS, VIII., 143.

[3] BOASE, 36; LYTE, 171; SHROPSH. ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 267; BLOMEFIELD, II., 376; RELIQUARY, IV., 145. [4] Haly day othir haly eve.—P. PLO., XIV., 86; DENTON, 219, 221. [5] LIB. ALB., I., 728. [6] GROC. ARCH., 190; A. S. GREEN, II., 133. Cf. Temporibus a jure prohibitis.—GEST. ABB. S. ALBANI, III., 449. [7] T. SMITH, 321; CUNNINGHAM, I., 314. [8] STAT. 4 Ed. IV., c. 1. [9] Rauxime fauxse oueraigne ne desceite.—GROC. ARCH., 66. [10] LIB. CUST., 101.

underselling or touting on the part of his less scrupulous fellows, and every "goodman of the craft"[1] was able without loss of self-respect to look to the "common hutch"[2] or alms-box,[3] to which he had all his life contributed, for help[4] for himself in sickness or old age, or a marriage portion[5] for his daughter if he should die in poverty. Thus was each trade knit together as a family; and the common spirit of a wider brotherhood spread to all the industries when bladesmiths, bottlemakers, girdlers, piebakers, merchant-leeches, and men of every craft arrayed[6] in arms together to watch the gates[7] at night, or marched abreast at Mayors' and Sheriffs' ridings,[8] or carried cressets[9] in rank with banners spread and clarions ringing at the great St. John's Watch[10] on Midsummer Eve.

As the population increased and trade operations became more complex, new combinations arose. Two or more allied misteries would combine together for common action, and

[1] "Des prodeshomes du mester."—LIB. CUST., 79; cf. "gode folke," RICART, 78; "bones gents," HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., APP. III., p. 7; "discretes," *ibid.*, pp. 11, 19; "wisemen," DAVIES, 272. [2] LIB. CUST., 222; ENG. HIST. REV., IV., 306; "en la Huche de la Guydhale," FROST, APP. 40. Cf. comyn-box, SHROPSH. ARCHÆOL. SOC., VIII., 271; "comun boiste," GROC. ARCH., 10, 12, 20, 25, &c.; SHARPE, II., 398; Vol. II., p. 73. For a specimen of such a coffer see ARCHÆOL. JOURN., VI., 278. [3] "La boiste d'aumoine."—LIB. CUST., 79. For "buist," see GOWER, CONF., 412, 441; "boyste," busta.—DERBY ACCTS., 225. [4] In Wycliffe's attack upon the gilds his only argument against their charitable side is that they undertake in a narrow way what ought to be done on the broad ground of a common Christianity, "by comyn fraternyte of Cristendom."—WYCL. (A.), III., 333. [5] T. SMITH, 194, 340. [6] LIB. ALB., I., 646. In the reign of Stephen London could equip 20,000 horsemen and 60,000 foot.—FITZSTEPHEN in BECKET, III., 4. [7] STAT., I., 97. [8] "As comun cours is at Christemas and other tymes."—GROC. ARCH., 120. For a great riding in 1377 from Newgate to Kennington, see BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 146, 165. [9] SHARP, 51, 184; GOWER, CONF., 387; DERBY ACCTS., 199; "torches le velle de S. John Bapt."—GROC. ARCH., 67. [10] T. SMITH 408; RICART, XIX.; STRUTT, XXVIII., 269; DIGBY MYST., XXIII.; STOW, LONDON, 84: BOASE, 40; SHARP, 22, 160, 174; SHARPE, II., XLIII.; A. S. GREEN, I., 148: BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 98, 100. In Canterbury it was held on July 6th.—ARCHÆOL. CANT., XII., 33.

dealers began to spring up with interests distinct from those of the manufacturers. In London a society of traders arose who dealt wholesale in every sort of saleable goods. They were known as the Fraternity and Merchant-Gild of Grocers,[1] and their operations soon became a cause of scarcity and high prices. Several enactments were passed to counteract them; but they would not be suppressed. Together with the Mercers or retail dealers [2] they took the lead in trade; and at the close of Edward III.'s reign [3] the grocers and "folk of the mercery" [4] were the wealthiest and most powerful bodies in London.

By the beginning of the 15th century most of the London trades had bought their charters [5] of incorporation, whereby they became entitled to a common seal and a livery of suit [6] in spite of the statute; [7] their right of trade search was confirmed, and other unwritten claims were allowed. But, above all, they were permitted to purchase and hold rents [8] and tenements, regardless of the Statute of Mortmain, for the purpose of supporting their infirm brethren, and for the maintenance of chantries and altars in their parish churches, to sing for the gildan [9] and gildsistern, that God would assoil the dead and keep the quick in good estate.[10]

Every trade gild professed to be formed in order to abate

[1] Page 135; ROT. PARL., II., 280; T. SMITH, 343. [2] LIB. CUST., 206; GROSS, I., 128; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 81. [3] HERBERT, I., 34; ROT. PARL., III., 519. [4] ROT. PARL., III., 225; ANTIQ. REPERT., III., 392; cf. "grocerys, mercerys, with ther greet habundaunce."—LYDGATE, 211. [5] By this time the term "community" takes the place of gild.—HERBERT, I., 294, 298, 320, 366. [6] T. SMITH, 43. [7] In 1406 an express exemption from the provisions of the Statute against Liveries was recorded in favour of Gilds, Fraternities and Craftsmen (gentz del mestere).—ROT. PARL., III., 600; STAT., II., 156. [8] LIB. CUST., 224; T. SMITH, 212. For rent roll of the Palmers' Gild, at Ludlow, temp. Ed. II., see SHROPSH. ARCHÆOL. SOC., I., 387. [9] LAY FOLKS' MASS BOOK, 62. [10] LIB. CUST., I., 218; HERBERT, I., 446; II., 129; MASTERS, APP., 3.

rancour[1] and to nurse[2] charity and wellwilling;[3] and large numbers of gilds sprang up towards the end of the 14th century[4] whose objects were in no way connected with any mistery or trade. They started both in town and upland[5] to further common neighbourship[6] and brotherly kindness; to deal forth alms[7] to the crooked,[8] blind or needful;[9] to lend[10] aid to brothers who fell into poverty, whether of godsend[11] by the will of Christ, or by adventure[12] of the world or the sea, by borrowhood,[13] or stress of trade, or any other mischief[14] or malease;[15] and to bid a bede[16] for each other's souls, for the health of the king, the peace of the land, and the unity of the Church. Such associations are usually termed by modern writers Religious Gilds. But the name is misleading, as there

[1] HERBERT, I., 421; T. SMITH, 23. [2] LOND. AND MID. ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 115. [3] GOWER, CONF., 168, 181. [4] GASQUET (PEST., XVIII., 214), appears to attribute them to a new devotion caused by the Black Death. [5] There were 8 such gilds in the little parish of Oxburgh, in West Norfolk (T. SMITH, 121); at least 4 in Wymondham (NORFOLK ARCHÆOL., IX., 121-152); 2 at Brisingham (BLOMEFIELD, I., 44); 6 at Bridport (A. S. GREEN, I., 16); and 42 in Bodmin, Cornwall (ENCYCL. BRIT., XI., 261). For gilds at Tilton, near Oakham, see GIBBONS, LINC., 116; Thoresby (*ibid.*, 121); Bourne (129); Moulton (144); Stamford (146); Belmesthorpe (146); Spilsby (154); Newark (158); Coningsby (176); Sleaford (181); Boston (175); PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 7, Nov. 20th, 1410, refers to the foundation of Trinity Gild, Boston. [6] WYCL. (A.), I., 32. [7] T. SMITH, 31, 35, 38, 451. [8] P. PLO., X., 97; XIII., 103; CHAUCER, MAN OF LAW, 4980; WYCL. (M.), 27, 73, 231; (A.), I., 71, 401; II., 56, 183; III., 305, 332. [9] For he nought helpeth needful in hir nede.—CHAUCER, MAN OF LAW, 4532. [10] WYCL. (A.), I., 67. [11] P. PLO., VIII., 111; X., 178; RIC. REDELES, PROL., 35; GOWER, CONF., 100, 117, 134, 176, 293, 365, 376, 426; CHAUCER, MAN OF LAW, 4943, 5180, 5246, 5321. [12] GROC. ARCH., 12, 122; WYCL. (M.), 147. [13] For "borw," *i.e.*, surety, see CHAUCER (S.), II., 186. [14] P. PLO., IX, 233; XIV., 71; XVI., 84, 159; LOND. AND MID. ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 114; WYCL. (A.), I., 32; GOWER, CONF., 284, 286. For "myschif and disese" see WYCL. (M.), 214, 231. Mischef and misaventure, CHAUCER (S.), I., 104. Unhappe and disese, *ibid.*, IV., 4. [15] P. PLO., XX., 157. [16] T. SMITH, 22, 37, 71, 76, 110, 111, 217, 448; P. PLO., B., XII., 29; C., VIII., 16; XIII., 84; XXII., 377; GOWER, CONF., 300, 309; WYCL. (A.), II., 43, 78, 270, 420; CHAUCER (S.), I., 243, 254; YORK MAN., I., 220; C. C. GILD, 7.

were some of them from which the parson was expressly excluded.[1] But such cases are very rare. The bulk of the non-trade gilds were directly connected with some saint [2] or chapel or shrine linked with the services of the Church, and often instituted expressly to provide funds for the maintenance of the fabric. Thus at Norwich the Poor Men's Gild was begun in 1380, "in help and amendment of their poor parish church of St. Austin."[3] In Colchester there was a Hospital of the Holy Cross [4] beyond the walls on the south-west side of the town, founded in 1244,[5] for the sustentation of poor needy men, but owing to the "smallness and scarceness of lands and rents," the buildings needed "much reparation and amendment," and the poor men could not "congruly be sustained." In 1402 [6] all the Bishops and Archbishops offered 40 days of pardon to any one who would visit the place, say a Paternoster and an Ave in the chapel, and leave a trifle to keep it up. But the yield from this would be but slight, as every almshouse [7] in England had recourse to the same device when funds were low, to say nothing of the multitudes of parish churches,[8] bridges,[9] noisome roads,[10] cledgy [11] lanes, foul causeways and broken fortifications, whenever they needed repair. An effort on the new lines, however, proved much more successful. In 1407 [12] the King granted a charter for founding a gild under

[1] T. SMITH, 271; A. S. GREEN, II., 138. [2] ROCK, II., 445. [3] T. SMITH, 40. [4] For the True Cross see GIBBONS, LINC., 5, 30, 91. For several portions of it in Lincoln Cathedral, one being four inches square, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 4, 5, 8, 19. [5] MORANT, I., 149; CUTTS, 95. [6] MORANT, I., APP. XV.; ANTIQ. REPERT., III., 345. [7] *E.g.*, STAFF. REG., 21, 37, 65, 241, 245, 311, 317. For leperhouses or lazarhouses see *ibid.*, 25, 293, 346; C. H. COOPER, ANN., I., 140. [8] STAFF. REG., 35, 38, 42, 62, 74, 86, 95, 134, 295, 320, 322. [9] Vol. II., p. 322; STAFF. REG., 13, 135, 336, 338, 371. [10] Vol. II., p. 472; STAFF. REG., 294, 295; C. H. COOPER, ANN., I., 146; GIBBONS, ELY, 401, 403. 404. [11] DENTON, 178, from LAMBARDE, PERAMBULATION. [12] PAT., 9 H. IV., I, 14; MORANT (I., 150, APP. XVI.), thinks it was only the revival of an older gild, but the words *de novo fundare* are not to be pressed; see page 239, note 7.

the patronage of Colchester's empress-saint Helena, in connection with the chapel, and the tide of prosperity at once began to flow.[1] At the close of Richard II.'s reign Walter Cook, a canon of Lincoln, built a chapel in the little hamlet of Knowle[2] in Warwickshire, that the people might be spared from journeying[3] for their baptisms and burials to their parish church at Hampton in Arden, a good mile away. He therefore founded a chantry for two chaplains, took three saints as patrons of his chapel, and secured special indulgence for all who should contribute to the funds for the first seven years. But when the chapel was built, he could devise no better plan for securing perpetual support for the fabric than by founding a Fraternity of brethren and sistern, to be called the Gild of St. Ann of Knowle.[4]

The gilds were thus not only an insurance against old age or mischance[5] by fire, water, and robbery, but they formed a buttress for the tottering Church against the onslaught of free-thinking innovators. They flourished best where the air was thick with Lollardry. In London[6] there were at least 90 of them connected with parish churches. There were 55 at Lynn,[7] where Sawtre[8] had preached, some of them in con-

[1] MORANT, I., 156, 157. In COLCHESTER REC., 23, is a reference to "a solitary roll of Masters of the Gild," 20 H. VI. [2] DUGD., WARW., 702; MONAST., VI., 1471. [3] For "reasonable lettings, *e.g.*, farness of the long way, great abundance of waters and perilous passages at small bridges for people in age and unwieldy," see HAXBY in FABR. ROLLS, 254. [4] For charter of foundation dated Feb. 18th, 1413, see PAT., 14 H. IV., 5. [5] CHAUCER (S.), I., 104; T. SMITH, 156, 185, 193. Par fieu, euwe, roborie.—DUGD., WARW., 191. [6] SHARPE, I., 750; II., 827. [7] RYE, NORF. TOPOGR., 193; HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., APP. III., 151, 160, 165, 190, 191, 203, 211, 235; RICHARDS, I., 410. [8] PAULI, V., 52 (followed by RAMSAY, I., 33) connects him with the rising of the Earls of Kent and Huntingdon, quoting PLACITA REGIS IN CASTRO OXON., ROT. MISCEL., 319, in TOWER. The articles charged against him are given in HEFELE, VI., 981. In ARBER, ENG. GARNER, VI., 58, he is called Sautre. His name is probably derived either from Chatteris in the Fens of Cam-

nection with his own church of St. Margaret's,[1] and 5 in the neighbouring town of Wiggenhall.[2] They embraced poormen, shipmen, children,[3] pious and timid burgesses, mean people and small folk.[4] They were in fact the average work-a-day Englishman's answer to profanity and sacrilege, and for every impious misbeliever who ate the consecrated bread with onions and oysters for supper,[5] or cropped off the nose[6] of a Blessed Virgin in a church, or hacked up an old St. Catherine[7] for fuel to seethe his worts,[8] thousands of honest souls, not specially devout or pious, joined the gilds in practical protest against the misty[9] and unsavoury cobwebs[10] of the Wycliffists and Lollers. To them to believe amiss was a foul sin.[11] Their fathers meddled nothing with such gear,[12] and it should be enough for them to hold the straight way,

bridgeshire, variously called Chateriz, Chatriz, Ceateriz, Cetriz, Cietriz, Chateres, Chatteras (MONAST., II., 619); Chatrys (PAT., 14 H. IV., 24); or from Sawtry or Saltry, near Peterborough (MONAST., V., 21). In DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 14, 65, Nov. 20th, 1382, William Sawtre is *late* Provost of Glatton. In 1402 John de Sawtre resigns his office as Prior of Thorney, near Peterborough.—GIBBONS, ELY, 401. In 1342 Master John Sawtry is a fellow of the King's Hall at Cambridge.—HIST. MSS., 1st REPT., 84; WILLIS AND CLARK, II., 681. CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 17 d, refers to John Sautre of London, draper. In 1405 William Sautre is one of the coroners for Essex.—CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 19.

[1] T. SMITH, 45-110. [2] *Ibid.*, 110-118. [3] *Ibid.*, 53. [4] T. SMITH, CXI., 129; HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., APP. III., XV., 191, 240. For the *mediocres* as opposed to the *potentiores* and *superiores* at Lynn, see *ibid.*, 146. For Dover and Cinq Ports, see RYM., R., IV., 24. [5] WALS., I., 451. [6] GENEALOGIST, N. S., IV., 224. [7] KNIGHTON, 2662. Cf. "these ymagis myztten warme a manne's body in colde if thai were sette upon a fire." —WYCL. (A.), III., 463. [8] CHAUCER, CLERK, 8102; NUN'S PRIEST, 15227; GOWER, CONF., 367, 368; PROMPT. PARV., 532; ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIV., 163. [9] ENGL. GARN., VI., 98; WYCL. (M.), 309, 343, 344; (A.), I., 107, 148, 156, 179; II., 112, 243, 286, 343, 398; III., 26, 66. "The more ich muse theron the mystiloker hit semeth."—P. PLO., XII., 130. [10] Vitandæ sunt et explodendæ araneæ, &c.—GERSON, III., 1029; SCHWAB, 88; cf. P PLO., XXIII., 125; WYCL. (A.), I., 124. [11] CHESTER PLAYS, 118. [12] ANGLIA, V., 28; VAYNES, II., 479.

eschew the new lore, and believe what the Church had bid them.[1]

The terms of gild membership were of the openest. The brethren and sistern need not be of good condition,[2] though they must not come barefoot or barelegs[3] to the drinking. It was enough if they were of honest conversation and good report, if they paid their entries,[4] quarterages,[5] fees, house-rights, dues,[6] and offerings into the common box, and did not rebel against the law of Holy Church.[7] They must

[1] As holy chirche bitte us lete us believe
For our olde fathers alle han followed it.—
HOCCL., DE REG., 13, 14.

But see how that the worthy prelacye,
And under hem the sufficient clergye,
Endowed of profounde intelligence,
Of all this lande werreyen thy (*i.e.*, Oldcastle's) sentence.—
ANGLIA, v.

It were better dike and delve
And stonde upon the righte feith,
Than knowe all that the Bible saith
And erre as some clerkes do.—
GOWER, CONF., 38.

The saints that weren us tofore,
By whom the feith was first up bore,
That holy chirche stood releved,
Thei oughten better be beleved
Than these whiche that men knowe
Nought holy, though thei feigne and blowe
Her Lollardy in mennes ere.
But if thou wolt live out of fere
Such newe lore I rede eschewe,
And holde forth right the wey and sue
As thin auncestres did er this,
So shalt thou nought beleve amis.—
Ibid., 238.

Cf. The comonte the whiche owith true love and obedyente wille to the statis of lordis *and prestis*.—WYCL. (M.), 363. [2] GROC. ARCH., 9. [3] T. SMITH, 81, 95, 98; COV. MYST., 256. [4] T. SMITH, 8, 54, 58, 63, 101; NORF. ARCHÆOL., IX., 124. [5] LOND. AND MID. ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 116. [6] *Ibid.*, 112. [7] T. SMITH, 50, 52.

not be common hazarders,[1] contekours,[2] scolders,[3] chiders, unbuxom or rebel of the tongue,[4] but submit their disputes to the decision of the Wardens of the brotherhood, attend the dirge[5] and burying-mass[6] of dead members, and offer their farthing[7] or their half-penny at the mass-saying[8] when summoned by the bidman[9] with bell[10] and bugle.[11] Not only were the living admitted to the fellowship, but the souls of the dead[12] were also enrolled to share the benefits of the Mass. The entrance was often paid in kind, *e.g.*, a quarter of barley,[13] four bushels of corn,[14] a pound of pepper, three quarters of salt, a hogshead of red wine, a brass pot,[15] a silver spoon,[16] a great pot for pulment[17] or frumenty, a boar, eight brace of rabbits, two ewes with lamb, a black cow, a load of plaster of Paris, an alabaster image, a vestment, a chalice or a laver[18] with four cocks for the chaplains.

[1] HONE, 76; cf. "usen chesse and tablis and hasarde."—WYCL. (A.), III., 145. For "the dees," see CHAUCER (S.), II., 337. "The deceitfull games of hazzard were the dice, the guck, the kayelles (see Vol. II., p. 329), the kloysh."—STOW, LOND., 329. [2] T. SMITH, 4, 11; DUGD., WARW., 191. For "contek," or strife, see YORK MAN., 120; GOWER, CONF., 154, 174, 346, 444; WYCL. (M.), 232, 234; (A.), I., 49, 218; CHAUCER (S.), II., 111, 404. [3] T. SMITH, 385. [4] *Ibid.*, 80. [5] For le dourge, dirige, deregee, dyrgee, see GROC. ARCH., 150, 152, 153; LOND. AND MID. ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 112. [6] T. SMITH, 26, 38. [7] *Ibid.*, 15, 18, 20, 446. For the mass-penny see Vol. II., p. 118. "Messe-pens."—WYCL. (A.), III., 374, 473. [8] T. SMITH, 34. [9] *Ibid.*, 395. [10] *Ibid.*, 31, 35, 51, 163, 190; GUILD OF CORP. CHR., 7; THOMPSON, MUN. HIST., 57. [11] T. SMITH, 341. [12] GENT. MAG. (1835), 377; HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., APP. III., 230. [13] T. SMITH, 182. [14] GENT. MAG. (1835), 377-379. [15] In PAT., 13 H. IV., I, 13, the price of a patella and olla ænea is 4s. In 1402 two tin pots (ollas stanni) are valued at 2s. each.—OXF. CITY DOC., 240; cf. PARL. HIST., II., 126. For pewter chargers see PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 31. [16] A. S. GREEN, II., 172. In REC. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH. (Feb. 26th, 1412), six silver spoons are worth 8s.; cf. DERBY ACCTS., 100. In ARCHÆOLOGIA, XLIII., 189, one silver spoon is worth 5s. (1396); see also Vol. II., p. 357, note 4. For mediæval spoons see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 118. For a silver powderbox see SHARPE, II., 205, 398. [17] WYCL. (A.), I., 299. In BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 81, furmenty is "wheat boiled in milk." [18] For lavacrum see DERBY ACCTS., 153. For "lavars" see Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{8}\frac{8}{8}$, APP. B.

Many of the gilds were necessarily small in scope and membership, and the great multiplication of them often led to weakness. Here and there we meet with a tendency to roll two or more weak gilds into one strong one. Thus at Coventry,[1] in 1392, four gilds combined to form the Great Gild[2] or Gild of the Trinity, which was incorporated on Feb. 16th, 1409,[3] and took a commanding position in the town. The outgoing Mayor was always the gild master; and King Henry IV.[4] and his sons, being neighbours at Kenilworth, were enrolled amongst the brethren, together with Archbishop Arundel, Bishop Beaufort, and others of the highest in the land. A similar fusion of gilds took place at Chesterfield,[5] in 1387, and at Stratford-on-Avon[6] the Gilds of Our Lady and St. John the Baptist were amalgamated with the older Gild of the Holy Cross in 1403, of which King Henry IV. was afterwards reputed the original founder. But, as a rule, local feeling was against this course, and each gild retained its separate existence to the last. Admission to the larger ones was often the beginning of the high road to success, and was valued at a corresponding price. Priests paid large sums for the chaplaincies, and the Master, in his capacity of arbitrator[7] of disputes to "bring them to one-head and accord,"[8] was not always proof against the temptation to "rule the matter otherwise than by conscience,"[9] and decide "by private affection."[10] Thus the gilds increased incessantly, and "exercised them-

[1] DUGD., WARW., 192; ENGL. HIST. REV., IX., 634. [2] GIBBONS, LINC., 116; A. S. GREEN, II., 15, 19, 205, speaks of the Trinity Gild as identical with the Corporation. But this is inconsistent with her subsequent explanation, *ibid.*, II., 212. [3] PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 8. [4] DUGD., WARW., 192. [5] T. SMITH, 168. [6] *Ibid.*, 220; GENT. MAG. (1835), p. 162; DUGD., WARW., 696. [7] ANTIQUARY, XI., 108. [8] T. SMITH, 451. [9] HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., APP., III., 166. [10] GENT. MAG. (1835), 167.

selves in lusty eating and drinking unmeasurably and out of time."[1]

For England was then "Merry England,"[2] and sad and sober[3] pleasure was not the people's creed. The brethren did not put in their weekly shot[4] merely to dole groats[5] to pittancers,[6] or help the bedrid[7] and brokelegged,[8] or find poor scholars to school,[9] or dower poor girls, or burn their soul-candles[10] around the corpse of a dead brother, or follow at his forthbringing[11] and 'terment.[12] Such duties were soon relegated to chaplains, who were paid[13] and lodged at the cost of the gild. The gildsmen lived for mirth, joy, sweetness, courtesy, and merry disports. Once every year came the Gild-Day,[14] usually on a Sunday[15] or one of the greater feasts, when the brethren, fairly and honestly arrayed[16] in their new hoods, gowns,

[1] ENG. GARN., VI., 115. [2] CURSOR MUNDI, 231. [3] COV. MYST., 102, 352. [4] Vol. II., p. 73; HR., VI., 1. "Escot."—DESCHAMPS, VII., 325. [5] ROCK, II., 510; III., 33, quoting LEL., COLL., V., 380, 381. [6] SHARPE, II., 250; Vol. II., pp. 26, 486. [7] P. PLO., X., 34, 177; SHARPE, II., 364, 377; WYCL. (M.), 7, 11, 13, 16, 186, 211; (A.), III., 201, 293, 372. [8] P. PLO., IX., 188. [9] *Ibid.*, A., VIII., 34; C., VI., 36; XXIII., 295; GIBBONS, LINC., 108; WYCL. (M.), 116, 176; NOTES AND QUERIES, VIII., I, 390; ROCK, III., 49, quoting LEL., COL., II., 2. [10] T. SMITH, 166, 169, 177, 178, 185. For the "light," see *ibid.*, 7, 18, 26, 54; cf. Vol. II., p. 73. [11] WILLS AND INV., I., 78. [12] FIFTY WILLS, 11, 15; LOND. AND MID. ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 112. Cf. "a riche enterement."—GOWER, CONF., 285, 425. [13] In 1345 the pepperers of Soper's Lane, London, paid their chantry priest 15d. a week, or £3 5s. per annum (HERBERT, I., 44; GROC. ARCH., I., 8, 26 n), and for this they claimed to retain his whole services (GENT. MAG., 1835, p. 165; HERBERT, I., 69; ROCK, II., 451). In 1376 his salary was 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.).—GROC. ARCH., I., 18. The Fraternity of SS. Fabian and Sebastian of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, London (founded in 1377), paid their priest 10 marks per annum. He had to say mass every morning, often by five o'clock (HONE, 79; STOW, LOND., 330; GIBBONS, LINC., 80; RIPON MEM., I., 156, 159, 163, &c.). The Fraternity of St. Antonin allowed their priest £5 per annum, besides 13s. 4d. for chamber and £3 "plus avant."—GROC. ARCH., I., 42. Cf. Vol. II., p. 119. [14] T. SMITH, 21, 30. [15] LOND. AND MID. ARCH. SOC., IV., 139; V., 114; NORF. ARCHÆOL., IX., 124; GLOUGH, PLESHY, APP., 118. [16] T. SMITH, 47, 408.

and cloaks,[1] in livery suit [2] of murrey,[3] crimson, white or green,[4] would assemble at day-break, and form up in the house [5] or hall of their craft. In front rode the beadle [6] or crier,[7] in scarlet tabard [8] or demigown.[9] Next came the pipers, trumpers,[10] corners,[11] clarioners, cornemusers,[12] shalmusers, and other minstrelsy,[13] clad in verdulet,[14] rayed plunket,[15] or russet motley ;[16] and then the craftsmen, mounted or afoot, moving in procession [17] through the streets to the church [18] where their chantry was appointed. They carried with them a huge wax serge,[19] sometimes weighing 50 lbs., to burn [20] before the shrine

[1] SHROPSH. ARCHÆOL. SOC., VIII., 279. [2] T. SMITH, 21, 76, 446. Seute en robes.—GROC. ARCH., 12, 20; in una secta.—ANN., 191. As I that am clad of his suite.—GOWER, CONF., 176, 191. [3] GROC. ARCH., 249; = "tawny," in A. S. GREEN, II., 326; but see Vol. II., p. 183, note 4. [4] Red or green clothing was considered as tending to dissoluteness.—DUCAREL, APP., 39. [5] Entreparler en une meson.—GROC. ARCH., 9. Before the building of their hall in 1425 the grocers met in different hostels, such as the Ringed Hall, a place in St. Thomas the Apostle (HEATH, 53); en la meson Benoit de Fulsham appelle le Ryngedhalle.—GROC. ARCH., 2, 14, 33, 38. [6] HERBERT, I., 152; SHROPSH. ARCHÆOL. SOC., VIII., 271; SHARPE, II., 349; COV. MYST., 240; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 76. For "bidel," see YEAR BOOK, 14 H. IV., 2; "bydell," MUN. ACAD., 698. [7] Who evere cometh to prestod takith the office of a bedele or criere to goo before the dredful doom of god.—WYCL. (M.), 58, 189; (A.), II., 100; cf. "cryour," DERBY ACCTS., 105. [8] MUNIM. ACAD., 382. [9] GROC. ARCH., 83, 131. [10] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 50'. [11] Les corneours et clariours se comencent a corner et clarioner tres fixt.—P. MEYER, 392. [12] CHAUCER (S.), IV., 36; GOWER, CONF., 437. [13] P. PLO., IV., 12; LIB. ALB., 458, 459; WYCL. (A.), II., 70. For minstrels and jongleurs see JUSSERAND, 118-211; P. PLO., VIII., 97; XVI., 235; GOWER, CONF., 369; ENGEL, 112: MORLEY, VI., 228, 229. Cf. flahutes, tambourins, challemies, harpes, vielles, et bedons.—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 61. [14] LOVENEY'S COMPOTUS, 1395; DEP. KEEP., 30th REPT., 36, APP. A; PROMPT. PARV., 406, 422; GROC. ARCH., 90, 91. [15] *I.e.*, sky-blue, ARCHÆOL., XXXIX., 368; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 77. For rayed (*i.e.*, striped) gowns, see ARCHÆOL., XXXIX., 358; DERBY ACCTS., XCVII. [13] Vol. II., p. 183; cf. pro j duodena de stragulis pro ministrallis.—DERBY ACCTS., 89. [17] ROCK, II., 414. [18] *Ibid.*, 446; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 77. [19] APOLOGY, 48, 149; HIGDEN, V., 225; JAMIESON, IV., 180; LIB. CUST., 219; T. SMITH, 214; HERBERT, I., 68. For sirger, cirger, cierger, see SHARPE, I., 120, 156, 261, 372, 428, &c. In RAINES' MSS., XXVIII., 380, Alice, widow of John Doncaster, merchant of York, by will dated Aug. 7th, 1406, leaves 20 lbs. of wax to be made into five candles. For "coke-lyght," see MUN. ACAD., 701. [20] Either constantly or "at due times."—HERBERT, I., 447; II., 163.

of their saint. Then began the mornspeech,[1] communion,[2] or speaking-together,[3] which was usually held in the church [4] while the Mass was proceeding,[5] where the year's accounts were squared, the gild chattels [6] were laid on the checker, points [7] were promulgated, defaulters announced, new members enrolled, and the Master, Skevins,[8] Proctors,[9] Dean,[10] Clerk,

Cf. "Zif a pore man have longe founden moche wex brennynge bifore a rotyn stok," &c.—WYCL. (A.), III., 293.

[1] T. SMITH, 275. For morghespeche, maneloquium, or morning talk, see A. S. GREEN, I., 303, and GROSS, I., 32; II., *passim*. [2] GENT. MAG. (1835), 163, 376. [3] T. SMITH, 52. [4] LIB. CUST., 122, 416; T. SMITH, 335; GROC. ARCH., 41; A. S. GREEN, II., 227; not after dinner in the hall, as BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 78. In Oct., 1400, the French envoys transact their business with the council in the Church of the Black Friars in London.—FROIS., XVI., 369. At Oxford much of the University business was done in St. Mary's Church.—MUN. ACAD., XL., CII., 50, 114, 201, 245, 507, 580, 731, 745; HUBER, I., 346; J. R. GREEN, 132; BOASE, OXFORD, 99; LYTE, 41, 98, 101, 214; CH. QUARTERLY REV., 23, 451; ARCHÆOL. JOURN., VIII., 128; RYM., IV., 455. In Paris the Congregation of the English nation was often held in the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian.—DENIFLE, PROC., I., LIV. For compurgation in Merton College Chapel, then a parish church, see MUN. ACAD., 500. At New College the nave of the chapel (now the antechapel) was to be used once a week for disputations in civil and canon law.—WILLIS AND CLARK, III., 259. Similarly, for Great St. Mary's Church at Cambridge, see FULLER, 46, and the new chapel above the Divinity School, WILLIS AND CLARK, III., 19; MULLINGER, I., 299, 355; *Ibid.*, HIST., 28; COOPER, MEM., III., 295. For poem written by Eustache Morel on his knees in the chapel of the Hostel of St. Pol, on Whitsunday,

Au coing de l'autel en grant presse
Que que l'en chantoit le grant messe,

see DESCHAMPS, VIII., 26. [5] LIB. CUST., 225; A. S. GREEN, I., 139, 155, 401, 405, 410. For the brotherhoods of St. George and the Trinity in St. Nicholas Church, Calais, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 310, 313, 314, and those of the Trinity and the Virgin Mary in St. Mary's Church at Calais, *ibid.*, 321. For "glutton masses" in London, where the people took their meat and ale to church with them, see BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 125. [6] T. SMITH, 83, 119; ENG. HIST. REV., 14, 308: P. PLO., XI., 168, 193, 249; GOWER, CONF., 379; WYCL. (M.), 11, 217, 230, 233, 234; (A.), I., 16, 20; CHAUCER (S.), I., 225; chatel.—DESCHAMPS. VIII., 176. [7] HERBERT, I., 45. [8] For skyveyn, skevin, skiven, eskiven, eskevin, see Vol. II., p. 55; T. SMITH, 46, 75, 81; DAVIES, 137; PROMPT. PARV., S. V.; GROSS, I., 26; II., 403, 418; BRANDO, 121; CUNNINGHAM, I., 175. Called "scavin" in A. S. GREEN, II., 218, 306. For the scummage, scabinage, or eschevinage at Calais, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 329, 376. For "scepene" at Louvain, see ENG. HIST. REV., IX., 560, 562. [9] GENT. MAG. (1835), 165. [10] For "guldekenen" at Louvain, see ENG. HIST. REV., IX., 560.

Summoner, and other officers elected for the coming year. Thence they returned to the hall for the general feast,[1] otherwise known as the drink,[2] the meat,[3] or the mangery.[4] The walls would be hung with hallings[5] of stained worsted, and dight with birch boughs,[6] and the floor over-strawed[7] with mats,[8] or a litter[9] of sedge and rushes,[10] that swarmed with the quick beasts that tickle men o' nights.[11] The benches were fit with gay bankers,[12] before tables set on trestle-

[1] HERBERT, I., 467. [2] T. SMITH, 54, 66, 216; ARCHÆOL. JOURN., IX., 73, 87. Cf. "the drinking."—NORF. ARCHÆOL., IX., 125; HIST. MSS., 12th REPT., IX., 431; A. S. GREEN, I., 316; "beurages."—HERBERT, II., 130. [3] ANTIQUARY, XI., 107, 108; LOND. AND MID. ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 116; WYCL. (A.), I., 6, 49; II., 196; CHAUCER (S.), II., 234. Cf. PROMPT. PARV., s. v., Eating; "etingis togidere as eerly diners and late sopers for thes fallen to siche felowshipis."—WYCL. (A.), II., 350. [4] GROC. ARCH., 8, 18, 39, 117, &c.; WYCL. (A.), I., 4; LIB. CUST., 226; HERBERT, I., 44; P. PLO., XIII., 46. Cf. "un grant mangerie."—P. MEYER, 384; "ye have manged over muche."—P. PLO., IX., 272. [5] SHARPE, II., 250; FIFTY WILLS, 35, 133; CATHOL., 172; HOLT, 68. Cf. "Curiousté stondith in hallis," WYCL. (M.), 434. Cf. steynata, DERBY ACCTS., 18, 19, 25, 75, 154. [6] SHARP, 179. [7] CHAUCER (S.), I., 298. [8] Pro cirpis et mattis.—Iss. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., Dec. 4th, 1409; pro mattes et stramine.—DERBY ACCTS., 74, 164; WALCOTT, WYKEHAM, 250, 284; BOASE, EXON., X.; OLIVER, 280. [9] For "litura," see DERBY ACCTS., 156, 346. [10] HIST. MSS., I., 80, 85; DERBY ACCTS., 16, 63, 67; DENTON, 49, 151; JUSSERAND, 124; BESANT, 71, 146. For complaint in Paris, 1371, that the doors of the Schools would not shut, sic quod deferrentur omnia ejus stramina, see DENIFLE, PROC., I., XXVIII., 405. [11] COV. MYST., 242. For the dust and fleas "soubz les junx," see PECKHAM, I., 2; PHILOBIBLON in ACAD., 27/4/89, p. 281; ERASMUS in BOASE, 60; JUSSERAND, 131; G. METZ, XIII.; DESCHAMPS, IV., 55; VI., 132, 189; VII., 88, 90. For six rules for catching them in bedrooms see MENAGIER, I., 181. Cf. "Je pense qu'il n'y a point des puces ne des poils ne d'autre vermyn."—P. MEYER, 388. "Il y a grant cop de puces gisans en le poudre soubz les juncs," "les puces me mordent fort," &c., *ibid.*, 403. Pore men couchen in muk and dust.—WYCL. (M.), 211. In 1370 the floor of some new schools in Paris was multum pulverizata et arenosa in tantum quod quasi abominabile esset scholaribus se ponere in tantâ multitudine pulveris.—DENIFLE, PROC., I., XXVII. For scholars sitting on the ground while the master sits in a chair, see the Seal of the English nation.—*Ibid.*, Frontispiece. [12] T. SMITH, 233; PROMPT. PARV., s. v.; SHARPE, I., 454; II., 152; NORF. ARCHÆOL., I., 343; WILLIS AND CLARK, III., 362; HOLT, 66. Cf. "the bankers on the binkes lay."—LANGTOFT, II., 456; WARTON, III., 149; "un grant doseur avec les

trees[1] spread with board-cloths[2] of clean nap.[3] On these was laid a garnish[4] of pewter or treen, together with the masers and silver spoons bequeathed[5] by brethren since dead. Men and women alike brought their beaker[6] of ale, and the poor received their share of the good things by the custom of the day. Each member was required to bring his wife or his lass,[7] and the sick[8] brother or sister had still to pay his score, though he might have his pottle[9] of ale and his mess of kitchen stuff[10] sent to his own house if he wished. If any disturbed[11] the fellowship with brabblings[12] or high language the Dean delivered him the yard,[13] or fined him in two pounds of wax, to be paid in to the light-silver.[14] The cook was often a brother of the gild, and skilled waferers[15] were always to be had for a price. When all had washed and wiped,[16] the Graceman[17] placed them a-row[18] with his silver wand, and the Clerk stood up and called "Peace!"[19] while prayers were said for England and the Church.

tapis bankeurs."—P. MEYER, 384; "doseris bancurs and cuzshens."—WYCL. (M.), 434.

[1] For trestre d'arbre, see Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6\,8}{1}$, APP. B; DERBY ACCTS., 63, 75, 86; also HERBERT, I., 80; T. SMITH, 233, 320, 327; DENTON, 49; HOLT, 62, 67; BESANT, 71, 145. [2] PROMPT. PARV., 40; LOND. AND MID. ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 117; SHARPE, I., 620, 690, 692. "The cloth was laid, the bord was set."—GOWER, CONF., 220. [3] GROC. ARCH., 27. [4] SHARPE, I., XLIX. [5] LOND. AND MID. ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 117. [6] T. SMITH, 217. [7] Femme ou compaigne ou demoiselle.—GROC. ARCH., 14; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 78. [8] T. SMITH, 59, 119, 147; GENT. MAG. (1835), p. 167; LOND. AND MID. ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., III. [9] DERBY ACCTS., 6. [10] Mes de la cusyne.—DAVIES, 140. [11] SHROPSH. ARCHÆOL. SOC., VIII., 281. [12] ARCHÆOLOGIA, XLIII., 175-190. [13] T. SMITH, 273; Vol. II., p. 469. For the "yerde of scourgynge," see WYCL. (A.), II., 259, 262, 321, 326; III., 38. Cf. "under your yerde."—CHAUCER (S.), I., 357; II., 176, 194, 248, 277; PROL., 149. [14] GENT. MAG. (1835), p. 166; A. S. GREEN, I., 158. For "receptor luminaris" in the English nation in Paris, see DENIFLE, PROC., I., XXIV., 137. [15] For wafreris, waffer, wafrestre, wawfroer, see WYCL. (M.), 12; P. PLO., VIII., 285; XVI., 199; BEKYNTON, II., 233; DERBY ACCTS., XCIII., 104, 109, 358; MARTIN, 82, 83. Cf. uni wafrerio (or weyferer) 9d. Not "wayfarer," as HIST. MSS., 1st REPT., 80, 81, 83. [16] P. PLO., XVI., 32, 38. [17] T. SMITH, 172, 176, 183; GIBBONS, LINC., 97. [18] GOWER, CONF., 352, 416. [19] T. SMITH, 76.

The feast began with good bread and brown ale. Then came the bruets,[1] jouts,[2] worts,[3] gruels, cullies,[4] and other pottage,[5] the big meat,[6] the lamb tarts,[7] and capon pasties,[8] the cockentrice,[9] or double roast (*i.e.*, griskin and pullet stitched with thread, or great and small birds[10] stewed together),[11] and served in a silver posnet[12] or pottinger,[13] the charlets,[14] chewets,[15] collops,[16] mammenies,[17] mortrews,[18] and other such toothsome entremets[19] of meat hewed in gobbets[20] and sod in ale,[21] wine,[22] milk, eggs, sugar,[23] honey,

[1] Two Cookery Books, 123; Prompt. Parv., 54; Halliwell, 214; Holt, 113. Cf. "brouet."—Deschamps, viii., 8, 104. [2] Two Cookery Books, 5; Prompt. Parv., 265. [3] Two Cookery Books, 5, 89. [4] *Ibid.*, 10. [5] Wycl. (A.), i., 298; ii., 194. [6] "Grosse char."—Two Cookery Books, 58; Deschamps, iv., 325; vii., 188; viii., 139; Holt, 109; Holt, Langley, 52, from Harl. MS., 4016; Lib. Cust., 227; "grant char."—P. Meyer, 386. [7] Groc. Arch., 126, 218; Two Cookery Books, 47, 52, 74. [8] Gower, Conf., 245. [9] Two Cookery Books, 40, 62, 115; Besant, 186. [10] Two Cookery Books, 61. [11] Herbert, i., 77, 81. [12] Sharpe, i., 574, 690. For "possinett argenti," see Q. R. Wardrobe, $\frac{6\,8}{2}$, App. B; Prompt. Parv., 410. [13] Excerpt. Hist., 416, 418. Cf. "podenger," Mun. Acad., 705; or "porringer," Holt, 131. [14] Two Cookery Books, 17; Prompt. Parv., 70. For "chare de coyns," *i.e.*, quinces, see Derby Accts., 19. [15] Two Cookery Books, 48, 58. [16] P. Plo., xvi., 67. [17] Two Cookery Books, 22, 61, 88. [18] *Ibid.*, 28, 136; P. Plo., xvi., 47, 66, 100; Prompt. Parv., 344; Chauc., Prol., 384; Cathol., 243. Not "mottrews," as Besant, Whittington, 80. [19] For "entremessebroches," see L. T. R. Enrolled Wardrobe Accts., 13, 5, App. C. "This entremes is dressed for you alle."—Chaucer (S.), i., 358. [20] For "bef or moton hewed in smale gobbetts," see Cookry, vi. For "fleshheweris," see Wycl. (A.), i., 308; Cookry, vi.; Gower, Conf., 265, 287. For "gobet," see P. Plo., vi., 100; Wycl. (A.), ii., 214; Chaucer (S.), ii., 41, 128. For "gob," see Archæol. Cambr., v., i, 25, Jan., 1884; Holt, 100. [21] Chester Plays, i., 123.

[22] Cf. Chapons rostiz boucs ne veaulx
Ne sausses de la sausserie
Sanz vin n' est c'une moquerie.—
Deschamps, viii., 103.

[23] In 1417 sugar in "hole looffys" cost 13d. or 14d. per lb., in gobbets 11d., and in powder 7d. to 8d.—Groc. Arch., 129, 190. In 1425 the price of white sugar was 1s. per lb.—Herbert, i., 79. In 1420 the Portuguese transplanted the sugar cane from Sicily to Madeira.—Art de Ver., i., 780. The editor of the Senchus Mor thinks that up till 1466 sugar was only used as a medicine in Europe.—Anc. Laws, ii., xli.

marrow,[1] spices,[2] and verjuice[3] made from grapes or crabs.[4] Then came the subtleties,[5] daintily worked like pigeons, curlews, or popinjays in sugar and paste, painted in gold and silver, with mottoes coming out of their bills; and after them the spiced cakebread,[6] the Frenchbread, the pastelades,[7] doucets,[8] dariols,[9] flawns,[10] pain-puffs,[11] rastons,[12] and blancmanges,[13] with cherries, drages,[14] blandrells,[15] and cheese, and a standing-cup[16] of good wine left by some former brother to drink him every year to mind.[17] When the cloth was up[18] and the boards were drawn,[19] came the merrymaking and the hoy-trolly-lolly.[20] They laughed and cried at the jester's[21] bourds[22]

[1] Out of the harde bones knocken they
The mary, for they casten nought away.—
CHAUC., PARDONER, 12475.

[2] Cf. "riche meetis with hote spices."—WYCL. (A.), III., 159. [3] For vergous, virges, vergws, see DERBY ACCTS., XCIV., 357, where the price in 1392 is 5d. per gallon. Cf. Vergus, vinaigre, eufs, et frommaige.—DESCHAMPS, VIII., 138, 139; use de verjus pour vinaigre.—*ibid.*, VIII., 343. [4] WILLIS AND CLARK, III., 579, 582; DERBY ACCTS., 190. [5] TWO COOKERY BOOKS, 57, 58, 68, &c.; DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, 6, APP. A. At the coronation of Henry V. there were swans, eagles, and antelopes.—COOKRY, 4. [6] RICART, 80. [7] TWO COOKERY BOOKS, 59, 62; HOLT, 101. [8] TWO COOKERY BOOKS, 50; PROMPT. PARV., 128; HOLT, LANGLEY, 52; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 80. [9] TWO COOKERY BOOKS, 47, 53, 56, 75. [10] *Ibid.*, 51, 56; DERBY ACCTS., 254, 342; PROMPT. PARV., 164; CATHOL., 133; "with deynté flawnes brode and flat."—CHAUC. (S.), I., 248. [11] TWO COOKERY BOOKS, 61, 68; HOLT, LANGLEY, 53; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 80. [12] TWO COOKERY BOOKS, 52. [13] Blammanges.—P. PLO., XVI., 100; blankmanger.—CHAUC., PROL., 387. [14] CATHOL., S. V.; BOASE, EXON., 6; DERBY ACCTS., 19, 225, where 1 lb. of royal drage costs 1S. 4d. in 1390. Cf. dragges.—CHAUC., PROL., 426. [15] GROC. ARCH., 78, 81, 87, 91, 98, 159; HERBERT, I., 85; TWO COOKERY BOOKS, 59; PROMPT. PARV., 38; DERBY ACCTS., 10, 11, where 400 "blaundreles" cost 2S. 3d. at Calais in 1390. [16] HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., III., 231; PROMPT. PARV., 35; ARCHÆOLOGIA, L., 527; CHESTER PLAYS, 59; SHARPE, II., XLVI., 424; "mony drinken wyne that were better lif wyth ale."—WYCL. (A.), III., 159. [17] GIBBONS, LINC., 108. [18] GOWER, CONF., 416. [19] WYCL. (A.), I., 113, 181, 263, 288, 400; GOWER, CONF., 115; P PLO., IX., 289. Cf. au lever de la table.—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 61. [20] P. PLO. IX., 123. [21] For "chanteurs de gestes," see LEROUX DE LINCY, 430. For "gest," see GOWER, CONF., 280, 292, 393, 396, 408; CHAUC. (S.), II., 191, 405; "gestiours that tellen tales," *ibid.*, IV., 36. [22] CHESTER PLAYS, 197; P. PLO., VIII., 108; X., 127. For "borde," see GOWER, CONF., 149, 398, 427; WYCL. (M.), 446.

or the gitener's [1] glee; they watched the tregetour's [2] sleight, or they diced [3] and raffled, while the sautryours [4] and other minstrels harped,[5] piped, gitterned,[6] fluted,[7] and fitheled [8] a merry fit [9] aloft.[10] As they left the hall they gathered about the leapers and tumblers,[11] or thronged the bearward [12] and the apeward [13] to enjoy the grins, mows,[14] and gambols [15] of their darlings,[16] or formed a ring about the bearstake [17] to see the

[1] HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., III., 221. For the gleeman see P. PLO., VII., 404; XII., 104; BESANT, 74. [2] Cf. Vol. I., p. 320; GOWER, CONF., 121; CHAUC. (S.), IV., 38; MARCO POLO, I., 340, 342, 347; II., 73. For "tregetrye," see WYCL. (A.), III., 410. Cf. "sum tyme men wen to see a thing that thei see it not as it schewid by jogulers, dremers, and rafars."—APOL., 96; also "develis jugeleurs to blyn mennies gostly eizen."—WYCL. (M.), 99. For Master John Rikil, Tregetour to Henry V., see LYDGATE in DUGD., ST. PAUL'S, 425. [3] RICART, 80; T. SMITH, 422. [4] SHARPE, I., 338. [5] For the three parts of the harp, see WYCL. (M.), 340. For the rebeck, citole, riote, harp, viol, flute, &c., see GOWER, CONF., 416, 424, 439; DESCHAMPS, VI., 127; VII., 269; HOLT, 56. Cf. "symphonie and croude weren herd."—WYCL. (A.), II., 73. For harpers playing before Henry at Königsberg, Epiphany, 1391, see DERBY ACCTS., 110; HIRSCH, II., 793. [6] WYCL. (M.), 9. [7] CHAUC. (S.), I., 125. [8] On Oct. 21st, 1391, two outside minstrels played before Henry at Peterborough, cum lewt et fithele, for which they received 13s. 4d.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 2. [9] COV. MYST., 186. [10] GOWER, CONF., 61, 149, 185, 188, 190, 200, 209, 241, 261, 273, 277, 299, 379, 434. For "on lofte," see COV. MYST., 84; LYDGATE, TEMP. OF GLAS, 27; P. PLO., VII., 424; CHAUC., MAN OF LAW, 4697; CHAUC. (S.), I., 224, 342, 359; II., 157, 182, 265, 341, 357, 365, 368; IV., 51. For the minstrels' loft, see FROIS. (JOHNES), IV., 374. from HARL. MS., 4379. [11] OWEN AND BLAKEWAY, I., 327. For "tumbleris lepyng," see WYCL. (A.), I., 388; III., 252. Kingston's compotus has payment cuidam tumbler performing before Henry at Königsberg, Christmas, 1390.—DERBY ACCTS., 109. [12] JUSSERAND, 218, 233; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, Plate xxii., 105; WYCL. (A.), II., 337; STAT., IV., 591, 14 ELIZ., c. 5; A. S. GREEN, I., 148. For "bereleder," see CHAUC. (S.), II., 349. [13] CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, Plate xxii., 104; LEROUX DE LINCY, 156; P. PLO., VIII., 284; WYCL. (M.), 96. Cf. "make I not wel tumble myn apes."—CHAUC. (S.), I., 245. [14] "To skoffe and mowe lyk a wantoun ape," cf. GOWER, CONF., 186, 240; CHAUC. (S.), II., 302; IV., 53. [15] "Gambolding."—MARRIOTT, 78. [16] CHESTER PLAYS, II., 78, 112, 144. Cf. "swetings."—COV. MYST., 160, 196. [17] WARTON, I., 90; WYCL. (A.), II., 299; GARDINER, 275. For bull-baiting and bear-whipping in London, see HENTZNER in HARRISON, I., LXXVIII. (1598); FITZSTEPHEN in BECKET, III., 11; BRAND, II., 283; GROSS, I., 34. For Nottingham see A. S. GREEN, II., 256. In Colchester temp. Ed. III., Henry Oskyn, butcher, was fined 40d. for killing

baiting with the dogs. Or the summer afternoon[1] would be spent in running[2] a bull, when the poor brute's skin was daubed with smear,[3] its tail cut, and its horns sawn off, the sport being to goad it with dogs and sticks and see who could get near enough to cut a few hairs from its greased back.

But the great diversion of our forefathers was mumming. Give them but free air and an antic guise, and they would mask and mime with all the seriousness of children at play. Every mistery must have its riding, and every gild its procession. At Beverley,[4] on St. Helen's Day, the gildsmen dressed up a boy as a queen to represent the saint. One old man marched before her with a cross and another with a spade; the music played up, and the brethren and sistern followed the parade to church. At Candlemas[5] a man in woman's dress represented the Virgin Mary, and carried "what might seem" a baby in his arms. Joseph and Simeon walked behind him, and two angels carrying a heavy candlestick with 24 waxlights. At York[6] they showed the Vices and Virtues by means of the petitions in the Lord's Prayer, or they acted out the articles of the Creed, while the gildsmen in their livery rode with the players on the route. At Leicester[7] the images

a bull before it had been baited with dogs at the bearstake.—COLCH. REC., 9. For bulls and bears in Rome, see USK, 72.

[1] CHAUCER, MAN OF LAW, 5464. [2] For Stamford see T. SMITH, 192; BUTCHER, 76; STRUTT, 207. For Tutbury see DUGDALE, MONAST., III., 397; PLOT, 436; SHAW, I., 52; ARCHÆOLOGIA, II., 86. For Leicester see THOMPSON, MUN. HIST., 51, where "q't de tauro" can hardly mean that "the gildmen depastured cows on the common near the town." [3] T. SMITH, 356, 359; cf. "saim," DAVIES, 150. For cepum or sepum, see DERBY ACCTS., 6, 15, 27; RIPON MEM., III., 93, and *passim*. Cf. "cepi sive uncti," RYM., VIII., 634. For "candelas de cepo," see MURAT., III., 2, 816; "chokid with talew," WYCL. (M.), 104. For "sebum," at 8s. 6d. per 100 lbs., see OLIVER, 280. For "whyte Castelle sope," see POL. SONGS, II., 160. [4] T. SMITH, 148. [5] *Ibid.*, 149. [6] *Ibid.*, 137. [7] THOMPSON, 150.

of St. Martin and the Virgin were borne through the streets with music and singing, 12 of the gildsmen making up as the Apostles, each with his name stuck in his cap. At Norwich,[1] on St. George's Day, they chose their George and a man to bear his sword and be his carver; two of the brethren bore the banner and two "the wax," and the rest rode with them in their livery round the town. The Norwich peltyers[2] (or skinners) dressed up "a knave child innocent," with a large candle in his hand, and led him through the city to the Minster, "betwyxen two good men," in memory of St. William,[3] the boy-martyr, to foster hatred against the Jews. At Canterbury,[4] every 6th of July at the city watch, a cart was drawn about the streets, showing a boy vested as "Bishop Becket" struck down before an altar by four other children, who played the knights; and as the martyr fell beneath their blows, real blood was spurted on to his forehead from a leather bag, which was carried in reserve for use at a given signal. At Cambridge[5] the scholars of Michaelhouse played a comedy in masks, beards, and embroidered cloaks. In London[6] the brethren of the Fraternity of SS. Fabian and Sebastian carried "the Branch" springing from the root of Jesse dressed out with lighted candles to the church of St. Botolph, Aldersgate. On St. Nicholas Eve (Dec. 5th) the chorister boys in every cathedral, and probably in every collegiate and parish church where singing boys were found, elected one of their number to be

[1] T. SMITH, 446; A. S. GREEN, I., 150; II., 384. [2] T. SMITH, 30. [3] NOTES AND QUERIES, 7th Ser., X., p. 424; ATHENÆUM, 12/12/91, p. 801. [4] ARCHÆOL. CANT., XII., 34; HIST. MSS., IXth REPT., I., 148; A. S. GREEN (I., 146), considers this to have been a complete local play. [5] WARTON, II., 377; C. H. COOPER, ANN., I., 131. [6] HONE, 83.

their "Barne-Bishop,"[1] or "St. Nicholas' Bishop,"[2] and to rule the services of the church, in mitre, ring, gloves, cope, surplice, rochet, and full pontificals. He rode or strutted about the streets with his crozier[3] borne before him, blessing the crowd, and collecting their pennies in a glove, with his canons, chaplains, clerks, vergers, and candle-bearers till Childermas. With the New Year came the Feast of Fools,[4] when the sub-deacons[5] and lower clerks tumbled into the churches, and enthroned their Bishop with his Fool's-staff,[6] or

[1] TEST. EBOR., III., 142; LIB. NIG. SCAC., 674; BRAND, I., 324-336; ARCHÆOLOGIA, L., 446; LII., 209, 221; WARTON, I., 248; II., 375; III., 303; STRUTT, 258; BLOMEFIELD, II., 516; REYNOLDS, LXXXV., LXXXVIII.; ABERDEEN REC., I., XXVI.; JAMIESON, I., 5; FABR. ROLLS, 229, 230. For York, see MONAST., VI., 1208. For Nottingham and Scrooby, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXVI., 342. For Winchester, WALCOTT, WYKEHAM, 205. For St. Katharine's by the Tower, RELIQUARY, IV., 153. For Lincoln, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 25, 50; ROCK, IV., 217. For Romney and Lydd, A. S. GREEN, I., 148. See also ROGERS, IV., 582; MÉRAY, II., 109. For the figure in Salisbury Cathedral, see GREGORY, 117; HONE, 166, 197; HAWKINS, II., 7; STOTHARD, 28; LYTE, 192; SARUM STAT., 75. At St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, £1 was paid every year towards the expenses out of the Exchequer (prout antiquitus eidem episcopo puerorum de hujus elemosina solvi consuevit).—DEVON, 222. This appears on the ISSUE ROLL every year in December, *e.g.*, 11 H. IV., MICH. (Dec. 4th, 1409); 12 H. IV., MICH. (Dec. 9th, 1410); 14 H. IV., MICH. (Dec. 10th, 1412), and *passim*. [2] For Leicester, see DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, 5 (c), APP. A; LOND. AND MID. ARCH. SOC., IV., 318; V., 427. For Brussels (St. Gudule), see LABORDE, II., 286. [3] Vol. II., p. 229; LOND. AND MID. ARCH. SOC., IV., 319; G. OLIVER, BISHOPS, 229. For "bishopis staf," see WYCL. (A.), III., 28. "Both hir mytre and hir croce."—CHAUC. (S.), I., 239. [4] DURANTI, 281 b. See the letter of Charles VII. (1445), in MART., ANEC., I., 1804, and descriptions of the churches of Auxerre and Sens (1400 and 1445), in DU CANGE, s. v. KALENDÆ; WARTON, I., 247; HONE, 158; STRUTT, 256; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XV., 231; ALZOG, II., 794. Cf. ritus ille impiissimus et insanus qui regnat per totam Franciam.—GERSON (II., 109), preaching in 1405 and 1408. Les abhominations maudites et comme ydolatriques qui se font en l'Eglise de France sur l'ombre de la feste des fols.—LEROUX DE LINCY, 404; MÉRAY, II., 98. [5] For "subdekene," or "so-deacon," see PURVEY, REM., 149; APOL., 38; WYCL. (A.), III., 224: DE BLASPH., 234; ROCK, IV., 47. For "sodenes," see P. PLO., note p. 52. [6] For baculus stultorum, see ARCHÆOL., L., 472. For Hus' description of the scene in Bohemia, see PALACKY, DOC., 722.

their Abbot of Misrule,[1] and brawled, burlesqued and masqueraded[2] with gross profanity. Each season brought its ales, its mayings-round-the-shaft,[3] its Piffany[4] mummings,[5] its Candlemas,[6] Hoxtide,[7] and Yule;[8] but Corpus Christi[9] was the "Feast of Feasts,"[10] when the gildsmen carried torches, candles, and banners around the "Blessed Sacrament" as it passed through the streets, and all the town turned out at sunrise to watch the annual play. Clerical moralists might denounce the players as sturdy idlers who scorned to work, and chose to live as they list in dainty ease;[11] but they found acceptance in the refectories of the religious houses nevertheless; and as often as not they were themselves clerks in minor orders, such as collets,[12] benets,[13] parish- or holy-water-clerks,[14]

[1] COLLIER, I., 50; WARTON, I., 239. For the King of Fools, see MONAST., VI., 1310. For the Abbot of Marall or Marham or Mayvole (*i.e.*, May Fool) at Shrewsbury, see OWEN AND BLAKEWAY, I., 333. For Abbot of Bon-Accord, see ABERDEEN REGISTER, I., 14, 280. [2] MUN. ACAD., 18. [3] STOW, LOND., 80; SHARPE, II., 30; GOWER, CONF., 76; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 98. [4] T. SMITH, 103. For Twelfth Day, see AUNGIER, 242. [5] Vol. I., p. 93; CHRON. GILES, 7; BRAND, I., 355; CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR. HENR., 113. [6] ABERDEEN REC., I., 9, 450. [7] ROSS, 105; T. SMITH, 385; BRAND, I., 156; SHARP, 125; MATT. PAR., V., 281, 493, 976; ARCHÆOLOGIA, VII., 244; SHARPE, I., 63; COLCHESTER REC., 7, 24, and *passim*. For "la hokeday," see G. T. CLARK, CARTÆ, I., 211. [8] Cf. "Yoleday," WELFORD, 281; WILLS AND INV., 78; "Yoolday," WYCL. (A.), II., 301; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 99. For Christmas jollity see Vol. II., p. 478; WYCL. (M.), 206. At Cristenmasse mery may ye dance.—CHAUCER, MAN OF LAW, 4546. For Rex Natalicius at Oxford, see C. R. L. FLETCHER, 44. For the "Somerking" at Winchester, see WALCOTT, WYKEHAM, 206. [9] HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., III., 166; T. SMITH, 232; STOW, LOND., 248; WARTON, II., 201; RELIQUARY, III., 64; SHARP, 78, 164; SHROPSH. ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 266; VIII., 271, 281; FULLER, CAMB., 70; POLLARD, XXV.; ROCK, II., 424. [10] LYDGATE, 95. [11] SARUM STAT., 76; WYCL., DE BLASPH., 254, 261; P. PLO., I., 34; A. S. GREEN, I., 147. [12] PROMPT. PARV., 88. [13] *Ibid.*, 30; CATHOL., 28; WYCL. (A.), III., 285. [14] PINKS, I., 6. Cf. the "jolly Absolon," in CHAUC., MILLER, 3348, 3384; Vol. II., p. 240, note 9. For "halywater clerke," see Vol. I., p. 185; PROCEEDINGS IN CHANCERY, I., 6; CATHOL., 171, 269; SHARP, 7; YORK PONTIFICAL, I., 1, 307; RIPON MEM., III., 23, 233, 235.

schoolmasters, tribblers, subtribblers, organisters,[1] pateners, vestry clerks, marglers, sextons,[2] or other such lowly Levites,[3] who clanked the knoll, strenkled[4] the devil, washed the corpax[5] and sudaries, scoured the candlesticks,[6] fed the ships[7] and crusels,[8] lit the sconces,[9] swept the cobwebs, cleaned the relics, wound the clock, fired the obleys[10] and wafers, filled the font,[11] or kept the doors of the church. They turned their opportunities to good account in the interest of their order, for the judge who should "reve and rob religion,"[12] the burgess who neglected Mass and matins, and the farmer who mis-tithed[13] his goods, would find themselves in the play amongst the damned in the Devil's belly[14] at the Last Assize; and when the cursed depart into everlasting fire in the finishing act, it is because they will not hear Mass or give Christian burial to their dead.[15]

[1] PROMPT. PARV., 369; CATHOL., 261. For account dated 1399 for leather and packthread for making a pair of organ bellows, see RIPON MEM., III., 132. [2] FIFTY WILLS, 11; EXCERPT. HIST., 418. For duties, see DUGD., ST. PAUL'S, 345; MILMAN, ANN., 141; AUNGIER, 367. [3] Cf. "clericulos et fratriunclos."—SCOTICHRON., II., 446. [4] Vol. II., p. 460; PROMPT. PARV., 479; CATHOL., 368. For "a fatte of silver for holy water wt a strynkell" at Lincoln, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 21. [5] G. OLIVER, 266; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{45}{8}$, APP. B; or "corporas," Vol. II., 452; CATHOL., 76, &c. It had to be washed and starched with linen gloves on.—AUNGIER, 367. For "corporax" at LINCOLN, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 17. [6] AUNGIER, 368. [7] LEE, GLOSSARY, 159; LOND. AND MID. ARCH. SOC., IV., 320, 321, 372; PROMPT. PARV., 446; CATHOL., 337. For "schyp with ensenge," see AUNGIER, 364. For navis, navicula, ship, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 11, 20, 72, 77. For one batella valued at 3s. 4d., see PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 31. For "nef," see TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 60; GESTE, 369. [8] RIPON MEM., III., 210, 212; ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XXXIX., 390. [9] "Sconsas et boëttas."—G. OLIVER, 271, 273; PROMPT. PARV., 450; CATHOL., 323; AUNGIER, 363; TRAIS., 108. For "a squared sconse of silver and gylte wt a handell of sylver yn the bake" at Lincoln, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 21. [10] RIPON MEM., III., 208, 221; PROMPT. PARV., 361, 508; LAY FOLKS MASS BOOK, 238; ROCK, IV., 171; DU CANGE, S. V. OBLATA. For the *oublier* in Paris, see DESCHAMPS, VII., 56. [11] RIPON MEM., III., 222. [12] CHESTER PLAYS, II., 188. [13] WYCL. (A.), III., 309. Wycliffe asserts that the chief questions asked in confession referred to the payment of tithe.—DE BLASPH., 144. GERSON (II., 438) notes that in England tithes were taken *de omni proprio*, besides profits in trade. Cf. Vol. II., p. 465. [14] CHESTER PLAYS, II., 189, 199. [15] COV. MYST., 404.

They could play you "gracious mysteries grounded in Scripture,"[1] such as the story of the children of Israel,[2] or of Moses in Egypt,[3] or legends of the martyrdom of Saints Sabina and Feliciana,[4] or of St. Catherine[5] of Alexandria refuting the 50 schoolmasters with their Homer's motes and Aristotle's "turns and knotty knots," and the angels feeding her in her torture-house and smashing the wheel like bruchel[6] glass, or the miracles of St. Nicholas,[7] the hearer of prayer, who sent the handsome suitors in the very nick of time to the poor but virtuous gentleman with the pretty penniless daughters, and brought the little boys[8] back to life after they had been cut up in the pickle-butt[9] by the naughty taverner. Sometimes they showed pictured on big canvas[10] the Birth in the Stable, the Star, the Three Kings, and Herod killing the Innocents; or they acted the Apocalypse in tableaux "very solemnly,"[11] or made "small puppets" play the Resurrection,[12] one dummy peeping from the tomb and the other beating an alarm with a couple of sticks. But the "great miracles"[13] were "the Passion of our Lord and the Creation of the World,"[14] so long and complicated that they were

[1] LYDGATE, 95. [2] MASTERS, I., 5. [3] WARTON, I., 237. [4] OWEN AND BLAKEWAY, I., 328. [5] RICART, 80; WARTON, II., 367, 274; WYCL. (A.), III., 489; ST. KATHERINE, 521, 851, 1151, 2003; SHARP, 9; CAMBRIDGE ANTIQ. SOC., II., XV., 10, 19; ROCK, IV., 219. In Lincoln Cathedral they had a piece of the chain quâ sancta Katerina diabolum ligavit.—ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 7, 18. [6] For "brotyl glas," see LYDGATE, 246; "britul," WYCL. (A.), II., 258; "brotel," P. PLO., XI., 47; CHAUC. (S.), II., 269; "brutel," GOWER, CONF., 45; "brokely," WYCL. (A.), III., 64. Cf. "His welthe hathe but a brotille stablenesse."—HOCCL., DE REG., 129. [7] BRAND, I., 325; HONE, 193; T. WRIGHT, MYSTERIES, 1-20; MORLEY, III., 110; POLLARD, XVIII., 162; ENGLISH LEGENDARY, 240-255. For a hymn to St. Nicholas temp. H. IV., see KILKENNY ARCHÆOL. SOC., III., 51. [8] MAGASIN PITTORESQUE (1861), p. 170. [9] For duæ buttes pro pane, see MUN. ACAD., 630. [10] HARDT, IV., 1089; LENFANT, CONSTANCE, 440; MARRIOTT, XXVI. [11] "Bien sollempnellement."—METZ CHRON. (1412), p. 140. [12] WARTON, I., 240; LAMBARDE, 459. [13] CHESTER PLAYS, 113, 115, [14] DEVON, 245. For permission to play "le misterre de la

sometimes carried on for three, four, five, or even eight successive days.[1] Such exhibitions were usually known in England as "the miracles,"[2] or "the marvels," and occasionally "the mysteries."[3] They were given in churches,[4] churchyards, or other public places; sometimes by strolling companies,[5] sometimes by separate gilds. We trace them wherever town records are preserved, and they penetrated even to the remotest manor-house[6] and the most secluded village.

But the most sumptuous displays were those conducted by the combined misteries or crafts of the larger towns, such as York, Chester, Coventry,[7] Newcastle,[8] Abingdon,[9] Lynn,[10]

Passion" in the Church of the Trinity in Paris, Dec., 1402, see ORDONNANCES, VIII., 555.

[1] STOW, LOND., 76; CHRON., 337; MALVERN in HIGDEN, IX., 47, 259. In Chester they certainly extended over several days.—COLLIER, II., 96. They sometimes took three days over 24 pageants.—CHESTER PLAYS, I., 3; and in some cases a single scene was sufficient for one day.—DIGBY MYST., VIII. By the beginning of the 16th century so much moralizing had been introduced that two pageants sufficed for a year, see CHILDERMASSE (circ. 1572); T. HAWKINS, I., 5-26. [2] MATT. PARIS, VIT. ABB., 56; MAETZNER, 232, 241; YORK PLAY, 362; FITZSTEPHEN in BECKET, III., 9; CHAUC., WIFE OF BATH, 6140; MARRIOTT, XXIII., XXIV.; POLLARD, XX. [3] CHESTER PLAYS, VII. Cf. "saltationes et mysteria," at Council of Constantinople.—BRAND, I., 356. The designation was common in France, but MARRIOTT (VIII.) doubts whether they were so called in England before the time of DODSLEY (I.-XII.). The word is not to be confounded with the misteries or crafts, for they were often played by companies who had no connection with any craft. HANUS (OSTERSPIELE, 14) derives it direct from *ministerium*, without reference to any craft or trade. For literature of the subject, see HANUS, pp. 18-22; WIRTH, *passim;* ROCK, II., 430. [4] WARTON, I., 240. For Ottery, Exeter, Crediton, and Glasney near Penryn, see G. OLIVER, 261; BOASE, EXON., XVIII. For the Kollektivmisterien, see ANGLIA, XI., 219-310. [5] COV. MYST., XI.; A. S. GREEN, I., 147. [6] BROME, 3; ANGLIA, VII., 316. For a list of places, see YORK PLAYS, LXIV.-LXVIII. For fragment of a Yorkshire play lately found in the School Library at Shrewsbury, see ACADEMY, 4/1/90, p. 10. For a Cornish play written by Wm. Jordan in 1611, see DAVIES GILBERT, LONDON, 1827. MRS. A. S. GREEN (I., 145), is probably going too far in saying that "every town had its particular play, &c." [7] SHARP, 8. [8] BOURNE, 139; BRAND, II., 369; COLLIER, II., 76; SHARP, 221. [9] RELIQUARY, IV., 144. [10] HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., III., 224.

Durham,[1] Cambridge,[2] Worcester,[3] Beverley, Wakefield,[4] Bristol,[5] Dublin,[6] and Bordeaux.[7] Each trade prepared its pageant[8] or wheeled scaffold[9] (towards the cost of which every craftsman paid his pageant-silver[10] yearly), and appointed its own pageant-masters to secure "good players, well-arrayed and openly speaking."[11] From early sunrise the whole population was in the street; the pageant-wains were trundled from station to station along the appointed thoroughfares, and from half-past four[12] in the morning to the close of the long summer day the old Scripture story was acted out in sections, from the Creation to the dreadful Day of Doom.[13] At one street corner was Adam with his lickerous[14] wife, both "naked and all bare,"[15] God being played by a man in a linen coat with his face gilt,[16] and Satan as an "edder," or a worm with an angel's face.[17] At another was Noah, 500 years old, and "out of qwart," with his legs beginning to fold for fegginess of age,[18] shedding his

[1] COLLIER, II., 133. [2] WARTON, I., 237. [3] T. SMITH, 385, 407. [4] For Towneley mysteries, probably by Austin Canons, at Woodkirk (= Widkirk, TANNER, YORKS., CXXIV.), near Wakefield, see QUARITCH, CATALOGUE OF MSS., 1886; POLLARD, XXXV. [5] RICART, XIX. [6] HARRIS, 147. [7] JURADE, 315; RIBADIEU, 165. [8] PROMPT. PARV., s. v. Cf. "he that kan best plaie a pagyn of the devyl."—WYCL. (M.), 99, 206; (A.), I., 129; II., 15. DAVIES (REC., 230) shows 5s. 8d. expenses for eight bearers moving the "pagyn" in 1397, also (*ibid.*, 239) "to make iiij new wheles to the pagiaunt." For Lydgate's procession of pageants, see COLLIER, II., 69. For "pagant," see SHARP, 2; "pagyn," or "pageant wagon," DIGBY, IX.; see also COV. MYST., 246, 289, 298, 303, 310, 342; ANTIQUARY, XVII., 15. [9] CHAUC., MILLER, 3385. [10] ANTIQUARY, XI., 107, 108; T. SMITH, 417. [11] YORK PLAY, XXXIV., XXXVII. [12] "At the mydhowre betwixe iiijth and vth of the cloke."—YORK PLAYS, XXXIV.; "six of the bell."—MONAST., VI., 1537. [13] HARROWING, 21, 23, 31. [14] CHESTER PLAYS, I., 32; PROMPT. PARV., 304; CATHOL., 216; CHAUC., WIFE OF BATH, 6048; PARDONER, 12474; P. PLO., I., 32; XI., 176; B. X., 161. [15] YORK PLAYS, 26. "I se us naked before and behind."—COV. MYST., 27; HONE, 220; WARTON, I., 243. For nudity in public, see YORKS. ARCH. AND TOP. JOURN., III., 314. [16] SHARP, 14, 26; COLLIER, II., 81. Cf. 3½ yards lyn cloth for God's coat, 3s. 2½d.—HONE, 214. [17] COV. MYST., 29; MONAST., VI., 1539. [18] COV. MYST., 97; MONAST., VI., 1541.

gown to work in his coat for 100 years at the Ark.[1] When his wife will not come in without her gossips,[2] he pulls her in and gets "a clout" from her ere she will let be her din. Then for "a twelvemonth but 12 week" they feed the fowls and the cattle, *i.e.*, swans, dogs, cocks, hens, and as many strange beasts as they could find, the rest being painted on boards hung round the Ark, "that their words might agree with the pictures."[3] After this they cast the lead to see if the water is waning; they give the Crow, the Doves, the Rainbow, and "Hills of Hermonye," till the beasts are unbraced, and the "barnes" with their wives go out in God's blessing. With deepening feeling the crowds press forward to see Abraham, with heavy cheer[4] and "wet wangs,"[5] wind the kerchief[6] about Isaac's eyes, kiss his fair sweet mouth, and lift the sword to slay his son. Then Joseph, the old timberwright,[7] weak and "unwelde," with a beard like a briar-busk, and a pound of hair about his mouth,[8] chiding his young wife Mary, his "bird so bright,"[9] and then bowing his back and asking her forgiveness; the journey to Bedlem in the fellest freeze; the weary rest in the stead, with the walls down and the roof rained; the wondrous birth, with neither cloth nor bed, in the beasts' bin;[10] the screaming fun of the herdmen,[11] with their jannock[12] and their sheep's head sauced in ale; the Three Kings on their "drombodaries";[13] the blustering Sir Herod, clad in kirtle of cammaca, and rolled in rings and robes of array, who

[1] TOWNELEY, 27. [2] CHESTER PLAYS, I., 52. [3] *Ibid.*, I., 50, 236; COLLIER, II., 89, [4] CHESTER PLAYS, I., 67; COV. MYST., 53. [5] YORK PLAYS, 64. For "wang-teeth," see P. PLO., XXIII., 191; CHAUC., MONK, 14050. [6] BROME, 59, 62. [7] "Joseph was a forgere of trees, that is to seie a wrizte."—WYCL. (A.), II., 19. [8] CHESTER PLAYS, I., 138. [9] YORK PLAYS, 105, 106. [10] COV. MYST., 159. [11] MARRIOTT, 69; CHESTER PLAYS, I., 123. [12] Cf. TIM BOBBIN, TUMMUS AND MEARY, 40. [13] CHESTER PLAYS, I., 150. For "dromedis," "dromodes," see WYCL. (A.), I., 340; II., 243.

can master the moon or ding with his doughtiness the devil down to hell; the Flight into Egypt; Joseph with the "young page" in his arm, and Mary, who can ill ride, holding fast by the mane; the Doctors in the Temple; the Baptism in the Jordan; the Temptation; the Transfiguration, with Moses "hente out of hell"; Lazarus forth from his "monument"; the entry into Jerusalem on the common ass, with Zacchæus in the sycamore, and the children with branches and flowers and unison; the healing of the deaf and dumb and all such marvels and wonderworks; the purser Judas, with the keen face,[1] clad in a cope, brewing the bargain for "thirty pence and plete"; the Maundy[2] and the Lamb of Pasc;[3] the Agony; the Betrayal with a kissing; Peter making a "lussche"[4] to swap off Malchus' ear, and then lurking[5] about the Judgment Hall like an ape or an owl on a stock, till his heart is shorn by the look of his Master's fair face, so clear with full sad sorrow. Then Bishop Caiaphas, waked from his wine and his napping;[6] the buffets, the fair flaps on the hide, and the sublime silence of the stately Sufferer as they "noddle on him with neffes"; the dicing of Sir Pilate o' Pounce,[7] the deemer of damnation;[8] his wife Percula striving to save "that simple," and the beadle louting[9] the "gentleman Jesus."[10] Then Herod with his "big blure," his gauds and games and gay gear, and Judas hanging himself and bursting with a crack;[11] with the tedious fooling

[1] York Plays, 228. [2] Cov. Myst., 259. [3] Vol. II., p. 419, note 1; Wycl. (A.), I., 120, 235; II., 52, 55, 293; III., 415. [4] York Plays, 252, 259. [5] *Ibid.*, 258; Wycl. (A.), II., 407; III., 89. [6] Wycl. (M.), 303. [7] Wycl. (A.), III., 115. [8] Rich. Redeles, II., 70. [9] P. Plo., XII., 88; Gower, Conf., 80, 189, 328, 401; Wycl. (M.), 423, 460, 466; (A.), I., 89, 112, 113, 340, 374, 377; II., 63, 94, 140, 159, 312; III., 83; Chauc. (S.), I., 158, 246; II., 265. [10] York Plays, 277. Cf. "gentlemen with ihesu."—P. Plo., XXII., 34, 40, 48; A. S. Green, I., 23. [11] Ubi Judas se suspendebat et crepuit medius.—York Plays, XXIV. After 1422 this scene was cut out (R. Davies, Rec., 235); but it was certainly represented temp. H. IV.—Hist. MSS., 1st Rept., 109.

and large language of the Trial and Judgment, the snibbing[1] and scourging and spitting and dinging,[2] and the brain bleeding with the thick thorn; the Ascent to Calvary, bruised and all for-bled;[3] the nailing to the tree, all naked as a stone; the stubbs stiffly driven through bones and sinews—all told in revolting detail; and Jesus, dumb as a door,[4] amidst a storm of jesting and brutality,[5] left to mowe[6] on the moon till they wrap him in a sudary,[7] and grave[8] him "under the grete"[9] in ground. Then came the visit to deep Hell full of filth, and the "herowe,"[10] of the boys in Limbo, where Adam had been without light for 4600 years;[11] Satan graithing[12] his gear to fight with Jesus, quoting Solomon and Job for his purposes, and then giving his hand, content to know that under the new arrangements he will have more victims than before; the Uprise, with the watchers bemazed[13] like stickèd swine; the Pilgrims clattering and carping on their way to Emax Castle;[14] the Upsteying[15] on a cloud in flesh and fell,[16] played by the Tailors; the Send of the high Holy Ghost[17] and Thomas of Inde,[18] who believed amiss; the flagging interest pulling up at the finish with the Great Assize[19] and the Hideous Horn,[20] when

[1] WYCL. (A.), II., 55, 76. [2] APOLOGY, 38. [3] Cf. "al for lorn."—CHAUC. (S.), II., 109. [4] YORK PLAYS, 322. [5] In 1437 at Metz, a priest who played the Christus was so roughly handled that he almost died.—BARING-GOULD, GERMANY, II., 3; HONE, 172; SHARP, 32. [6] YORK PLAYS, 361. [7] *Ibid.*, 371; "shouldarye," CHESTER PLAYS, II., 98. [8] P. PLO., XXI., 87; GOWER, CONF., 81. [9] YORK PLAYS, 407. [10] HARL. MS., 2253-55 (temp. Ed. II.), edited by HALLIWELL ("Harrowing of Hell"); see also COLLIER, II., 136. For "harow and wala wa," see CHAUC., NUN'S PRIEST, 15386. [11] YORK PLAYS, 374. [12] WYCL. (A.), III., 17. For "to graythe hor" (= de soi atorner) see CHAUC. (S.), I., 118, 254; II., 14. [13] CHESTER PLAYS, II., 93. [14] WYCL. (A.), II., 133. [15] PURVEY, PROL., 37; CHAUC. (S.), II., 74; WYCL. (M.), 448, 468, 471; (A.), I., 42, 121, 141, 157, 298, 353, 358, 374; II., 36, 59, 110. [16] YORK PLAYS, 460. [17] *Ibid.*, 96, 97. [18] CHESTER PLAYS, II., 110; LYDGATE, 146. [19] COV. MYST., 60, 223; CHAUC. (S.), I., 263. [20] Cf. "Gabriel's horn."—WYCL. (A.), I., 294; III., 355; CHAUC. (S.), IV., 48.

the angels blow their bemes,[1] and good and evil draw to their doom, while Enoch and Elias stand muffled in mantles, and Antichrist, that very devil that sits so grisly[2] and so grim, is fetched out[3] to hang by the head in hell, First Demon having him forth by the top and Second Demon by the tail.[4]

The plays were spoken in the homeliest English "for the common to understand." They were set with music and chorus, and abound in passages of touching tenderness and artless simplicity. But the properties were necessarily rude,[5] the situations were often grotesque, and the annually recurring familiarity failed not to breed the inevitable contempt. Fixed stations were marked out with flags at different points of the route, at each of which the whole show could be seen, "the pageants fast following each other as their course is without tarrying";[6] dawdlers were fined 6s. 8d., and at York the whole 53 scenes were gabbled through in a single day.[7] The craftsmen paid a rent to the city authorities for the ground, recouped themselves by fees from the spectators, and took out their "consolations,"[8] in "recreation and drinking," till the streets were a scene of "revellings, drunkenness, shouts, songs, and other insolencies."[9] The York Play was at this time about 50 years old, and was doubtless undergoing a slow process of change. Year after year the crowds would stand spell-bound and "moved to compassion and devotion, weep-

[1] YORK PLAYS, 499; CHAUC. (S.), I., 257; IV., 37; NUN'S PRIEST, 15404. [2] Cf. "this greisslye grome."—CHESTER PLAYS, II., 172. [3] CHAUC., MAN OF LAW, 5484; GOWER, CONF., 131. [4] CHESTER PLAYS, II., 176. Cf. "that hath her by the throte."—CHAUC. (S.), III., 144.

[5] Cf. Ther comes one out of the skye in a grey gown,
As it were an hog-hyerd hyand to town.—
POL. SONGS, I., 269.

[6] YORK PLAYS, XXXIV.; CHESTER PLAYS, XIX. [7] YORK PLAYS, XXXII. [8] "Solacia."—*Ibid.*, XXV. [9] DRAKE, APP. XXIX.

ing bitter tears"[1] over the deathless beauty of such scenes as the Mountain of Vision, the Stable of Bethlehem, the Grave of Lazarus, and the Calvary; but when Noah pulled his wife into the Ark, or Caiaphas sipped his liquor and got tucked into bed, or Pilate toyed with his wife on the Judgment Seat, or Herod shouted French gibberish into Jesus' ear, the groundlings were meant to laugh—and laugh they did. They needed constant tickling; and so new zest was imported into the old familiar tale by the tomfooleries of Mak and Watkin,[2] Brewbarrett,[3] Titivillus,[4] Spillpain,[5] Backbiter,[6] Raiseslander, and Gobbet-o'-the-Green;[7] and the "broad brutalities"[8] in the "Canterbury Tales" are evidence enough that no effort would be made by the general public to set their face against the gathering obscenities[9] that gradually disfigured the festival.

We have still, however, a treatise[10] written at the end of the 14th century, wherein the writer in true Puritan fashion smites the "miracles-playing," hip and thigh. Believing, as many did,[11] that the end of the world was at hand and Antichrist almost upon them, he calls upon a friend to turn from such

[1] SERMON in MAETZNER, 229; POLLARD, XXII. [2] HAWKINS, I., 10. [3] YORK PLAYS, 37. For "barat et tricherie," see DESCHAMPS, II., 94; VIII., 148, 156, 185; "barateurs," *ibid.*, V., 74. [4] LANSDOWNE MS., 763. In MYROURE, 54, 342, he is a poor devil who has to bring his master 1000 pokes full of failings every day. Cf. SIMPSON, GLEANINGS, 175; RELIQUIÆ ANTIQUÆ, I., 257, quoted in P. PLO., C, p. XLV. For Titivilitarius, who pulls us up for finikin trifles, see LEROUX DE LINCY, 449; or Titivitilarius, LE CLERC, II., 423. [5] TOWNELEY, 236. [6] COV. MYST., 133. [7] CHESTER PLAYS, I., 57. [8] TAINE, I., 127. [9] *E.g.*, TOWNELEY, 13, 14, 16, 235; MONAST., VI., 1539; COLLIER, II., 124, 125. [10] MAETZNER, 241; RELIQUIÆ ANTIQUÆ, II., 42; POLLARD, XXII. [11] Vol. I., p. 173. Cf. LAST AGE OF THE CHURCH, written in 1356 (p. XXXI.), wrongly attributed to Wycliffe. Master William Thorpe, the Lollard priest, in 1407 praises those who "absented themselves from spectacles of vain sayings (= 'seyings,' not 'seeings,' as ENGL. GARNER, VI., 83) and hearings."—STATE TRIALS, I., 12; FOX, III., 268; WORDSWORTH, I., 310. For "vein pleies and corioustees," see WYCL. (M.), 6, 23; (A.), I., 215, 250.

maumetry [1] and vanities as damnable and deadly leesings and gins of the devil. He weeps for those who could turn the death and miracles of the most kind Father Christ into a man's japing-stick, and he brands the priests who busy themselves about such playing as hypocrites and liars. No good can come of it. Both players and listeners put God behind and their own lusts before. They gather men together to buy their victuals dear, and to stir them to gluttony and pride and boasting; for what they should spend upon the needs of their neighbours they spend upon the plays. They will grudge to pay their rent and their debt, but to spend two-so-much [2] upon their play they will nothing grudge.[3] In 1397, the York plays were witnessed by Richard II., who watched the pageants from a position at the gates of Trinity Priory, close to Micklegate Bar, and every effort was doubtless made to satisfy the critical demands of a monarch so fond of tinsel and display. In 1399, an attempt was made by Archbishop Scrope to check the license prevailing in York at Corpus Christi, and in 1407 an order was issued excluding harlots from the city for eight days preceding the feast, unless they gave security that they would not ply their trade. In 1408,[4] the Corpus Christi Gild was founded at York for the purpose of promoting the decorous observance of the great religious procession. 106 members were enrolled in the first year, nearly 80 of whom were priests, laymen being excluded from all share in the

[1] For "maumet," or idol, see SERMON in MAETZNER, 230, 234; PROMPT. PARV., 330; CATHOL., 231; ST. KATH., 142; WYCL. (M.), 67, 122, 279; "mament," DIGBY, MYST., 113; "mawment," T. HAWKINS, I., 14. In the Chester play Herod calls the Infant Jesus a "misbegotten marmoset."—J. P. COLLIER, II., 120. [2] Cf. "two so riche."—CHAUC. (S.), III., 160. [3] MAETZNER, 239. [4] GUILD OF C.C., 7, 31, 75; Vol. II., p. 242. MRS. A. S. GREEN (I., 150), thinks that the Gild "evidently played a political part in the life of the town."

government and control. The gild afterwards had a Creed-play [1] of its own, which was given every 10 years for the spiritual health of the people; but it had no official connection with the craftsmen's pageants.[2] Nevertheless, its influence could not fail to be felt on the whole of the ceremonies of the day. In 1422, the bursting-in-the-middle scene was cut out, partly, no doubt, on account of the danger which sometimes awaited an awkward Judas who did not know how to hang,[3] partly from a rising feeling of shamefacedness in the authorities; and it was doubtless through the efforts of the gild that Friar William Melton,[4] the Franciscan, preaching in York in 1426, endeavoured to reform both the text and the accessories of the play. He could not succeed in altering the day, for all his eloquence and skill; but owing to an influence of some kind it is certain that the text of the York play as we have it now is far less disfigured with gross indecencies than those of Chester, Coventry, Wakefield, or other towns.

[1] C.C. GUILD, 308. [2] MISS L. T. SMITH (YORK PLAYS, XXX.) seems to think that the procession originated with the Gild, but there is evidence that it began long before 1408. The close connection between the procession and the plays is proved by the extract of 1426 in DRAKE, XXIX. [3] ANTIQUARY, Sep., 1888, p. 64; "7 old Judases," worth 1s. 2d. (*i.e.*, chandeliers), appear among the properties of the C. C. Gild.—J. P. COLLIER, II., 71; R. DAVIES, REC., 273; also for three brass "Judaces" at Lincoln, and "a crosse for candelles called Judas crosse," see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 80, 81. [4] YORK PLAYS, XXXIV.; WOOD, I., 212; BEKYNTON, II., 248. For sacred pageantry add MON. FRANC., II., XXVIII.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

The Shadow of Death.

We now approach a time of much obscurity. After the close of the Gloucester Parliament (Dec., 1407), no writs of summons were issued for more than two years, and during the year (1408-9) on which we are now entering, there are only three notices of any meeting of the Council, viz., Nov. 22nd, 1408,[1] Jan. 20th,[2] and Aug. 18th, 1409.[3] The King's health was shattered. The skill of Master Malvern,[4] his English physician, being baffled, he followed the prevailing fashion,[5] and called in the services of an Italian Jew, Doctor David di Nigarelli,[6] of Lucca, whom he made Warden of the Mint,[7] with a salary of 80 marks (£53 6s. 8d.) per annum.[8] He was known to the English as Nigarill, and he stayed in

[1] Pat., 10 H. IV., 1, 17. [2] HR., v., 439. [3] Ord. Priv. Co., i., 319. [4] Vol. II., p. 238. [5] Cf. Vol. III., p. 65, note 4. For Jew doctors in Rome, 1408, see A. Petri, 993. For Master Elias Sabot, Hebrewe de Boleyne la Crase (Rym., viii., 667; Cunningham, i., 267), *i.e.*, Bologna, called "la grasse" from the fertility of its soil.—Moréri s. v.; Baye, i., 323; Monstr., ii., 12, 61, 66; Trahisons de France, 54. It is so called by Christine de Pisan, whose father Thomas was a doctor and astrologer summoned from Bologna to Paris by Charles V.—Leroux de Lincy, 441; Thomassy, lxix., 105; Boivin, 132; Nys in Revue de Droit International, xiv., 462. It is called Bononia Crassa in Gasc., 157; or "Boullongne la Crasse" in Cochon, 146; Geste, 361. [6] Rym., viii., 725; Priv. Seal, 654/7155, Feb. 18th, 1412. [7] Q. R. Mint, $\frac{59}{20}\frac{1}{1}$, $\frac{59}{10}\frac{8}{6}$, Sep. 30th, 1408. [8] Claus., 13 H. IV., 22; Pat., 13 H. IV., 1, 10 (1412), where a side note refers to him as dead.

this country as a naturalized subject until his death in 1412.[1] Before 1410, another Italian, Pietro di Alcobasse, had been also appointed physician to the King; and he likewise had to be feed and beneficed with prebends and so forth, in connection with English churches.[2] In his despondency King Henry delivered himself into the hands of his Archbishop,[3] who tended him in his sickness, called him the Church's most Christian champion,[4] and worked his mind into a fitting condition to meet what was believed to be the near approach of death. His mental fibre seems to have become a wreck. He loved to call himself the Archbishop's "child in God";[5] he thanked him for the "great business" that he did for him, sanctioned appointments made by him, longed to speak with him when he was away, and issued orders[6] for official prayers, processions, and masses, in payment for the past favours of Heaven, and in anticipation of others to come. He gave an order to Richard Frampton,[7] the English illuminator, to write

[1] He was certainly living May 20th, 1412, on which day the King granted him the manor of North Staundon, in Wilts (DEP. KEEP., 45th REPT., 111), under the name of David di Nigarill de Luke.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 69'. [2] *E.g.*, the Deanery of Wimbourne Minster, to which he was admitted April 29th, 1412 (HUTCHINS, II., 79; MONAST., VI., 1452); the prebend of West Thurrock in the College of St. Mary-in-the-Castle at Hastings (RYM., IX., 124; HORSFIELD, I., 446; PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 10; *ibid.*, 2, 16, 28, Feb. 7th and 20th, 1412; PRIV. SEAL, 654/7135, where he is called Acobasse). In PRIV. SEAL, 646/6386, Jan. 6th, 1410, Piers Dalcobace, physician, has an annual allowance from the Abbot of Peterborough as one of the King's clerks; cf. Vol. II., pp. 25, 353. In Aug., 1420, he received the prebend of Hoxton, in connection with St. Paul's (DUGD., ST. PAUL'S, 255, where he is called De Alto Bosco); and on Dec. 21st, 1422, he was appointed a Canon of Windsor.—LE NEVE, III., 384. [3] In the Windsor conspiracy of 1399 King Henry had probably been the means of saving the Archbishop's life, for he had already started from Croydon for Windsor with his retinue and his plate-chest, but at Kingston he turned aside into a safer road, and thereby escaped getting his "crown shaved."—HIST. MSS., 9th REPT., III; LIT. CANTUAR., III., 73. [4] CONC., III., 307. [5] RYM., VIII., 584. [6] *Ibid.*, 679. [7] BRADLEY, I., 351; DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 6 b, APP. A. For payment (July 17th,

and limn on parchment a two-volume portos[1] for his own special use, at a cost of over £25, and silk, satin, and damask bags[2] were made for carrying it about from place to place. In December, 1408, the Prince of Wales received special permission to remain at the King's side, and a summons[3] was sent over to Ireland to recall the Lord Thomas if he wished to see his father alive. Christmas and Twelfth Day were spent at Eltham Palace,[4] and a meeting of the Council was fixed for Jan. 20th;[5] but when the day arrived it was again rumoured that the King was dying, and London was prepared for the worst. They moved him to the manor-house at Greenwich, to breathe the

1408) of £10 to him, pour p'chemyn et pour lymenere d'un nri portos quel le dit Richard est ore a escrivre a nre ceps, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 113'''. For the King's scriveners see PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 5. For a reference to Robert Frampton, formerly serviteur to John, Earl of Somerset, with 20 marks per annum, see PRIV. SEAL, 655/7262, 7263, July 8th, 1412.

[1] It afterwards came by will to Henry V., who left it in his will to Bishop Henry Beaufort.—RYM., IX., 291. For "portos" see GROC. ARCH., 79 (1397), 127; LAY FOLK'S MASS BOOK, 364; CATHOL., 287; ROCK, III., 55; IV., 18, 212; *i.e.*, "portehors," GIBBONS, LINC., 80; "porteos," SHARPE, II., 322, 326; "porteus," WILLS OF KINGS, 158; "portfory," RAINES, CHANTRIES, I., 124. In BURROWS, BROCAS, 404, a portiforum for the chapel at Beaurepaire costs 20s. in 1358. In REC. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 26th, 1412, a portose belonging to John Cook, chaplain of South Witham, between Stamford and Grantham (then an outlaw), is priced at 10s. For 4d. paid for mending a "portifore" of Henry's in London, 1395, cujus mensa frangebatur, see DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 4, APP. A; also one porthors, one missal, and one Bible, bound in red roe-skin, edged with white, and garnished with green silk (total cost = 8s. 9d.). Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{48}{2}$, APP. B, refers to 19 portos and 3 liggers. Cf. pro registro argenteo portiforii domini (1392).—DERBY ACCTS., 279, 351. For protest against the waste of time and money spent on a great multitude of new costly portos, antifoners, grailes, and other service books, see WYCL. (M.), 194. [2] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{45}{14}$, APP. B; L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12, 4, APP. C. [3] DEVON, 310; LOCH CÉ, II., 127. [4] Q. R. HOUSEHOLD, $\frac{88}{19}$, APP. B, shows that he was at Eltham on Jan. 2nd, 1409; also RYM., VIII., 569 (Jan. 12th, 1409). Cf. OTT., 265. For plan of buildings at Eltham in 1509 see HASTED, I., 52. For the great hall see DUNNAGE, Plate I., VII.; ARCHÆOLOGIA, VI., 368. [5] HR., V., 441, dated London, Jan. 25th, 1409.

fresh breezes from the Thames;[1] and here, on Jan. 21st, 1409,[2] he signed a will in presence of the Chancellor[3] (Archbishop Arundel), the Duke of York, Bishop Langley, the Chamberlain (John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset), the Treasurer (Sir John Tiptot), the Keeper of the Privy Seal (John Prophet), Sir Thomas Erpingham, John Norbury, Robert Waterton, and "many other."

The will forms a marked contrast to those of any of the previous kings, and seems to bear the stamp of panic on the face of it. It is short and concise, and written in good mother English,[4] instead of the customary Latin[5] or Norman French. In it the King declares himself to be a sinful wretch,[6] that has mis-spent his life. He thanks his lords and true people for the true service they have done to him, and asks their forgiveness if he has mis-entreated any. He desires to be buried in the Cathedral Church at Canterbury, and that two priests should sing for his soul. All his debts are to be quit;[7] fees, gifts, and wages are to be duly paid; and six of his servants, chamber-grooms, and others are specified by name for rewards at the hand of his son. He wished that the dowry of the Queen should in future be charged on the revenues of

[1] For the beauty of Greenwich, see HASTED, I., 19. For the Palace built afterwards by Duke Humphrey, see GENT. MAG. (1840), p. 21.

Cf. Farewelle Grenwych for ever and ay,
Farewelle fayer places on Temmys' side.—
POL. SONGS, II., 207.

[2] WILLS OF KINGS, 203; WEEVER, 208; BAINES, I., 395 (editn. 1836); not Jan. 22nd, 1408, as CATALOGUE TO HARL. MS., 293 (67); HASTED, I., 19; WALL, 296. For engraving of seal attached to the will, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXXI., 366, from a drawing in a MS. in College of Arms. [3] RYM., VIII., 584, 592. [4] PECOCK'S REPRESSOR, 128, 159; PURVEY, PROL., 59; MYROURE, 19. For "heir modir tonge," see WYCL. (M.), 159, 430; (A.), I., 129; II., 393; III., 114. Cf. Vol. II., p. 405. [5] For will of Edward III., see RYM. (R.), IV., 1080. [6] Cf. "a synnefull deedly wretche."—ARBER, VII., 55, 80; WYCL. (A.), III., 101, 378, 421, 484. [7] P. PLO., IX., 107; X., 275; XIV., 76; XVI., 12.

the Duchy of Lancaster,[1] which had been previously reserved as a personal possession[2] of his family, to be independent of the Crown; and then the will abruptly ends. The succession had already been settled by Act of Parliament, and no mention is therefore made of it. Nothing is said of gifts for portioning girls, for feasting the poor, or for religious houses; not a word as to lights or clothes to be used at his funeral, or as to the bestowal of his personal effects; not a cup, bed, horse, book, robe, or other memento is left either to his sons or to any living soul. As it turned out, the goods would not stretch[3] to pay ordinary debts,[4] so that it was perhaps wise to abstain from gifts based upon an imaginary surplus. The Prince of Wales was made executor,[5] with power to call in others who could labour to carry out the provisions of the will with the soonest speed. But it is clear that it was afterwards superseded,[6] though the text of the subsequent one has not been preserved, owing possibly to the fact that royal wills were

[1] "I will that the Quene be endowyd of the Duche of Lancastre," cannot mean that "he bequeathed the Duchy of Lancaster as an endowment to his Queen," as BAINES, I., 394. [2] Vol. I., p. 66; HARDY, 99, 140; PLOWDEN, 214; ROT. PARL., III., 582; LIB. CUST., 482; BLACKSTONE, I., 118; DERBY ACCTS., LXXXV. [3] DUGD., I., 342; MYROURE, XXXII.; AUNGIER, 393; WYCL. (M.), 416, 419, 435, 479; CHAUC. (S.), II., 46. [4] RYM., IX., 9; ROT. PARL., IV., 37, 172, 324; RAMSAY, I., 141, 328. The Prince of Wales, in addition to castles and manors yielding £6000 per annum (WILLS OF KINGS, 237), took over goods and jewels of his father's, for which he was to pay 25,000 marks (£16,666 13s. 4d.); but neither this money nor his father's debts had been paid in 1415 (RYM., IX., 290; ELMHAM, 333), and the account was still open in 1421.—ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 315. RAMSAY (I., 148), calculates the private possessions of Henry IV. as Duke of Lancaster at from £2200 to £2600 a year. HOLT (43, 157), is probably wrong in describing him as "parsimonious," "stingy," &c. [5] Or "seketour," WYCL. (A.). II., 40, 214; III., 305; FIFTY WILLS, 11; PROMPT. PARV., 451; P. PLO., B. XV., 243; C. VII., 254; XVII., 277. [6] RYM., IX., 9, 140; HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., APP. III., 158; DEVON, 334; ROT. PARL., IV., 5, 206, 323; WILLS OF KINGS, 404; LUDERS, 140. TYLER (I., 322), thinks that the will was neither revoked nor altered; so also SOLLY-FLOOD, 113.

deposited in the Treasury,[1] and, being exempt from probate dues, were not enrolled in the Bishops' registers.[2] The choice of Canterbury as his burial-place is distinctly left to the discretion of the Archbishop, and was intended doubtless to benefit the Cathedral revenues,[3] and thereby help to pay the heavy cost of the new nave.[4] Henry's first wife, Mary de Bohun, who had died in childbirth,[5] was laid in the burial-place of the Earls and Dukes of Lancaster, in the Collegiate Church of Our Lady in the Newark at Leicester.[6] Here also lay three of his brothers, viz., Edward, and two named John, all of whom had died in infancy.[7] In this very year he gave 100 marks[8] to the Dean and Canons to repair the cloister, the houses, walls,

[1] KAL. AND INV., I., XCVII., 108; II., 58. The only existing copy is in HARL. MS., 293, 67 (92), made by Thomas Randolfe, on April 12th, 1625, from the "original under the Privy Seal," but I have failed to find the original among the Privy Seals now in the Public Record Office. [2] Cf. "Thei (*i.e.*, the Bishops) taken dede mennis goodis for provynge of testamentis azenst the statute of oure kyng where thei schulden take but eizte pens at the moste."—WYCL. (A.), III., 305; see also Vol. II., p. 208, note 8; and A. S. GREEN, I., 336. [3] Cf. "Thei (*i.e.*, the friars) ben faste aboute to have riche men biried in here housis for wynnynge and offrynge and worldly meyntenaunce."—WYCL. (M.), 15. "Stire hem to be biried in here chirche and stryven and fiztten for the dede careyne for love of offrynge and worldly honour."—*Ibid.*, 212. "Freris drawen to hom birying of riche men by mony sotil meenes and messe pens and trentals, bot thei wil not come to pore mennis dirige and resseyve hom to be biryed amonge hom."—WYCL. (A.), III., 374. "Thei visiten riche widows for hor mucke, and maken hom to be biried at tho freris, bot pore men comen not in there."—*Ibid.*, 388. [4] STOW, CHRON., 342; SOMNER, 89; DART, CANTERBURY, 14; HASTED, IV., 516. [5] Vol. II., p. 436; HOLT, LANGLEY, 332; DERBY ACCTS., LXXXI. [6] KNIGHTON, 2741; ANN., 168; DEVON, 321; GIBBONS, LINC., 24, 78; TEST. VET., I., 143; WILLS OF KINGS, 84, 109, 153, 159, 171, 231; LEL., ITIN., I., 13; DUGD., ST. PAUL'S, 27; GOUGH, III., 35; DART, CANT., 85; HASTED, IV., 539; not Canterbury, as STOW, CHRON., 342; WEEVER, 210; SANDFORD, 266; TRUSSELL, 90; GUTHRIE, II., 446; TYLER, I., 311; KNIGHT, II., 23; BODL. MS., RAWLINSON, LXXIX. B., fol. 243, in BLORE, H. IV., p. 3; STOTHARD, 82. See J. S. HARDY, 355. Her marble tomb is still to be seen in the chapel of the Trinity Hospital at Leicester.—THOMPSON, 169; J. NICHOLS, I., 231, 239, 339, 368; ANTIQUARY, Oct., 1890, p. 147; M. A. E. GREEN, III., 309. [7] NOTES AND QUERIES, 7th Ser., VIII., 424. [8] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 6, APP. A.

and other works in their church that had not been fully completed; and each year, as the anniversary of his wife's death came round, he sent down many ells of black cloth to be made into gowns for 24 poor bedemen there.[1] But if Leicester was too obscure a burial-place for an English King, he might have chosen to lie beside his father and mother[2] in St. Paul's;[3] and doubtless the Dean and others had hoped that his remains would one day be borne thither. As a recompense for their disappointment he gave some land and houses in London[4] to keep a mind[5] for each of his parents every year. He also gave a chalice, a missal,[6] and a Sarum portos[7] for the service of the chapel on the north side of the chancel in St. Paul's over against their tomb, and sundry comforts for furnishing the bedern,[8] opposite the south gate of the Cathedral, in which the priests were housed who said the dirge and sang the

[1] DUC. LANC. REC., XX VIII., 1, 4, APP. A. [2] She died Sept. 12th, 1369.—CHAUC. (S.), I., 63. For figure of her father, the Duke of Lancaster, in armour, from brass of Sir Hugh Hastings (d. 1347) at Elsing, see R. H. MASON, I., 80; DOYLE, I. 550; II., 312. For her sister Mathilda (d. 1362, s. p.), see W. HARDY, p. [illegible]. [3] EUL., III., 381; WILLS OF KINGS, 151, 170. For the tomb see SANDFORD, 254; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 49. On Jan. 26th, 1376, John of Gaunt paid £486 for it to Henry Yeveley, mason.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 13 223 a; and on March 10th, 1379, £26 for new painting the tomb and figures.—*Ibid.*, 14, 26. Cf. HOLT, 220. [4] DUGD., ST. PAUL'S, 27; CAL. ROT. PAT., 255; ROCK, III., 89; PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 32, 34, 36, 38, shows that on March 8th, 1403, King Henry raised the allowance for two chaplains from 10 to 12 marks each per annum (Vol. II., p. 119), to be paid out of money left in his father's will. The executors took up the new proposals on July 5th, 1403, and the appointments were re-arranged Dec. 20th, 1411. [5] YORK MANUAL, I., 225; FIFTY WILLS, 15. [6] Two entries in JOHN OF GAUNT'S REGISTER refer to missals costing 10 marks each given for an altar in St. Paul's in 1372 and 1375.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 13, 143, 227. [7] Amongst the books found in the treasury of St. Paul's in 1486 is a portiforium antiquum secundum usum Sarum.—DUGD., ST. PAUL'S, 400. [8] DRAKE, 572; FABRIC ROLLS, 98; RIPON MEM., I., 123, 128, 149, 155; III., 133; PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 10; AD QUOD DAMN., 359; T. BURTON, MELSA, 383; RAINE, YORK, 185. For "Lancaster College," see MONAST., VI., 1457; ARCHÆOLOGIA, LII., 174.

Requiem for their souls. He gave a cope, a chasuble, and two tunicles orphised[1] with antelopes and mills to the Church at Westminster;[2] and his care was also extended to the new Collegiate House, erected at Pontefract some 20 years before by "that very devil of war,"[3] the veteran Sir Robert Knolles,[4] for 13 old men and women who had come to poverty through mis-adventure. Two chaplains and two servants were to reside in the house, which was liberally endowed by the founder under the title of the Knolles Almshouse.[5] Sir Robert Knolles had just died encumbered[6] with age in his manor house at Sculthorp[7] near Walsingham, on Aug. 15th, 1407. His body was brought to London on a litter and buried by the side of his wife Constance in the Priory Church of the White Friars[8] in Fleet Street, to which house he had been a great benefactor. On Nov. 9th, 1408,[9] the King fathered the almshouse as his own, under the title of the College of the Holy Trinity of Pontefract, "of which we are now the founder." This stroke of vicarious deathbed generosity has a queer cuckoo ring about it, but it is quite in agreement with the practice of the age.[10]

[1] LOND. AND MID. ARCHÆOL. SOC., IV., 334; JAMIESON, s. v. ORPHIS. For the skill of English embroiderers, see PROMPT. PARV., 368. [2] LOND. AND MID. ARCHÆOL. SOC., IV., 329. [3] ANSTIS, 30. For "Knolles's mitres," *i.e.*, ruined churches in France, see ANDREWS, II., 8; DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXXI., 282. [4] MURIMUTH, 208. [5] MONAST., VI., 714; CAL. ROT. PAT., 211, 220, 252; INQ. P. MORT., III., 70. On Aug. 1st, 1406, Knolles has permission to give 15 messuages, 80 acres of land, 6 acres of pasture, and 6 acres of wood to the house.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 69'''. [6] HALLE, 26 a; HOLINS., II., 533. [7] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 141'''; LEL. COLL., I., 485. In ITIN., I., 83, he says that Pontefract was the birth-place of Knolles' wife Constance, "a woman of dissolute living afore her marriage"; cf. STOW, CHRON., 334; BLOMEFIELD, VII., 174. For his will dated at his mansion house in Seething Lane, Oct. 31st, 1389, enrolled 1407-8, see SHARPE, II., 377; not 1404, as GENEAL., VI., 32. [8] EUL., III., 411; WALS., II., 277; CHRON. GODSTOWE, 240; FABYAN, 383; POL. VERG., 435; WEEVER, 436; NEWCOURT, I., 568; RAMSAY, I., 111. [9] PAT., 10 H. IV., 1-19; *ibid.*, 2, 24. [10] LYTE, 142.

It was while the King lay death-sick at Greenwich and haunted by the ghost he had deposed,[1] that he bethought him of his vow to raise some lasting monument upon the battle-field at Shrewsbury. The great pit into which the bodies of the slain[2] had been heaped, together with two acres of the surrounding land, had been enclosed with a trench;[3] and for the last five years the spot had been hallowed to the memory of the underlying dead. The owner of the land, a squire named Richard Husee,[4] lord of the neighbouring manor of Albright Hussey,[5] was ready to give up the two acres to Roger Ive[6] of Leaton, rector of the chapels of Fitz and Albright Hussey, on condition that a chapel should be built[7] on it, where daily Masses might be said for the souls of the dead whose bodies lay rotting below. Three years before[8] the

[1] RICHARD II., III., 2, 158. [2] Ibidem humati existunt.—MONAST., VI., 1426. Some of the more noteworthy were carried to the burial grounds of the Black Friars and Austin Friars at Shrewsbury.—LEL. ITIN., IV., 78. [3] A portion of this is still to be traced on the north side.—GENT. MAG., 1846, I., 347; BROOKE, 9, 17, who takes it for Percy's entrenchment or a moat. So also FLETCHER, 16, and RAMSAY, I., 60, who reprints a plan of the ground from OWEN AND BLAKEWAY, where it is said (I., 191) that the field where the church stands is still called "The Hateleys." Cf. Batelfelde locus ante dictus Hateleyfelde.—LEL. COL., I., 34. In contemporary MSS. (*e.g.*, PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 23), the word is quite distinctly written "Hateleyfield," otherwise one might suspect that it was a mistake for Bataleyfeld, Batailfeld, or Battailfeld; see MONAST., VI., 1427-8. [4] The field is called Hyusifeld prope Salop, in 1403.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{4}$, APP. B; or "al Bataille de Shrouesbury," ROT. PARL., III., 599; "a la bataille de Salop.," *ibid.*, 619; "juxta Salopiam," ARCHÆOLOGIA, L., 518; "in agrum quendam juxta villam Salopiæ," ELMHAM, 6. [5] Called Adbrighton Huse in PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 28; 10 H. IV., 1, 2. [6] He was made rector Oct. 22nd, 1398 (EYTON, X., 86), and incumbent of Fitz Chapel (*ibid.*, 154). His name appears on the first seal of the college.—FLETCHER, 14. John Yve of St. Martin's Parish, Oxford, was admitted a fellow at Winchester in 1411. He died July 21st, 1432.—KIRBY, 4. [7] "*De novo* facien̄. edificand̄. et construen̄." in all the documents might lead to the inference that some previous building had been there before, but this is not necessary, see Vol. III., p. 202, note 12; MONAST., VI., 714, 716; WOOD, II., 113; RYM., IX., 290. [8] See document dated Oct. 28th, 1406, in SHROPSH. ARCHÆOL. SOC., III., 242, from Sundorne Charters, SALOPIAN SHREDS AND PATCHES, IV., 217.

King had given his consent, but nothing definite had yet come of it. Now, however, that the Earl of Northumberland was dead and his cause annihilated, the time had come for carrying the plan into effect. King Henry's final consent was given on March 17th, 1409.[1] In August of the same year eight fothers of lead for the roof were forwarded from Derbyshire[2] at his expense, and the work was at once seriously taken in hand. A chapel[3] was built, and in the following year (May 27th, 1410)[4] it was constituted a chantry for ever under the name of the Chantry of St. Mary Magdalene, near Shrewsbury. Six chaplains were to be attached to it, of which the rector of Albright Hussey was always to be one. Following the "thiefly"[5] practice then common amongst pious founders, the King appropriated[6] for their maintenance all the fruits,[7]

[1] PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 2; *ibid.*, 11 H. IV., 1, 23 d (Feb. 7th, 1410); ORD. PRIV. CO., I., LIII.; KAL. AND INV., II., 78. [2] See DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 153''' (Aug. 26th, 1409), for order to the receiver of Tutbury to deliver the lead to Roger Jaie (*sic*) (= Ive) gardein et feisor of our chapel of Marie Magdaleyn de novel edifie on the battlefield of Salop. Services by Roger and his two companion chaplains. [3] So called in CHRON. GILES, 34. [4] MONAST., VI., 1427; AD QUOD DAMN., 196; DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 149''', where the date appears to be May 28th, 1409 (*sic*). For pardon to Ive for breach of Statute of Liveries, dated Oct. 5th, 1415, see SALOPIAN SHREDS AND PATCHES, IV., 217; ROT. PARL., IV., 40. In GENT. MAG. (1846), I., 376, is a document dated Feb. 7th, 1410, addressed to William Walford, who was incumbent of Roshall Chapel near Shrewsbury, from Feb. 19th, 1399, to Nov. 5th, 1418.—EYTON, X., 92. [5] PURVEY, REM., 11, 92; WYCL. (M.), 235, 389; (A.), I., 251; CHAUC. (S.), III., 144; FULLER, CAMBR., 8; RYM., IV., 455; STAT., 15 R. II., c. 6, p. 80; *ibid.*, 4 H. IV., c. 12, p. 136. [6] For "propringe" parish churches to monasteries, colleges, &c., and "setting there a vicar or a parish priest for litle cost," [and putten there an ydiot or an unhable herde slow to preche and stronge to gedere dymes (WYCL. (M.), 425, 445), and zeuen hym to litel liflode], see WYCL. (M.), 97, 116, 118, 190, 223, 236, 419, 518; (A.), III., 211, 216, 276, 347, 519; DE ECCLES., 371, 373; GASC., 19; BUDDENSIEG, I., 196; LECHLER, I., 47; JESSOPP, 285. For STATUTE 15 R. II., c. 6, requiring some of the proceeds to be distributed every year to the poor, see CUNNINGHAM, I., 265. [7] WYCL. (M.), 424. See Vol. II., p. 118.

tithes, proceeds, and emoluments of four parish churches,[1] and granted them the right to hold a fair every year, on the 22nd of July, the anniversary of the day on which the dead were buried.[2] For some time after King Henry's death the chapel remained as a simple chantry. But Ive was a persistent man. He nursed his resources, secured profitable indulgences, and obtained further grants from Henry's son and grandson.[3] He outlived King Henry IV. by more than 30 years, and when he came to die[4] these small beginnings had developed into a college with a manse or mansion-place,[5] provided with promptuary,[6] kitchen, and common hall for the chaplains, and an almshouse (*domus elemosinæ*) for bedemen.

The chaplains were to be secular priests, each living in his own chamber, but taking daily meals at a common table. Each was to receive eight marks (£5 6s. 8d.) yearly,[7] one half of which he would pay to the college for his rooms and table.

[1] Viz., St. Michael le Wyre in Lancashire (DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 139''', dated May 28th, 1409; WHITAKER, RICHMONDSHIRE, II., 448; PORTER, HIST. OF THE FYLDE, 458), St. Julian and St. Michael-in-the-Castle at Shrewsbury and Idsall, *i.e.*, Shiffnal.—EYTON, II., 265; HULBERT, 170; SHROPSH. ARCHÆOL. SOC., I., 434. [2] Vol. I., p. 363. [3] CAL. ROT. PAT., 260, 288. [4] He ceased to be rector of Albright Hussey in 1447.—EYTON, X., 86. For his will dated Oct. 30th, 1444, see MONAST., VI., 1427, in which he left to the college duo portiforia de usu Sarum alias nuncupata "lyggers," because they were meant to "lig" or lie on the desk; cf. "ledger." For ligger = mattress, see ROT. PARL., IV., 237. For "lig," see P. PLO., III., 53, 130; IV., 170, 222; GOWER, CONF., 61, 107, 159, 211, 222, 225, 249, 299, 380, 394, 403, 425, 437, 440; WYCL. (A.), II., 224; CHAUC. (S.), II., 182, 264, 273, 303. For "legger," see SHARPE, II., 521. In ROCK, IV., 17, a "ligger," is identified with an Antiphoner. For "coucher," see N. AND Q., 5th Ser., III., 89; RIPON CHAPTER ACTS, 235; "cowchur," TEST. EBOR., II., 84; qui solebat coram me jacere, *ibid.*, I., 360. [5] P. PLO., XVII., 283; LEL. ITIN., IV., 52. For "mansion-house," see T. SMITH, 199; domibus mansionum v. cotagiis mansionum, SHROPSH. ARCHÆOL. SOC., II., 201; hospitium sive mansum, GIBBONS, LINC., 55. [6] PROMPT. PARV. s. v.; MUN. ACAD., 630. [7] At Edmund Gonville's College at Rushworth (or Rushford) the allowance was 10 marks to each chaplain, pro suo victu et aliis necessariis.—MONAST., VI., 1386.

They took no vows, but were required to swear the usual "regular obedience" to the Master,[1] and not to leave the college night or day without his special permit. They were not to marry, but to spend their time in constant and repeated services in the choir of the College Church. Yet the scheme never really throve. It was a gruesome and an eerie spot to make a home, with hundreds of uncoffined bodies festering a few feet below. Ive had his enemies too, whose spitefulness "caused him much harm and loss;" by which perhaps he means that his annual fair proved a nuisance[2] to his jealous neighbours at Shrewsbury. The college buildings were unfinished, and a bell-tower was wanted for the western end of the chapel; but for more than 50 years[3] after Ive's death the funds still hung fire, and the tower as we see it now was not completed till 1503.[4] Booths were put up for the fair each summer;[5] but the place was always poor, and after the break-up of the college the church stood in ruins for centuries.[6] Some mutilated fragments of the stained glass[7] which once filled the east window have been preserved, though not in their original place, and a rude figure of our Lady of Pity,[8] cut out of a solid plank of oak, is the sole survival of the

[1] Prout moris est in aliis locis collegiatis. For statutes dated Apr. 22nd, 1395, of college of Pleshy, founded by the Duke of Gloucester in 1393 (MONAST., VI., 1393), see GOUGH, PLESHY, APP., 169. For growth of colleges at expense of monasteries see GASQUET, PEST., 211. [2] BRACTON (III., 584), lays it down that a market will be a *nocumentum* if established within a third of a day's journey, or 6⅔ miles, of a neighbouring market. Cf. ARNOLD, 9. For 5000 grants of fairs and markets between 1200 and 1482, see A. S. GREEN, II., 26, 52. [3] JOURN. ARCHITECT. SOC. OF CHESTER, Pt. XII., p. 353; FABR. ROLLS, 239. [4] FLETCHER, 16. [5] *Ibid.*, 13. [6] BROOKE, 15, 17. [7] They represent the beheading of St. John the Baptist, and are in the church at Prees and in the ante-chapel at Sundorne.—FLETCHER, 18. [8] GENT. MAG. (1792), Vol. LXII., 893, and 1855, Vol. XLIV., 295; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XIV., 272; FLETCHER, 19. For other specimens at Durham see GREENWELL, 45; at Breadsall near

original fittings. Of the college buildings not a vestige now remains; but even yet the delver's spade[1] digs through a mass of human bones below the turf. On the outer wall, in a niche above the east window of the church, a small crowned figure[2] in armour represents King Henry IV., and he long enjoyed the reputation of being the founder[3] of the whole college scheme. But he really did very little to justify the claim, and compared with the princely structures of his son and grandson at Sheen, Eton, and Cambridge, or the colleges which his half-sister Joan Beaufort[4] and her husband the Earl of Westmoreland were just building for chaplains and poor gentlemen at Staindrop,[5] or his cousin the Duke of York for a master, 12 chaplains, 8 clerks, and 13 choristers at Fotheringhay,[6] his little work at Battlefield is but another evidence of how he managed to give to the Lord of that which cost him next to nothing.

On March 10th, 1409,[7] Henry was still at Greenwich.

Derby, and Glentham near Market Rasen in Lincolnshire, see ARCHÆOL. INST., March, 1891. For Henry's offerings to the Image of St. Mary of Pue, see HOLT, 40. For Notre Dame de la Puwe, see Vol. II., p. 478, note 11. For a cope of white damask with an "Image of owr lady of pytte" in the hood, formerly at Lincoln Cathedral, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 29.

[1] FLETCHER, 7. For pike dug up, see GROSE, ARMOUR, APP., p. vi., plate xxviii., 8; MEYRICK, I., 33. [2] PENNANT, II., 411; TRANS. SHROPSH. ARCH. SOC., May, 1880, p. 242. [3] LEL. ITIN., IV., 78. [4] For a chasuble, tunicle, and albs given by her to Lincoln Cathedral, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 24. [5] See documents dated Nov. 1st, 1408, in MONAST., VI., 1401; HUTCHINSON, III., 258; SURTEES, IV., 134; PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 17 (Nov. 28th, 1408). In PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 4, 16, and PRIV. SEAL, 646/6335 (Nov. 10th, 1409), the Earl of Westmoreland grants the advowson of Lethom (Yorks) to the college, assumed to be Lathom (Lancs) in HUTCHINSON, III., 259. It may be Laytham in Aughton, East Riding. [6] ROT. PARL., III., 652; STOW, 339; MONAST., VI., 1411-1414; PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 14; CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 27 d (Feb. 15th, 1412) refers to grant of six acres, dated Friday before St. Luke, 1410. [7] CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 18; PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 1, 2. DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 6 b, APP. A, shows that he was at Greenwich on Jan. 31st, Feb. 3rd, 10th, 24th, 1409; also Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{15}{15}$, APP. B, and DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, Pt. 3, 133, 149 (Mar. 8th, 9th, 1409).

Bishop Langley was present, together with Treasurer Tiptot, Admiral Thomas Beaufort, the Steward of the Household (Sir John Stanley), and the Keeper of the Chancery Rolls (John Wakering). The Chancellor (Archbishop Arundel) was absent at Maidstone;[1] but he sent up the Great Seal in its leather bag.[2] The business of the day was to grant to the Archbishop the castle and domain of Queenborough[3] on the Isle of Sheppey at the mouth of the Medway. The grant was completed, and the Great Seal was returned direct to the Chancellor. On March 20th[4] the King had sufficiently recovered to be back at Eltham, where he stayed over Easter. On April 6th he wrote a letter to Archbishop Arundel, which is still preserved, and is the best extant specimen of his handwriting. It is written in English along the top of a writ under the Privy Seal,[5] referring to the Queen's dower, and is signed by the King in a firm bold hand.[6] We have already seen[7] that an annuity of £1000 per annum, payable out of the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster, had been settled on Queen Joan for life as part of her wedding dower, and during the financial year ending at Michaelmas, 1408,[8] we know that

[1] CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 19. [2] Vol. I., p. 172. In 1442 the great seal of Ireland was missing, but was found in a box in quâdam bagâ correâ eodem signeto sigillatâ.—GRAVES, 292. [3] In ISS. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 3rd, 1409, the Archbishop receives £66 13s. 4d. for repairs in the King's Castle of Queenborough. In PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 9 d (1412), Roger Honyn is Constable of the King's Castle at Queenborough. [4] PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 4 (Mar. 20th, 21st, 1409); RYM., VIII., 579 (Mar. 31st, 1409); L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12, 3, APP. C (Apr. 4th, 1409); DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16 (Apr. 11th, 1409). [5] The writ is dated Eltham, April 6th, and endorsed "anno xi., H. 4," *i.e.*, 1410, but Arundel ceased to be Chancellor on Jan. 31st, 1410, and did not take office again till Dec. 19th, 1411. Also on April 6th, 1412, the King was not at Eltham, but at Canterbury. I have therefore placed the letter in 1409, *i.e.*, 10 H. IV., with which it seems to agree in every respect. [6] HOLT (50), is wrong in thinking that he wrote "a scrawl by no means easy to read." [7] Vol. II., p. 283. [8] LANC. REC., XXVI., A, 20.

she had only received one third of this amount. On Feb. 18th, 1409,[1] the King had urged that this claim should be met without delay, and the Eltham letter appears to refer to the same matter. It has never yet been published, and as far as I can decipher it, it runs as follows:—

"With all min trewe hert worchypful and well beloved cosin,[2] I grete yow ofte well, and yow next God I thonke of ye goode hele y^t^ I am ynne for se I may well y^t^ reverent and well beloved cosin I send yow a bylle for ye queene towchyng her dower, wych I pray yow micht be sped and ye schall do us bothe gret ese. We woll thonk yow w^t^ al owre hert,

Yowr trewe

Cosyn Henry R."

From May 1st to 8th[3] the King was at Sutton, near Chiswick, on his way to Windsor to hunt with the harthounds,[4] hayters, and otterhounds.[5] The royal tents[6] had been already sent down, and on May 9th[7] he was at Birdsnest Lodge in the Forest, and was able to report that he was in good surety of his person. Thence he passed to Easthampstead,[8] Swallowfield, Henley-on-the-Heath, and Chertsey, and was back in Windsor Castle by June 1st.[9] The sweet summer air had revived him,

[1] Duc. Lanc. Rec., xi., 16, 138'''. [2] He calls the Archbishop his cousin in his will.—Wills of Kings, 203. [3] Q. R. Wardrobe, $\frac{4}{15}$, App. B; Duc. Lanc. Rec., xi., 16, 144''', 148'''. [4] Gower, Conf., 306. [5] In Priv. Seal, 674/6456, Feb. 18th, 1410, William Melbourne is valet of our otterhounds. For the "yeman tenterer de Buckhoundis," see Pat., 11 H. IV., 2, 11. [6] Q. R. Wardrobe, $\frac{4}{12}$, $\frac{4}{13}$, App. B. [7] Rym., viii., 584; Q. R. Wardrobe, $\frac{4}{14}$, App. B. For an entry dated Briddesnest, July 29th, 1372, see John of Gaunt's Register, Duc. Lanc. Rec. xi., 13, 156. [8] On Bagshot Heath, see Vol. I., p. 408; not Yesthampstead, as Burrows, Brocas, 126. [9] Rot. Vasc., ii., 20; Q. R. Wardrobe, $\frac{4}{15}$, has a writ dated at Windsor on May 20th, 1409. For documents dated at a manor in our park at Windsor, May 30th, 31st, and June 1st, 1409, see Duc. Lanc. Rec., xi., 16, 137'''.

and he spent the greater part of June and July at the hostels[1] of the Archbishop of York or the Bishop of Ely, in the London suburbs,[2] or with the Queen at Havering-at-Bower,[3] or at St. John's House[4] at Clerkenwell, where he sat out for four days[5] on a timber scaffold with the Prince and a crowd of barons, knights, and ladies watching the Parish Clerks play the Bible story at Skinnerswell from the Creation to the Day of Doom. In the previous winter a herald had come to England with a challenge from Jean de Werchin,[6] the young Steward of Hainault, to the Knights of the Garter, to meet him in the following February in a three days' joust[7] with lance, sword, and axe, in the lists, at any place within 40 miles of London. On Feb. 20th, 1409,[8] a reply was sent in the King's name appointing May 1st for the encounter, and a safe-conduct[9] was issued for the strangers, to last till June 16th. The Steward then wrote[10] that he was under engagement to fight

[1] L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12, 3, APP. C. Apud hosp. Ep. Ely.—PRIV. SEAL, 7193, July 23rd, 1409. [2] For "suburbis," see WYCL. (M.), 364; "subarbes," CHAUC., CHAN. YEM., 16125. For the extent of the suburbs temp. Hy. VIII., see HERBERT, I., 111. In PAT., 9 H. IV., 9, St. Dunstan's in Fleet St. is in suburbis London; also Temple Bar, STAFF. REG., 39; Vol. I., p. 172; St. Andrew's, Holborn, REC. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 3rd, 1409; PAT., 14 H. IV., 11, and the Bishop of Ely's hostel in Holborn, CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 29; BESANT, 41. There were four marches or limits of the suburbs, viz., Stratford, Cnichtebrigge (= Knightsbridge), Bolkethe (? Blackheath), and Stamford Hill (in alta via juxta Hakeney, en la haulte chemyn joust Hakeney, PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 2; PRIV. SEAL, 647/6486; Vol. I., p. 208); see LIB. CUST., I., 62. [3] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, July 24th, 1409. [4] CHRON. LOND., 94; BESANT, 105. For claim of kings for hospitality there in the days of the Templars, see KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS IN ENGLAND, CAMD. SOC., 1857, pp. XLIX., 99. [5] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{4}{13}$, APP. B; CHRON. LOND., 91; HIGDEN, IX., 47, 113, 259; GREY FRIARS CHRON., 12; STOW, CHRON., 337; WEEVER, 405; DEVON, 245; SHARP, 133; see Vol. III., p. 222. [6] For his letter dated Nov. 22nd, 1408, see BELTZ, 403. For praise of him, and ballad addressed to him by Christine de Pisan in 1402, see PISAN, I., 245, 307; II., 90, 112, 311. [7] For "justing," see WYCL. (A.), I., 410. [8] BELTZ, 405. [9] RYM., VIII., 570, Feb. 23rd, 1409 (not 1410, as BELTZ, 407). [10] BELTZ, 407.

à outrance with Sir John Cornwall[1] at Lille in presence of the Duke of Burgundy on June 1st, but that he would be in London by the 1st of July. The meeting at Lille was postponed by order of the King of France, who summoned the combatants to fight it out in his presence in Paris. Accordingly on the appointed day, June 19th, 1409,[2] the champions met in the Place St. Martin-des-Champs in Paris. The Steward, who was regarded as a "blaze of quenchless stalwartness,"[3] was attended by two of the younger brothers of the Duke of Burgundy, and Sir John by six young pages mounted on destrers,[4] and clad in ermine and cloth of gold; but the French King stopped the fray, and it all ended in feasting.[5] The scene was then transferred to England, where the twice delayed engagement really came off at last. The King stayed at St. Bartholomew's Priory.[6] Smithfield was barred and fenced,[7] and a scaffold, hung with worsted, arras, and cloth of gold,[8] was put up for him beside the hospital. Carpenters and tasselers were employed at 6½d. per day, fixing the pavilion with pikes and virrells,[9] and painting vanes, lances, poises, sacks, &c., with royal crests, and rings, and arms. For eight days[10] English and Henowers increased their honour by knocking each other about at the barriers; and on Aug. 4th[11] the

[1] In 1412 Tanneguy du Chastel came to England to meet him in the lists.—RYM., VIII., 729. [2] ITIN., 593. [3] Fulgorem inextinguibilis strenuitatis.—ST. DENYS, V., 572. [4] See Vol. III., p. 159, note 9. [5] MONSTR., II., 6; JUV., 450. [6] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{15}$, APP. B. [7] FAB., 385; ISS. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 22nd, 1409. FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV., has payment of £32 11s. 4d. for timber and posts for the "barreres," and for making holes in the ground. Cf. ISS. ROLL, 11 H. IV., PASCH., June 3rd, 1410, coram ipso dño rege, LEL., COLL., I., 486; DEVON, 316. See the picture in DUGD., WARWICKSHIRE, 72; ORIG. JUDIC., 80. [8] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{4}{13}$, APP. B. [9] *I.c.*, ferules.—PROMPT. PARV., 510. [10] CHRON. GILES, 57; CHRON. LOND., 91; LEL., COLL., I., 486; CAXTON, 221; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 166. [11] L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12, 3, APP. C.

King made a great feast in three courses at Windsor in honour of the foreigners, the *menu* of which is still preserved.[1] On Aug. 15th[2] he was back at Westminster, transacting business; within a few days he was again at Sutton, and we find him at Beauregard (Aug. 22nd),[3] Bagshot (Aug. 27th),[4] and Romsey (Sep. 3rd).[5]

But though his health mended, misfortune still huddled on his back. Scarcely had he returned from the hunting in June of this year when a messenger arrived at Windsor from the Court[6] at Heidelberg with news of the death of the Lady Blanche,[7] his eldest daughter, who was not yet 17 years of age.[8] She was born in 1392,[9] at Walmsford or Wandsford,[10] near Peterborough, in the interval between her father's two journeys abroad; and the accounts[11] record how three ells of Flemish and three of Champagne[12] linen were bought to drape the font for her baptism,[13] and six ells of canvas for a pallet for her nurse. When only eight years old she presided at a tournament, and rained influence on the champions that entered the lists at Eltham.[14] I have already touched upon a few trivial

[1] COOKRY, p. 3. [2] HR., v., 477. [3] PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 5. [4] PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 33; MANNING AND BRAY, III., 85. [5] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 44'. [6] Cf. Quemen to heydelsberge dar do was des keysers hof.—DETMAR, II., 8. [7] Iss. ROLL, 6 H. IV., PASCH. (July 18th, 1405), records presents of cloth, collars, cups, silver plate, &c., to the "Lady Blanche of Bavaria," as well as repayment of loans for her marriage. [8] HOLT, LANGLEY, 335. [9] DERBY ACCTS., LXXXIV. [10] BRIDGES, II., 606; INQ. P. MORT., III., 30, 101; M. A. E. GREEN, III., 307. Henry himself was at his hostel in Peterborough on Oct. 19th, 21st, 29th, Dec. 4th, 29th, 1391, and Jan. 28th, 30th, 1391.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 2, APP. A; DERBY ACCTS., XVIII., LXXXIV. [11] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 2, APP. A; HOLT, 15. [12] Vol. II., p. 445, note 2. SKEAT, CHAUC., I., 198, 285, 435, 469, still believes that "Reyns," is "Rennes." Also POLLARD, MIRACLE PLAYS, 112, 243; "Shertes of Raynes," L. T. SMITH, in DERBY ACCTS., 356, tho' rightly given as Rheims in *ibid.*, 331. For "Rains" = Rheims, see TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 113, 198, 207, 230; GESTE, 511, 512. [13] Not 1402, as RAMSAY, I., 159. [14] For letters addressed to her by the champions, see M. A. E. GREEN, III., 315, from ARUNDEL MS., HERALDS' COLLEGE, f. 33.

incidents of her childhood,[1] and described her marriage with Duke Louis[2] when she was only ten years of age;[3] but I append here a few additional particulars[4] which I have since discovered with regard to her journey out. She left London on April 17th, 1402,[5] and was at Colchester by April 20th, where she stayed 10 days, attending Mass in various churches, and offering a half-noble (3s. 4d.) at each.[6] On April 30th the party reached Ipswich, and after hearing Mass before an image outside the walls proceeded to the White Friars, where they were lodged till June 6th, the sailors on board the boats amusing them with a water tournament on Sacrament's Day[7] (May 25th). Sheep, victuals, harness, and wardrobe were all on board at Harwich, where some of the ships had been waiting for 13 weeks. At length, about the 8th of June, 1402,[8] the whole party sailed from Harwich, and made a prosperous voyage across. They entered the Maas at Brielle, took on another lodesman,[9] and sailed up to Dordrecht, where they were received (June 10th)[10] by the Count of Holland, supported by the town minstrels and a throng of knights and ladies

[1] Vol. II., p. 436. [2] So called in KAL. AND INV., II., 69. [3] Vol. I., pp. 252-255; J. G. NICHOLS, p. 9. Yet see RYM., VIII., 461, and LANC. PAT., 3, 6, for a document dated Dec. 12th, 1401, stating that Blanche is 14 years old and to be married *in proximo*.—The feudal "aid" (see Vol. II., p. 438), was to be paid on Thursday after St. Valentine next. See also DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 36, 115, July 3rd, 1401, and Jan. 27th, 1402. For a book in parchment covers containing proceeds of this aid with list of names and amounts paid in Derby, Stafford, Lancashire, Lincolnshire, Devon, and Pickering, see *ibid.*, XXVI., 42, 5. There are two unpublished documents in Box 12, No. 354, of EXCH. TREAS. OF RECEIPT, dated Dec. 31st, 1401, and Jan. 13th, 1402, from Rupert, assigning dower to Blanche.—DEP. KEEP., 45th REPT., 314. DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 124 (Feb. 26th, 1402), has 26s. 8d. for conveying gold from Tutbury to London. [4] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{95}{30}$, APP. F. [5] Not April 2nd, as RTA., V., 278. [6] Cf. Vol. I., p. 410; Vol. II., p. 211. [7] For "Sakermentsdach," *i.e.*, Corpus Christi, see LAPPENBERG, II., 27. [8] Not 21st, as Vol. I., p. 254. [9] GOWER, CONF., 153; CHAUC. (S.), III., 134; DERBY ACCTS., 37, 56, 87, 97, 143, 162; PRUTZ, 36. [10] RTA., V., 278.

daintily dressed in uniform. Here they spent some days at the Grey Friars, and a banquet was spread for 800 persons. The Duchess of Holland sent a present of a sturgeon,[1] others sent a nightingale and various songbirds, Blanche on her side returning the compliment with pretty gifts and keepsakes to the Dutch ladies.[2] At Dordrecht eight crayers,[3] varying from 60 to 100 tons, were ready to take on the heavy goods, besides two of 15 tons each for the kitchen and larder. The Lady Blanche had her barge,[4] and whiled away the time playing ball as they sailed against the strong current past Gorkum and Bommel to Nymegen, where the Duke of Gueldres' minstrels played up for their landing on June 24th. Three days were spent here pleasantly, and draught horses then towed[5] them forward up to Kaiserswerth, the account recording a payment of 6s. 8d. for cutting down a cherry tree that obstructed the way. As we have seen, they turned aside at Cleves (June 26th) to spend a day with Duke Adolf.[6] At Emmerich (June 27th) the townsmen presented two vats and five farthingdeals of Rhenish wine; at Buderich (June 28th) they got four fresh salmon; at Düsseldorf (June 30th) more fish and Rhine-wine came in as a present from the Duke of Berg, and they reached Cologne on June 30th.[7] The bridegroom had lately had a fall and hurt his shin,[8] and it was feared that the wedding

[1] ROT. PARL., III., 667. [2] PONTANUS, 358. [3] DERBY ACCTS., 99, 339; BRANDO, 93. [4] For picture of a Rhine boat with mast and 10 oars, see ZIMMERN, 167. [5] For ad towandum from Boston to Chopchire, 1390, see DERBY ACCTS., 37; PRUTZ, 36. [6] Called Aylif in CHMEL, 5. See also HÖFLER, RUPRECHT, 183. He afterwards (1405) married Marie, third daughter of John, Duke of Burgundy (OUDEGHERST, II., 616; MONSTR., I., 131), and appears as one of the Duke's pensioners in 1406.—PLANCHER, III., 579. [7] Not July 3rd, as RTA., v., 278, where it is also wrongly assumed that King Rupert was not at the marriage, on the strength of a letter dated at Simmern, near Bacharach, on July 7th (RTA., v., 344), but this is not inconsistent with his being at Cologne on the previous day. [8] Casu quodam se in tibia leserat.—RTA., v., 278; EMMEN, III., 141.

would have to take place at Heidelberg; but arrangements were now completed,[1] and he was fortunately well enough to be with his father to meet the lady on her arrival at Cologne. The marriage was celebrated in Cologne Cathedral by the Archbishop on July 6th.[2] The young couple then went on by Bacherach (July 7th) to Heidelberg, after purchasing a chalice, a paten, and two silver cruets for use in the chapel there.

Blanche's chaplain was Master John South, her damsel was Mary Scales,[3] her waiting woman was called Cecily, and the names of her two henchmen, her carver, cup-bearer, and cook-for-the-mouth are all known. All these went with her to Heidelberg, together with English varlets for her pantry, buttery, vintry, and wardrobe, the rest of the retinue[4] returning to Harwich by July 26th, 1402. It is clear that such a match gave no guarantee in itself of a happy home for Blanche, and Rupert had recently informed[5] the French King that he had only arranged it because the Court at Paris had refused to let him have a French Princess for his son. But Fortune smiled, and messengers[6] crossing from time to time brought good accounts of the bride to her father and brothers at home. In Sep., 1402, the pleasant castle of Germersheim[7] near Spires was made over to her as part of her dower; and as Louis was Bailiff[8] of Alsace, it is likely that they spent much of their time there. But beyond the fact that she yielded official prece-

[1] Doch sal der eldst son des Konigs von Engellant docter han.—RTA., IV., 441. [2] Not Aug. 15th, as HÖFLER, 285; apud Colon.—FOR. ACCTS., 7 H. IV.; not Heidelberg, as Vol. I., p. 255. [3] Vol. II., p. 447. [4] Including Lord Zouche and four knights, viz., Richard Arundel, John Dalingrigg, Henry Houghton, and Nicholas Hauberk. [5] RTA., IV., 354. [6] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{4}$, APP. B. [7] TREAS. OF RECEIPT, BOX 12, No. 354, in DEP. KEEP., 45th REPT., APP. I., 314. [8] Landvogt.—JANSSEN, I., 172, June 4th, 1409; CHMEL, 159, 170.

dence [1] to her husband we know no more of her till the news reached England that she had died in childbirth on May 22nd, 1409.[2] King Rupert's letter told how God "in His anger" [3] had called the poor girl "to her reward," while Louis recounted the heavy story of the last sickness of his "most loved and sweetest" wife, and how all his delights and joys were gone as he stood with the crowd of mourners and laid her in her grave in the Church at Neustadt-in-the-Haardt,[4] on June 3rd, 1409. There seems indeed to have been something in his grief, for eight years elapsed before he married again.[5] When King Henry read the letters they "filled his mind with bitterness," [6] though it was some consolation to him to know that

[1] M. A. E. GREEN, III., 329, from LANSDOWNE MS., 160, f. 121. [2] VITELLIUS, E. X. 6, 80 b (83); PECKHAM, I., XLVII., from ALL SOULS' MS., CLXXXII., f. 117; BEKYNTON, II., 366-372; M. A. E. GREEN, III., 335-449; HOLT, LANGLEY, 335; HOEFLER, RUPR., 464; not 1406, as Vol. I., 255. Blanche's death is given as May 22nd, 1406, in ART. DE VER., III., 324; but this is certainly wrong, for a letter in MART., ANEC., I., 1722, and M. A. E. GREEN, III., 334, dated May 28th, 1407, speaks of her as then in good health. In April, 1408, she was made a Lady Companion of the Garter.—NICOLAS, KNIGHTHOOD, I., 51; II., LXXX. In Iss. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 28th, 1408, where Rupert receives 2000 marks (£1333 6s. 8d.), she is referred to as *nunc* eidem Duci maritat. SANDFORD (276), wrongly supposes that she survived her husband. The earliest official reference to her death that I have found is in PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 33, Oct. 3rd, 1409. ZANTFLIET (397) makes her the wife of Rupert instead of Louis. [3] Cf. It is gret mercy of God to take a child out of this world, for if it schal be saaf it is delyverid out of woo into bliss. Zif it schal be dampnyd zit is mercy of God to take him soone to deth leste it lyve lengere and do more synne.—WYCL. (A.), III., 200. [4] M. A. E. GREEN, III., 336. In Novam Civitatem ubi seniores nostræ parentelæ requiescunt. Not Heidelberg, as Vol. I., 256. Louis calls it the Church of the B.V.M., though it seems to have been dedicated to St. Giles, see HÄUSSER, I., 184. It was endowed by Rupert I., who was afterwards buried there, see MERIAN, TOPOGR. RHENI, p. 38. I visited the church in Sep., 1894, but could find no trace of Blanche's tomb. [5] He superintended the burning of John Hus at Constance on July 6th, 1415.—PALACKY, Doc., 321, 322, 557, 560; CREIGHTON, I., 354. In 1417 he married Maud, daughter of Amadée of Savoy (ART. DE VER., III., 324), and died stone-blind at Heidelberg, Dec. 29th, 1436.—TRITHEIM, II., 310, 314, 329, 397; HARL. MISCELL., III., 73. [6] BEKYNTON, II., 366.

his daughter had received most devoutly the sacraments of the Church. She left a son, now five years old,[1] who was called Rupert after his grandfather; but he died at 20 years of age, and all trace of England's connection with the Rhine Palatinate was thereby effaced.

[1] TRITHEIM, II., 314, 329; HÖFLER, RUPR., 464; BLORE, HY. IV., 4; M. A. E. GREEN, III., 335, states that Blanche's first child was still-born when she was 15 years old.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

THE BEAUFORTS.

THE winter of 1408 had been one of great scarcity.[1] The crops had been light all over the south of England, and corn was very dear. News came from Lynn that the grain was lost on the coasts towards the north; and the Hanse envoy, who spent this Christmas in London, reported that England's need was all for corn, and that hard times[2] were in store for her. Riotous mobs thronged the London streets; and in view of the possibility of collision an order was issued on Jan. 30th, 1409,[3] that no person was to be allowed to carry arms within the boundaries of the city. Engrossers and regraters were busy buying and hoarding for a rise.[4] On Nov. 26th, 1408,[5] it was ordered that no corn, barley, oats, or malt should be sent out of the country, except for shipment to Calais; and so serious was the outlook that it was decided[6] to admit into

[1] For distress in Flanders, see BRANDO, 127. [2] "Dure tiid."—See letter of Arndt von Dassel, dated Jan. 25th, 1409, in HR., v., 441; HIRSCH, DANZIG, 103. [3] CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 23 d. [4] Cf. the case of Wirral in the dearth of 1401-2.—DEP. KEEP., 36th REPT., p. 385, when the price of wheat was 12s. 8d. per seam, or 19d. per bushel. In 1403 the price was 14d., and in 1485, 7¾d.—RIPON MEM., III., 208, 212, 221. In LIB. ALB., I., 352, the average price is taken at 5s. per seam, or 7½d. per bushel. ROGERS, I., 218, gives 5s. 10¾d. per quarter as the average price from 1261 to 1400; see also DENTON, 92, 95. [5] CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 25, 26; repeated Jan. 3rd, 1409. For similar enactments of Ed. III., see CUNNINGHAM, I., 364. [6] PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 8, 13, Dec. 17th, 1408, and Mar. 8th, 1409.

London 1500 seams[1] of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire wheat free of duty, to relieve the immediate pressure of the dear year[2] during the winter and spring.

The new government appear to have done their best to extricate the country from some of its difficulties. Their coffers were fairly supplied with money for some time to come, and they were fortunate in securing the payment of a fine of £2000[3] from the owners of three Venetian galleys that had been caught in the act of smuggling.[4] The captain and the masters of the vessels sought an audience with the King in person, but he would not see them. In Nov., 1408, an envoy[5] from Venice was sent to London with special letters to the King, the Archbishop, the Countess of Hereford, and Peter Holt, the Turcupler;[6] but the King was too ill to attend to any business, and when his health recovered he sent a letter[7] to the Doge to the effect that the case was a bad one, and that the money must be paid.

On Nov. 20th, 1408,[8] commissioners were appointed to ensure the safety of trade with France, with powers to last till June 15th, 1411. As a result confidence soon revived, and French merchants[9] from Amiens, Le Crotoy, and La Rochelle began again to apply for permits to return to London. Plundering, however, still continued with French, Flemish, and English outlaws, for which no government would hold itself respon-

[1] *I.e.*, quarters.—PROMPT. PARV., 452; P. PLO., IV., 42. For semes of glass, see FABR. ROLLS, 37, 54. [2] P. PLO., XI., 197. [3] KAL. AND INV., II., 77; Iss. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 8th, 1408. For pardon dated Oct. 2nd, 1408, see FR. ROLL, 10 H. IV., 19, where the fine is 2000 *marks*. See also DEVON, 313. [4] Anno quasi proxime jam transacto. —ADD. MS., 24062, f. 157 b. [5] Called Master Jerome, ordinis Heremitarum sancti Augustini. For his commission, dated Nov. 29th, 1408, see VEN. STATE PP., I., 46. [6] Vol. II., p. 129. [7] Nobis gravissimâ corporis infirmitate detentis postquam annuente Domino de infirmitate prætactâ convalescere cepimus, &c.—ADD. MS., 24062, f. 157 b. [8] FR. ROLL, 10 H. IV., 12; see Vol. III., p. 100. [9] FR. ROLL, 10 H. IV., 5, 7, 13.

sible. Law-breakers from St. Malo and the island of Bréhat constantly defied the Breton government with impunity, and English pirates still waited for unsuspecting shipmasters coming out from Nantes or Brest, and captured hulks,[1] barges, and cargo as before. Yet they did not venture to bring their prizes into English ports, but ran them into Kinsale or other Irish harbours for disposal. Messengers[2] crossed from Brittany with complaints, and, wherever possible, restitution was promptly made.

The Exchequer Rolls show an income of £107,901 3s. 10d. for the year ending Sep. 30th, 1409, and an expenditure of £103,327 0s. 4d., yielding a balance of £4574 3s. 6d. to the good. Much greater care appears on the face of the rolls themselves, which are now carefully entered up and kept in duplicate.[3] In many parts of the country the clergy still refused to pay their share of taxation as it fell due; and in the counties of Berkshire[4] and Dorset the Abbots of Reading and Cerne found themselves resisted by force when they attempted to collect in the King's name; but the Norburys, Whittingtons, Hendes, and other capitalists[5] took a sound view of the outlook, and advanced money readily as occasion required, knowing that they had a guarantee for prompt repayment in the London customs, and feeling that the clergy

[1] PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 30 d, 35 d. [2] *E.g.*, Arnal de Chateaugiron, FR. ROLL, 10 H. IV., 18, Oct. 15th, 1408; Robert de Lescarour, *ibid.*, 10 H. IV., 8, Mar. 5th, 1409. [3] In ISS. ROLL, 10 H. IV., PASCH., the duplicate alone has been preserved. REC. ROLL, 11 H. IV., PASCH., is in duplicate, but only one of them summarizes the account. [4] PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 18, 25. [5] In REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 27th, 1408, Whittington advances £2833 6s. 8d., John Norbury and John Hende £1000 each, Sir John Cornwall £366 13s. 4d., John Hill (piscener) £200, Thomas Denton (mercer) £66 13s. 4d., all repaid Dec. 4th, 1408; ISS. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH.; PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 6, Feb. 25th, 1409; PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 22, May 18th, 1409, has 800 marks loan to be repaid to Hende.

were safe so long as they had the Archbishop in the Council to ply the whip over his rebellious flock. As the money came in, £20,438 4s. 2d.[1] was sent over to pay the garrison at Calais, £3333 6s. 8d. to Berwick,[2] £2000 to Carlisle, £400 to Roxburgh, and £1833 6s. 8d. to Fronsac.[3] Special activity prevailed at the Treasury, and before the Christmas recess in 1408 the Treasurer and the Barons of the Exchequer found themselves compelled to spend a whole day at Westminster, "inspecting certain records of places,"[4] and taking their meals as they could, while a special staff of clerks passed all their vacation in constant work, "writing divers memoranda," and examining rolls of receipts. With the opening of Hilary Term, 1409,[5] messengers were despatched with proclamations announcing a general pardon for all who had taken part in the late insurrections; and impressing upon the collectors of tenths and fifteenths the necessity for haste in forwarding the proceeds of taxation as soon as it fell due. By Easter, 1409, the "third half"[6] of the grants began to come in freely; the officers of the Exchequer were hard pressed to get the amounts entered and balanced, and two[7] of them were specially despatched to the seaports to examine the collectors and their deputies, and inquire as to the number of sacks of wool really exported within a given date.

[1] Iss. Roll, 10 H. IV., Mich. and Pasch., viz., £3075 2s. 10d. (Nov. 26th, 1408), £2032 13s. 11d. (Jan. 16th, 1409), £3000 (Feb. 13th, 1409), £7864 0s. 11d. (Ap. 10th, 1409), £4466 6s. 6d. (May 7th, 1409). [2] Iss. Roll, 10 H. IV., Mich. and Pasch., (Feb. 13th and July 16th, 1409). [3] Vol. III., p. 97, note 12. [4] Iss. Roll, 10 H. IV., Mich., Dec. 4th, 1408, has £2 17s. 5½d. necessary expenses for their meal. [5] Iss. Roll, 10 H. IV., Mich., Feb. 13th, 1409. The pardons were afterwards extended so as to cover all offences committed before Jan. 25th, 1409.—Iss. Roll, 10 H. IV., Pasch., May 23rd, 1409. [6] Iss. Roll, 10 H. IV., Pasch., July 16th, 1409. [7] Viz., Richard Maidstone (see Vol. II., p. 361) and Henry Somer.—Iss. Roll, 10 H. IV., Pasch., July 16th, 1409.

The leading place in the administration of the country during this busy time was taken by the Chancellor, Archbishop Arundel. Money payments from the Exchequer were made through his hands;[1] and, when not transacting business at the Treasury in the Abbey[2] at Westminster, his time was spent at Lambeth,[3] Queenborough,[4] Maidstone,[5] Canterbury,[6] Ford,[7] Saltwood,[8] Romney,[9] Northfleet,[10] or Dartford.[11]

Next to the Archbishop in influence came the Beauforts, the children of John of Gaunt, born of his adultery with the Henower[12] Catherine Swinford.[13] During the lifetime of John of Gaunt's second wife Constance, she and her daughter Joan were attached to the household of the Countess Mary (Henry's first wife), and received every Christmas their livery in scarlet and white silk furred with miniver,[14] with pieces of white damask

[1] ISS. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 9th, 1408. [2] *Ibid.*, 10 H. IV., PASCH., July 19th, 1409. [3] CONC., III., 321, 322, April 20th, Oct. 24th, 1409. In GASC., 116, is a letter dated May 8th, 1411, "apud Girnkner," but I have not been able to identify the place. [4] CONC., III., 320, April 13th, 1409. [5] PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 1; *ibid.*, 2, 9, 19; CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 17, 19, 27; FR. ROLL, 10 H. IV., 1, Dec. 12th, 1408, Mar. 14th, 19th, Aug. 28th, 29th, Sep. 2nd, 20th, 22nd, 1409. CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 18, has March 24th, 1409, but PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 26, has an entry of same date at York. For payment to messengers sent from the Treasury to the Chancellor at Canterbury and Maidstone, see ISS. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH. and PASCH., Nov. 8th, 1408, and May 23rd, 1409. [6] PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 5, 7; CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 15, 18, April 1st, 7th, 8th, July 23rd, 24th, 27th, 28th, 1409. [7] CONC., III., 323, Dec. (s. d.), 1409; *ibid.*, 332, 333, June 8th, July 23rd, 1410, Jan. 30th, 1411. [8] CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 5, Aug. 4th, 1409. [9] PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 8, Aug. 6th, 1409. [10] *Ibid.*, 10 H. IV., 1, 13, Dec. 17th, 1408. [11] CONC., III., 330, April 3rd, 1410. [12] In partibus de Henowede oriunda.—PAT., 13 H., IV. 1, 19. Cf. Henawd.—CAXTON, 235; HALLE, Henry VI., f. xiii. a; "une Henower."—PRIV. SEAL, 7047. In 1396 a Hainault man is made to say, "nous aimons bien les Englois, à cause que les plus grans signeurs du pais là sont de notre lignage"; to which the other replies, "Hé, mon amy, je sai bien ore que cils qui tient un Henuer par la main tien un Englois par le cuer."—P. MEYER, 400. [13] On June 30th, 1379, John of Gaunt refers to "our beloved Dame Katharine, qui feust la femme Mons. Hugh de Swynford."—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 13, 75. [14] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 1, APP. A.

bawdekin,[1] and their presents of diamonds, gold rings, coral rosaries, and so forth each New Year's Day[2] and Egg-Friday.[3] After the death of John of Gaunt she went to live at Lincoln,[4] where two of her sons, Thomas Swinford and Henry Beaufort, were respectively Sheriff of the county and Bishop of the diocese. Here she enjoyed an annual allowance of 1000 marks, granted to her by King Henry from the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster.[5] She gave to the Cathedral chasubles of red velvet and bawdekin, with orphreys of gold leopards and black trefoils, also tunicles, albs, copes, and other apparel, figured with silver wheels.[6] She died on May 10th, 1403,[7] and was buried with monumental magnificence[8] in the angel choir. Her sister Philippa was the wife of Geoffrey Chaucer,[9] and the names of her children and her children's children stand foremost in the stirring days of England's wars

[1] Cf. "baldekin."—DERBY ACCTS., 281, 282, 287, 355; "cloth of baukyn."—ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 24. [2] For "new-gifts," see Vol. II., p. 478, note 8; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 96. Cf. "Ce jour de l'an que l'en doit estrener."—PISAN, I., 81, 228, 230, 304; DESCHAMPS, III., 213, 246, 363, 367; IV., 40, 52, 69, 230; V., 181, &c. In 1398 is an entry in the accounts of Duke Philip of Burgundy, in payment for a History of Titus Livius, illuminated with gold letters, envoyé en bonnes estrennes. Cf. à ung bon jour de l'an.—LABORDE, I., 29; III., p. I. [3] Les Vendredys a ovez. For record of rings given away on Good Friday, viz., 11,424 in five years, see Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{6}{26}$. [4] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 2, APP. A, shows that she was at Lincoln in June, 1402. Peter Dalton, Treasurer of Lincoln Cathedral, left her a silver cup in 1401.—GIBBONS, LINC., 98. For two silver candlesticks given by him to the Cathedral, marked ex dono magistri petri Dalton on the feet, also blue and green copes, the orphreys bordered with the history of St. Thomas and the Coronation of the Virgin, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 10, 19, 31, 33, 56, 58. For candlesticks, altar cloths, and albs, given to Lincoln Cathedral by John of Gaunt, see *ibid.*, 9, 37, 50. [5] ANN., 314. In DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 122, Feb. 3rd, 1402, the grant is stated to be in lieu of castles, manors, lands, &c., settled on her as jointure. [6] *I.e.*, the Roet Arms.—ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 23, 49. [7] Vol. II., p. 283. In DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 4′, 6′, 12′, May 16th, 1403, she is referred to as dead. [8] SANDFORD, 254; GOUGH, III., 13; NUM. CHRON., N.S., XVIII., 289. A copy of the inscription from Dugdale's MS. is now in the Cathedral Library at Lincoln. [9] See App. X.

in the coming century. Her spousebreaking[1] was condoned by Pope and Parliament,[2] and the fame which circled round her posterity, in spite of their defect of birth and bastard blood, has glossed over her deep dishonour; but, in her lifetime, her name had an ill flavour with the great ladies of the court, and so blown was her repute[3] that Sir Thomas Swinford,[4] her only really lawful child, had much ado to establish his claim to lands in her father's[5] native country of Hainault, and had to call in the special aid of the King of England to prove himself honestly born.[6] Of her four children, born "in double adultery"[7] when she was the mistress of John of Gaunt in the castle of Beaufort,[8] near Angers, the girl Joan was married to

[1] GOWER, CONF., 167, 286, 289; APOL., 54, 89. For "spousebreaker," see WYCL. (M.), 205; ST. MATT., XII., 39; "brekyng of spousehed," WYCL. (A.), III., 162. [2] ROT. PARL., III., 343; confirmed by King Henry on Feb. 10th, 1407, though he took care to insert a clause excluding them from all claim to the crown (exceptâ dignitate regali).—EXCERPT. HIST., 153. It seems unnecessary to see in this a triumph for Archbishop Arundel, as DICT. NAT. BIOG., IV., 41. [3] WORDSWORTH, I., 267. [4] He was born in 1368.—EXCERPT. HIST., 155; TEST. VET., 254. In 1382 he was a knight in the retinue of Henry as Earl of Derby.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, 3, APP. A. In 1390 he was with him at Calais, and accompanied him on the Prussian reise.—DERBY ACCTS., XXXIX., XLIII., 38, 100, 121, 128, 133, 138, 301. In 1402 he was Sheriff of Lincolnshire.—*Ibid.*, XXVIII., 4, 2, APP. A; REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 20th, 1408; PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 24 (Oct. 18th, 1408); PRIV. SEAL, 646/6346 (Nov. 12th, 1409), where he is let off a fine of 100s. for escape of Thomas Lorimer of Barton from Lincoln Gaol. He defended the deposition of Kings and Popes (TRAIS., LXXI.), and he was believed to have murdered Richard II. at Pontefract.—Vol. I., p. 111. For his appointment as Lieutenant of Calais (1404) and Commissioner for negotiating with Flanders, see Vol. II., p. 92, note 2; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXXVI., 267. In PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 18; PRIV. SEAL, 646/6342 (Nov. 11th, 1409), he is an outlaw for debt at suit of John Crek, draper, of London, his goods being in the hands of the Earl of Somerset. [5] His name was Paon or Paunet de Roet (*i.e.*, Roet or Rœulx, near Bouchain, FROIS., XXV., 241), see FROIS., I. a, 444; II., 513; V., 215; XV., 238, 399; SKEAT (CHAUC., I., LI.), thinks that "the sole trace of his existence" is his epitaph in WEEVER, p. 413. [6] RYM., VIII., 704; EXCERPT. HIST., 158; DERBY ACCTS., 302; PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 35 (Oct. 5th, 1411). PRIV. SEAL, 7004 (Oct. 15th, 1411), certifies him to have been born en espousaill et en loisible matrimonie. [7] ORIG. LET., II., 1, 164. [8] SANDFORD, 322.

Ralph,[1] Earl of Westmoreland, as his second wife.[2] The eldest son, John,[3] had gone out as a youth with the Duke of Bourbon to Barbary in 1390,[4] the English contingent consisting of 25 knights and 100 archers,[5] amongst the former being Lewis Clifford,[6] Peter Courtenay,[7] John Cornwall, William Nevil,[8] and Thomas Clanvowe,[9] all of whom had been jousting at St. Inglevert. They sailed from Genoa on May 15th, 1390,[10] and landed in Africa on July 22nd.[11] The futile attack on El Mahadia began on Aug. 4th, and after seven weeks they re-embarked for home about the end of September, 1390.[12]

John Beaufort was in Lettowe in 1394,[13] and was probably present at the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396.[14] On Henry's

[1] In PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 28 (May 20th, 1406), the King calls the Earl of Westmoreland "our dear brother." For his monument in Staindrop Church, see BLORE, GOUGH, DRUMMOND, SURTEES, IV., 130; ANTIQUARY, June, 1881. [2] His first wife, Margaret, daughter of Hugh, Earl of Stafford, died in 1370.—SURTEES, IV., 159; SWALLOW, 44. [3] Not Thomas, as WALS., II., 283. [4] FROIS., XIV., 126, 225. [5] CABARET, 222, 238, 248; DERBY ACCTS., XXXVIII., 301. For Scots who joined the expedition, *e.g.*, the Earl of Angus and Sir Alexander Stewart, see ADD. MS., 15644, dated [Nov. 2nd] 1390, in BRIT. MUS. CATALOGUE, 1845, p. 41; DOUGLAS BOOK, II., 18. [6] See Vol. II., p. 292, note 1. CABARET, who had his information from Chateaumorand, who took part in the expedition, states that Clifford was the head of the English force. [7] Vol. II., p. 37, note 6. [8] SWALLOW, 30. He is, of course, not the same as Sir Lewis Clifford, as assumed by DELAVILLE LE ROULX, I., 176. [9] HIGDEN, IX., 234. Called "Climbo" in CABARET, 222. [10] HIGDEN, IX., 240; TOWER MISC. ROLLS, 459, quoted in GENEALOGIST, V., 48, N. S. The French did not start from Marseilles till July 1st.—DELAVILLE LE ROULX, I., 171. For ballad wishing them a safe return, see DESCHAMPS, IV., 266. [11] DELAVILLE LE ROULX, I., 181, 194, 198. [12] The French, after spending much time on their way, were back in Paris by the end of November, 1390. [13] DERBY ACCTS., 301; PRUTZ, XXVII. [14] Vol. I., p. 157. It is certain that his father, John of Gaunt, promoted the crusade of 1395 (DELAVILLE, I., 229, 230, 231, 242), in conjunction with the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, and that English envoys were at Venice arranging for it from Dec., 1394, to Feb., 1395. Some Englishmen were certainly present in the battle (DESCHAMPS, VII., 73, 77; CHRON. DES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE, III., 224, 226; DUCAS in MIGNE, PATROLOGIA, Vol. 157, p. 813), whose captain is called "a grandson of the Duke of Lancaster, and uncle to the King of England" (il figliuolo

accession in 1399 he was degraded from his title of Marquis of Dorset,[1] though he still throve in royal favour as Earl of Somerset. He became Chamberlain of England,[2] Constable of Corfe Castle,[3] and Captain of Calais.[4] In 1402 he accompanied the Lady Blanche to Cologne,[5] and escorted Queen Joan over from Brittany.[6] He called his eldest boy Henry, after the King his "brother,"[7] who held the infant at the font for his baptism at Westminster, Oct. 16th, 1401,[8] and settled an annuity of 1000 marks upon him;[9] and when another

del Duca di Lancastro Inghilese et zio del Re d'Inghilterra con mille cavalli di buona gente d'arme.—MINERBETTI in TARTINI, RERUM ITALICARUM SCRIPTORES, II., 364). Whoever this was, it was certainly not Henry of Bolingbroke, as I had wrongly supposed in Vol. I., p. 6. (Cf. FROIS., XV., 407. Henry's name is not mentioned in ASCHBACH, I., 98, 103.) The battle was fought on Sep. 25th, 1396 (KERVYN, III., 45; ANNUAIRE BULLETIN, XXIV., 206; DELAVILLE, I., 270; not 28th, as Vol. I., p. 157; nor 15th, as DELISLE in EC. DES CHARTES, LI., 145; not 1393, as CABARET, 268), and it is known with certainty that at that time he was just preparing to cross from England to Calais to be present at the betrothal of Richard II. and Isabel (DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, 6, APP. A). On Oct. 22nd and 26th, 1396, he dined with the Duke of Burgundy at St. Omer [ITIN., 258, 554. Cf. un cerf d'or à la devise du roy d'Angleterre garni de pierrerie que mondit seigneur (*i.e.*, Philip le Hardi) donne à St. Omer au Conte de Derby quant il donna à disner au roy nostre sire et à la royne d'Angleterre.—DEHAISNES, II., 737], and on parting at Eperlecques was presented with a buckle (fermail) of the value of 300 livres, ornamented with a sapphire, three balais, and three pearls.

[1] Vol. I., p. 74. In his father's will he is called "le Marquis."—WILLS OF KINGS, 159. [2] Vol. I., p. 75, note 1. Constituitur camerarius Angliæ ad totam vitam suam.—SANDFORD, 324, quoting PAT., 1 H. IV., part 3, Feb. 9th, 1400; ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 244, Nov. 21st, 1404; also June 6th, 1406, and until his death.—PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 1. His fee as Chamberlain was £13 6s. 8d., and his robes cost £10 13s. 4d.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{4}$, APP. B. [3] PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 11, May 7th, 1407. [4] Vol. II., p. 91, note 2. [5] Vol. I., p. 254; DEVON, 292; HARL. MS., 431, 55; CHRON. GODSTOWE, 239. For his account for this year, see Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{5}{30}$, APP. F. [6] Vol. I., p. 307; II., p. 287. [7] In PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 5, his Countess Margaret is "our dear sister." [8] SANDFORD, 325. For payment of 16d. for carrying arras from the Tower to Westminster on the occasion, see L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCOUNTS, 11, 14, APP. C. See also Q. R. GREAT WARDROBE, $\frac{4}{6}$, APP. B. [9] DEVON, 298; INQ. P. MORT., III., 330; ISS. ROLL, Nov. 30th, 1403; raised to £1000 Nov.

baby was born at Tottenham [1] in 1404, King Henry sent down 3 tuns of Gascon and 10 sestres of Malmsey from the royal cellars in the Vintry. But John Beaufort's health had long been breaking up,[2] and his death, as we shall see, was not far off.

His brother Henry was the famed Lord Cardinal of Winchester. In 1388, when about 12 years of age,[3] he was a scholar at Peterhouse, Cambridge.[4] In 1391 he was a member of Queen's College, Oxford,[5] and in 1398 he was Chancellor[6] of Oxford University, where tradition connects his name with the wild days of his nephew, the Prince of Wales. His own indiscretions certainly continued even after he had bound himself in Holy Orders.[7] At a very early age he became successively Warden of the Free Chapel in Tickhill Castle,[8] Dean of Wells (1397),[9] Bishop of Lincoln (1398),[10] Chancellor of

12th, 1404.—PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 18; ISS. ROLL, 6 H. IV., MICH. (Feb. 18th, 1405); *ibid.*, 7 H. IV., MICH. (Nov. 3rd, 1405, Jan. 21st, Feb. 20th, Mar. 26th, 1406), where the grant is dated *December* 12th (not November), though ISS. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH. (July 11th, 1408) has *November* 12th, 1404. Cf. also ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 329.

[1] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{6}$, APP. B. This may have been the fair fresh flower Joan, who won the heart of King James of Scotland.—Vol. II., p. 406. [2] Vol. II., p. 91. [3] FOSS, IV., 286. [4] Where he paid 20s. for a room.—HIST. MSS., 1ST REPT., 78; GODWIN, I., 231. [5] HIST. MSS., 2ND REPT., 141; "à l'escole à Acquessonfort" (FROIS., XV., 239), *i.e.*, Oxenford; not "Aken (*i.e.*, Aachen) in Almaine," as HOLINS., II., 485. This mistake is repeated in GODWIN, I., 231; SANDFORD, 260: CASSAN, I., 250; GOUGH, III., 148; WILLS OF KINGS, 342; FOSS, IV., 286; FROIS. (LETTENHOVE), XX., 282; MULLINGER, I., 310; DICT. NAT. BIOG., IV., 41. [6] A. WOOD, II., 401. [7] Vol. II., p. 203, note 9; FOSS, IV., 287; TEST. VET., 251, 255; HOOK, IV., 524. SANDFORD, 261 (followed by CASSON, I., 252), says, "in his youthful days before he took holy orders"; but dates are against him. [8] J. HUNTER, I., 236. [9] MONAST., II., 283. [10] Vol. II., p. 204, note 1. On Nov. 21st, 1404 (ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 243), Feb. 13th, 1405 (ISS. ROLL, 6 H. IV., MICH.), and March 10th, 1405 (PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 4), he is still Bishop of Lincoln. On March 14th and 21st, 1405, the see is referred to as vacant under the charge of a Keeper of Spirituals.—PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 3.

England (1403),[1] and Bishop of Winchester (1405),[2] with a suffragan[3] to do his consecrations[4] and other episcopal work.

Thomas Beaufort, the youngest of Catherine Swinford's sons, had been Vice-Marshal in place of the Earl of Westmoreland in 1405.[5] He was made Admiral of England on the death of the Earl of Kent in 1408,[6] and his authority was now extended to Ireland, Picardy, and Aquitaine.[7]

[1] Vol. I., pp. 301, 469; appointed Feb. 28th, 1403.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{68}{4}$, APP. B. For 2000 marks paid to him as Chancellor, May 18th, 1404, see Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{56}{20}$. He resigned office Mar. 1st, 1405.—T. D. HARDY, 47; FOSS, IV., 136, 288; Vol. II., p. 344, note 8. [2] Vol. I., p. 483. He received the temporalities of Winchester on March 14th, 1405.—RYM., VIII., 392. [3] Viz., Wm. Yearde, Bishop of Selymbria from 1407 to 1417.—STUBBS, REG., 145; STAFF. REG., 332. [4] Cf. Vol. II., p. 208. "Bishopis will have an hundrid shillingis for halewynge of oo chirche."—WYCL. (A.), I., 282: II., 89. "Thei taken for wryttyng and selyng of a litel scrowe with sixe or sevene lynes twelve pens or two schillyngis."—*Ibid.*, III., 282. [5] Vol. II., pp. 230, 236; Vol. III., p. 109. [6] Vol. III., p. 105. [7] PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 9 (July 27th, 1409); NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 397.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

GOVERNMENT BY COUNCIL.

LIKE prudent men the Council grappled with one enemy at a time. While the King was away hunting in Windsor Forest, a settlement was pending with the Hansers, a truce was negotiating with the Scots, and a commission was preparing to cross to Calais to arrange a peace with France;[1] but in the meantime the real attention of the Council was devoted to the subjugation of Wales. £400 were spent on repairing the castle of Builth,[2] on the Upper Wye. In the summer of 1408, large sums of money had been sent to the Prince of Wales at Hereford, where stores of arrows, sulphur, and saltpetre [3] had been collected for the final sieges of Harlech and Aberystwith. The Prince left Hereford on June 29th, 1408,[4] and, after a determined effort, Aberystwith was at length recovered and the Welsh garrison expelled in the depth of the following winter,[5] the Prince having in the meantime paid a visit to Carmarthen, on Sep. 23rd,[6] as the centre of administration for South Wales. A final attack was then made upon Harlech by Gilbert, Lord Talbot, and his brother John, Lord Furnival.[7]

[1] Vol. III., p. 100. [2] The constable was a squire named John Smert —PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 24. [3] ISS. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 13th, 1408; FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV. (Sep. 10th, 1408), includes also £128 10s. for wages per manus Thomas Knolles, grocer, see Vol. II., p. 110, note 15. [4] Vol. III., p. 119. [5] Frigoris inaudito fastigio.—ELMHAM, 9; TIT. LIV., 4; not Nov. 1st, 1407, as DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXVI., 44. [6] RYM., VIII., 547. [7] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 139, 339; DEVON, 338.

In Dec., 1408, there were 300 men-at-arms and 600 archers besieging the castle, together with gunners, stone-cutters, carpenters, smiths, and other labourers, all of them bound to serve for at least three months, and £5249 12s. 4d.[1] was sent from the Exchequer to pay their wages. The Welsh made a stubborn stand, plundering and capturing vessels which brought provisions round by sea; but the garrison was overmatched, and before Feb., 1409,[2] Harlech was again in English hands. Sir Edmund Mortimer [3] died during the siege at the age of 32,[4] and his wife,[5] together with her mother (Owen's wife), his three little girls and his boy Lionel, fell into the hands of the English. They were all removed to London,[6] and three of the children died soon afterwards. The English pressed home their advantage throughout the summer of 1409, and on May 16th,[7] orders were sent to the great landowners in North and South Wales requiring them to remain on their lands and battle down the Welsh. But the difficulties were still great. Gilbert, Lord Talbot, remained with 80 men-at-arms and 160 archers to strengthen the garrisons in North Wales;[8] but his brother

[1] Viz., £2266 13s. 4d. (Dec. 3rd, 1408), £1503 10s. 7d. (Feb. 13th, 1409), £1436 8s. 5d. (May 23rd, 1409).—Iss. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH. and PASCH.; DEVON, 314; add £43.—Iss. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 10th, 1409. In 1409 the Londoners advanced 7000 marks to complete the subjugation of Wales, and in 1412, 10,000 more.—SHARPE, LONDON, I., 251, from LETTER BOOK I., fo. 113. [2] Iss. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 13th, 1409, refers to the troops *nuper* jacentium ad obsidium castri de Hardelagh. [3] USK, 75; Vol. I., p. 344. [4] He was born Nov. 9th, 1376.—MONAST., VI., 354; DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXXIX., 122; not 1374, as WILLS OF KINGS, 113. [5] Vol. II., p. 171, note 5; ROWLAND WILLIAMS (114) calls her Jane, and places the capture in 1405 (*ibid.*, 179, 204). HOLT (LANGLEY, 286) calls her Catherine, quoting Iss. ROLL, MICH., 1413-14. [6] DEVON, 321; TYLER, I., 245; HOLT, OLDEN TIME, 216. In DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXI., 434, they are supposed to fall into the King's hands in 1413. [7] RYM., VIII., 588. For payment to the messengers, see Iss. ROLL, 10 H. IV., PASCH., July 16th, 1409. [8] Iss. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 18th, 1412, has £200 paid to him for placing these troops in garrison.

John, when on his way to Carnarvon, with a force of 60 men-at-arms and 140 archers, found the gates at Shrewsbury closed against him on June 17th, and supplies refused by the Constable (John Weole), Richard Lacon, and others.[1]

Henceforth, however, the rebellion in Wales dies down.[2] Two of Owen's most trusted leaders, Rhys Dhu and Philip Skidmere, were captured in Shropshire and sent on to London.[3] On March 18th, 1411,[4] Rhys was transferred from the Tower to the Surrey side,[5] in custody of the Earl of Arundel. One day sufficed for his trial and condemnation; and on March 19th, he was returned to the Sheriffs of London, drawn to Tyburn on a hurdle,[6] and hanged forthwith.[7] His head was then cut off, his body was salted and quartered, and it was more than a year before it was allowed Christian burial.[8] This same year Rhys ap Tudor's head fell at Chester,[9] and many other Welshmen were lodged prisoners at Windsor,[10] or in the Marshal-

[1] TYLER, I., 241, from MS. DONAT., 4599. [2] HARDYNG, followed by HOLINS. (536) and all writers till RAPIN (III., 411), places the death of Owen and his son Griffith in 1409. The year is certainly wrong, but the chronicler is so far right that

"They dyed awaye, of them then wes no more
And Wales all became the Kyng his menne."—HARD., 365.

[3] PENNANT, I., 385; OWEN AND BLAKEWAY, I., 206; CARTE, II., 669; not 1408, as ROBERT WILLIAMS, 172; LLOYD, I., 210. [4] CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 21, 22, where he is "Rhys Dee." In LEL., COL., I., 486, he is "Risa ap Die." [5] Probably the King's Bench or the Marshalsea, both of which were in Southwark near St. George's Church.—STOW (STRYPE), II., 19, 30; SURREY ARCHÆOL. COLL., II., 174; ALLEN, IV., 476, 491. [6] FAB., 384, [7] CHRON. GILES, 60; CHRON. LOND., 93; CAXTON, 222; not Dec. 9th, 1410, as FAB., 387. [8] For order to the sheriffs of London for burial dated May 11th, 1412, see CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 16, where he is said to have been beheaded, but there is no mention of quartering. [9] PENNANT, I., 388; T. THOMAS, 159; cf. Vol. I., pp. 214, 216; Vol. II., p. 15. [10] RYM., VIII., 603; ISS. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 3rd, 1409, has payment of £6 13s. 4d. to Sir John Stanley (see Vol. II., p. 292) for expenses of a squire coming from the Welsh Marches with prisoners taken on the lands of Lord Poynings and brought to Windsor. No lands on the Marches appear in the list of Poyning's possessions at his death in

sea,[1] or the Tower,[2] until redeemed by their friends with heavy ransoms.[3] It is now that we get our last glimpse of the chronicler, Adam of Usk. After four years of wandering he returned to England in 1406,[4] only to find that the King's mind had been poisoned[5] against him, and much against his will (so he says) he somehow found himself in the retinue of Owen Glendourdy and the rebels. At any rate, when the game was up, he made his peace with the King's grace, "as quickly as he could,"[6] and was pardoned on May 20th, 1411, through the intervention of Davy Holbache.[7] Bishop Trevor crossed to France, possibly to solicit fresh help,[8] but he died

1446 (INQ. P. MORT., IV., 232). The entry may, perhaps, refer to some lands belonging to his wife, who was a daughter of Lord Grey of Ruthin. —SUSSEX ARCHÆOL. COLL., XV., 10.

[1] In PAT., 12 H. IV., 4, 17; PRIV. SEAL, 652/6961, are pardons dated April 3rd and July 16th, 1411, to Rys ap Meredyd and David ap Cadogan, captured by Hugo Say, Captain of Welshpool, and now in prison Marescalcie hospitii en grand disaise. [2] CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 18, has order (Feb. 4th, 1410) to hand over David ap Oweyn and Jevan Uort, his brother, now in the Tower, to Edward Cherleton, Lord of Powys, whose tenants they are. PRIV. SEAL, 651/6886, May 22nd, 1411, refers to David ap David Llwyd, whose father is a prisoner in the Tower. [3] For pardons to Jevan ap Griffith ap Ll., Jevan Goch ap Morgan, and Ll. ap David White (dated Aug. 11th, 18th, and Sept. 11th, 1411), see PAT., 12 H. IV., 3, 4; CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 6; PRIV. SEAL, 652/6987. The Abbot of Conway (Howel ap Gwilym) was pardoned Nov. 3rd, 1409 (PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 20), also Rys ap Griffith ap Ll. roythus of County Carmarthen, Oct. 23rd, 1409 (*ibid.*, 1, 22), Jevan Pethyn ap Jevan ap Leyson of South Wales, July 26th, 1410 (*ibid.*, 2, 5) and Troharyn ap Philip ap Llewellyn, Feb. 9th. 1412 (PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 9). For pardon to King's tenants and residents in domain of Ogmore, dated Feb. 28th, 1410, see PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 4. [4] He left England in 1402, see Vol. I., 154, 275, 484. His Kentish living of Kemsing was filled by the appointment of Rodeland Karbrok on Oct. 26th, 1403.—BERMONDSEY, 483. The advowson was given to the Prior of Bermondsey for life by Guy Mone, in 1397.—HASTED, I., 332. [5] USK, 83. [6] Tam cicius quam potuit recesserit.—PAT., 12 H. IV., 18. [7] Vol. II., p. 413. [8] MONSTR. (I., 256, 259), followed by J. MEYER (230), states that Welsh envoys were in Paris on May 21st, 1408, and that they got 300 men-at-arms and 200 archers under le Borgne de la Heuse, a Norman knight; but this is probably a confusion with 1405; see Vol. II., p. 300, note 2.

soon afterwards (April 10th, 1410),[1] and was buried in the Infirmary Chapel of the Abbey of St. Victor,[2] in Paris.

Owen in the meantime made a feint of negotiating,[3] but his star had nearly set, and if he was not, as the English represented, a starving and deserted fugitive, lurking in herns[4] and halks,[5] and chewing gravel and mud,[6] yet henceforward the insurrection was but a forlorn hope.[7] Tradition said that once, when the English were looking for him, he appeared unarmed with one companion at Orchard, near Cowbridge, and asked in French for a night's lodging. Sir Lawrence Berkrolles[8] gave him shelter for four days; and when the stranger made himself known by a hand-shake at parting, his host was struck dumb for the remainder of his life:—a symbol, not only of the dignity of the fallen hero, but of the generous trust of his fellow-countrymen which refused to betray him even in the depths of his despair. The bards[9] believed that their Mæce-

[1] WILLIS, St. ASAPH, I., 75; T. THOMAS, 156; ROBERT WILLIAMS, 492; LLOYD, I., 203. The inscription on the tomb contains two difficulties. He is called Bishop of Hereford in Wales, and April 10th fell on Thursday (not Friday) in 1410. [2] For its position near the Porte St. Bernard, without the walls, see TRAISON, p. XXIII.; DELISLE, II., 209-224; FRANKLIN, 135-185, who quotes benefactors to the Library from the necrology, without naming Trevor. For his books, see ADD. MS., 25459, f. 291; GOTTLIEB, 175, 460. [3] RYM., VIII., 611. [4] CHAUCER, CHAN. YEM., 16126. Cf. "He most cast his hooke in every herne."—HOCCL., DE REG., 171; P. PLO., III., 249; RICH. REDELES, III., 211. [5] CHAUCER (S.), I., 113 (= coignet); III., 144; FRANKELEINE'S TALE, 11433; SECOND NONNE'S TALE, 15779; POL. SONGS, I., 318; ANGLIA, V., 34; HIGDEN, I., 9, 313. [6] MIR. FOR MAG., 302. [7] Jam raro insurgentium.—PELL ROLLS, 13 H. IV., MICH., in TYLER, I., 243. [8] Or Berclos.—IOLO MSS., 98 (493), from MS. of Mr. Lleision of Prisk, in possession of Evan of the Farm Llanbethian. Berkrolles is said to have been poisoned, in 1411, by his wife Maud, who was buried alive and still haunts the village of St. Athan.—IOLO MSS., 27 (400); APPLEYARD, III., 84. For Sir Lawrence Berkrolles, see Vol. II., p. 305, note 3; CLARK, CARTÆ, IV., 314. [9] IOLO GOCH in GORCHESTION, 81; LLOYD, I., 220; II., 107; with translation in CYMMRODOR., IV., 230. For poems addressed to Hopkyn ap Thomas (Vol. I., p. 347), see O. JONES, I., 321. 328, 335, 336, 340; CLARK, CARTÆ, II., 71; CAMBRO-BRITON, III., 483; R. WILLIAMS, S. V.,

nas[1] must come again. They cried on him to summon aid from Ireland, to raise a fleet in Gower, to light again the flame in Anglesey, to beat down the castles in Melenydd,[2] and with the Pope's blessing lay low the dogs in their London lair. But there was no voice. The Eagle had lost his might, the Bull was shorn of strength, the Tall Man was a mark for Henry's hate, and never raised head again. At the opening of the reign of Henry V. he was still sending envoys to Paris[3] for help; but he was allowed to make his peace[4] with his conqueror and sink obscurely into an unknown grave.[5] Two generations later his

p. 244; APPLEYARD, III., 42. Iolo Goch is called a Bachelor of Laws, Lord of Llechryd (? Llechrydan, at the source of the Morda). He lived at Coed Pantwn in Denbighshire and is supposed to have been over 100 years old.—CAMBRO-BRITON, I., 209; C. ASHTON in CYMMRODORION. For Welsh bards and MSS., see O. JONES, *passim.* For David ap Gwilym (d. 1400, in Anglesey, buried at Ystradflur), see CAMBRO-BRITON, III., 142. For Rhys Goch o Eryri (fl. about 1400, at Hafodgaregog, near Pont-Aberglaslyn, Co. Merioneth), see *ibid.*, I., 209, 210. For Kymorthas or Quyllages (cf. "cuyled pens of pore men," WYCL. (M.), 433. In YEAR BOOK, 11 H. IV., HIL., p. 45 a, collectors of fifteenths are called Quillors; see also LIB. CUST., 227) for their maintenance, see Vol. I., p. 213; ROT. PARL., III., 508; IV., 440; STAT., 4 H. IV., c. 26-34; called "Cymhortha" in EVANS, 90. PENNANT (I., 391) takes Kymhortha to mean gatherings of people; see also DODSLEY, I., 11; J. ROLAND PHILLIPS, CIVIL WAR IN WALES, I., 5.

[1] Bardorum fautor et Mæcenas.—EVANS, 89. For a fanciful panegyric on him as "the heroic and guileless chieftain," "the blameless chief whom white as snow Pure faith accompanied," &c., see ROWLAND WILLIAMS, XVI., 3, 206, 207. [2] *I.e.*, Radnorshire.—Vol. I., p. 344; II., p. 307; DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXXIX., 122. [3] EC. DES CH., XLIX., 420, shows that Griffin (probably Bifort, see Vol. III., p. 140), Bishop of Bangor, and Philip Haunier (*i.e.*, Hanmer) were in Paris from Dec. 3rd, 1414, to Feb. 22nd, 1415. [4] RYM., IX., 283, 330. [5] For the traditional claims of Monnington, Kentchurch and Bangor, see CARTE, II., 670; T. ELLIS, 73; PENNANT, I., 393; W. COXE, 339; T. THOMAS, 169; TYLER, I., 249; APPLEYARD, III., 96; D. WILLIAMS, 229, APP., 114; ROWLAND WILLIAMS, XXVII. He is supposed to have died on Sep. 20th, 1415.—ELMHAM, HIST. MON. S. AUGUST., 257; followed by T. ELLIS, 73; ROBERT WILLIAMS, 172; LLOYD, I., 21; II., 110; WOODWARD, 574; ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., N. S., II., 120; ROWLAND WILLIAMS, 194. But this seems to have no more authority than his supposed birthday on Sep. 20th, 1349 (LLOYD, VI., 1; CAMBRO-BRITON, I., 424, gives 1349 or 1354). He is said to have been born at Tregaron,

name lived on amongst his countrymen [1] as the Chief who made the English fly, who had 40 Dukes for his allies, and supported 62 women pensioners in his old age;—which may perhaps mean that he died at the age of 62.[2]

From this point the documents relating to Wales are mostly records of pardons granted to repentant rebels.[3] A modern writer has calculated [4] that throughout the whole reign no revenue at all was derived from Wales; but the King's manors of Monmouth, Brecon, Ogmore and Kidwelly, which for years had yielded nothing,[5] now begin to be productive again, and in

in Cardiganshire, and from his mother he inherited the manors of Yscoed and Gwynionith.—BRIDGEMAN, 252; called Hiscote and Gugnyoneth in ROT. PARL., IV., 440. Others place his birth at Trefgarn, near Haverfordwest, in Pembrokeshire (T. THOMAS, 48), and his supposed coronation at Machynlleth on Sep. 20th, 1402 (PENNANT, I., 359; MONTGOM. COLL., IV., 327; LLOYD, I., 209; II., 109; ROWLAND WILLIAMS, 44, 195), or the sack of Ruthin on Sep. 20th, 1400 (OWEN AND BLAKEWAY, I., 180; ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., N. S., II., 27; APPLEYARD, III., 59, 96, where the true date should be Jan. 30th, 1402, see Vol. I., p. 249).

[1] COTHI, 400. [2] For his family, see Vol. I., p. 142; Vol. II., pp. 171, note 5, 297, note 9. He signed himself "Yweyn ap Gruffuth, Lord of Glyndwfrdwy."—Vol. I., p. 447. In Iss. ROLL, 9 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 16th, 1407, he is called "Owen Glendowrdi app Griffith app Richard." See also EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., CCII., quoting PELLS, 8 H. IV., 11. In TRAIS., 282, he is represented as claiming to be Prince of Wales, jure progenitorum suorum, his grandfather, Richard, being the son of Madoc Vychan the Cripple, Lord of Bromfield and Yale in Denbighshire (WILLIS, I., 56; II., 29; YORKE, 53, 60), fifth in descent from Griffith Maelor, who was said to be great-grandson of a Prince of Powys.—IOLO GOCH in CAMBRO-BRITON, I., 423. For a pedigree tracing Owen's mother's descent from Griffith ap Res ap Griffith ap Tudor Mawr (or Tewdwr.—YORKE, 80), Prince of South Wales, see BRIDGEMAN, 249. For her supposed descent from Llewellyn ap Jorwerth, see Vol. I., p. 142; BRIDGEMAN, 261. For genealogies showing the blood of three royal tribes centred in Owen, see CAMBRO-BRITON, I., 438; T. THOMAS, 47; D. WILLIAMS, APP., p. 113. In a charter dated June 29th, 1406, he is called Owen ap Griffuth.—MONTGOM. COLL., I., 305. Cf. "Glendortewyth."—MONAST., VI., 354, quoting MS. BRUSE; "Owin Glandurdy."—PAT., 6 H. IV., I., 33; "Owen de Glyndoudoy."—MONTGOM. COLL., IV., 337, 338. Some have identified his father with "Griffin de Glyndorde, taylor," who appears on the burgess-roll of Shrewsbury in 1397.—BRIDGEMAN, 253; OWEN AND BLAKEWAY, I., 179. In MIRROUR FOR MAG., 296, "Glendour" rhymes with "slender." [3] *E.g.*, for Powys, see MONTGOM. COLL., IV., 336-344. [4] RAMSAY, I., 148. [5] Vol. II., p. 308, note 11.

1411 his Receivers forwarded him £1018, which rose to £1317 in the following year.[1]

The work in Wales being practically at an end, a fresh vent was found for the energies of Prince Henry by his appointment as Constable of Dover and Warden of the Cinque Ports (Feb. 28th, 1409),[2] in place of Sir Thomas Erpingham.[3] The Prince was present in the Council which met at Westminster on Aug. 18th, 1409,[4] and we know that he spent the last three months of the year at Berkhampstead, except that he made a short visit to Daventry (Dec. 6th to 10th), travelling by Dunstable (Dec. 3rd), Brickhill (Dec. 4th), and Towcester (Dec. 5th), and returning to Berkhampstead by Stony Stratford (Dec. 11th), and Leighton Buzzard (Dec. 12th).[5]

In the spring of 1409, the Seneschal of Aquitaine, Galhar de Durfort,[6] came to London and spent some time in personal conference with the Council. He represented that the city of Bordeaux was in debt to the extent of 40,000 francs,[7] and although the confiscated property in the city and neighbourhood was being given away to reward the loyal supporters of

[1] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 7, APP. A. On May 20th, 1412, Sir John Tiptot (Vol. II., p. 475) was appointed Steward and Constable of the Castles of Brecknock, Cantresell (DEP. KEEP., 45th REPT., 120), Hay, Grosmont, Skenfrith, and Whitecastle.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 71. [2] PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 3; CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 5; SOLLY-FLOOD, 82; TYLER, I., 252; RYM., VIII., 616, Dec. 12th, 1409. HASTED, IV., 72, wrongly supposes this to be the date of appointment. [3] Iss. ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 15th, 1406; *ibid.*, 10 H. IV., MICH., Dec. 4th, 1408; PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 10, Feb. 22nd, 1408; CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 11; and TRANSCR. FOR. REC. (Lille), 143, 5, 100, June 19th, 1408; RYM., VIII., 542, July 11th, 1408. For account of his receiver (Jan. 11th—Nov. 14th, 1405), see ADD. CHART., 16433. On June 23rd, 1400, he had from the Tower 200 bows, 60 balisters, 200 sheaf of settes, 500 lbs. of gunpowder and 100 lances for Dover Castle.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{24}$. [4] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 320. [5] Q. R. HOUSEHOLD, $\frac{55}{37}$, APP. F. [6] Vol. II., p. 55; JURADE, 148. [7] JURADE, 357, shows £7500 for expenses incurred during the Duke of Orleans' attack.

the English, yet the revenues were getting very "thin and small." The roads were still dangerous.[1] The Count of Armagnac was ravaging the country outside, and had destroyed the castle and county of Ornon.[2] Moreover, a new danger was threatening the city on the east. The castle of Camarsac,[3] near Créon, which had with great difficulty been captured by the English, had lain in ruins for the last 30 years.[4] It had dominated the Twixt-Seas,[5] *i.e.*, the tongue of land between the Garonne and the Dordogne, the rights over which had been purchased by the city of Bordeaux as far back as 1355. The ruins had just been bought[6] by two brothers, Monot and Ramon-Bernard de Cantalop, who proposed to rebuild the castle. The Jurade of Bordeaux protested vigorously that the new work would be a standing menace to their city, and threatened to lay siege to it and knock it down. The brothers Cantalop appealed[7] to the King through the Earl of Somerset, but after "great altercation"[8] the Jurade carried the day; and on Nov. 30th, 1409,[9] an order was issued from Westminster requiring that the works should be demolished forthwith.

We have already seen that Sir Thomas Swinburn sailed with a large English force to Bordeaux in the summer of 1409,[10] and immediate steps were taken to quell the spirit of insubordination. All persons whose fidelity to the English connection was suspected, including a large number of monks and priests, were expelled from the city, and the chief officers were summoned to meet in the Cathedral on Sep. 1st, 1409,[11] and

[1] RYM., VIII., 578, 583. [2] LURBE, 33. [3] ROT. VASC., 10 H. IV., 7, Mar. 1st, 1409; not Canarsac, as BRISSAUD, 200. For account of it see DROUYN, II., 306-310. [4] JURADE, 308, 417. [5] Vol. II., p. 284, note 6; BOUILLONS, 405, 406, 408; JURADE, 299. [6] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 112, where the building is called a hostel. [7] Not 1410, as VESP. F., XIII., 31; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 111. [8] Gran altercacion.—JURADE, 305, 308, 313, 417-419. [9] RYM., VIII., 610. [10] Vol. III., p. 98. [11] LURBE, 33.

take an oath of allegiance to the English King at the hands of the Archbishop of Bordeaux, who had just returned from attending the Council at Pisa. On Aug. 28th, 1409,[1] an order was issued summoning Sir William Farington,[2] the Constable of the Castle of Bordeaux, to appear before the Barons of the Exchequer at Westminster by Midsummer Day, 1410, in reference to the revenues that had passed through his hands since his appointment more than three years before.[3] His accounts and those of his lieutenant, John Mitford,[4] had been audited in the previous year by Master John Bordell[5] or Burdili, and he was now told that the charges against him would be explained when he arrived in England. His recall, however, can have had no appearance of official censure, for on the day before the summons was issued a patent[6] was drawn up appointing him Constable of England *pro tem.*, with William Lisle as temporary Marshal, during the absence of the King's son, John, and the Earl of Westmoreland "in distant parts."[7] The only further trace of the transaction

[1] RYM., VIII., 598; ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 319. [2] He was a Lancashire man (BAINES, II., 136), and had before been Lieutenant of Calais (ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 83, 102, 103), and Captain of Fronsac (ISS. ROLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH., Aug. 14th, 1406), but he was relieved of this command in 1409 (CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 6, 7). [3] ROT. VASC., 7 H. IV., 5, shows that he was Constable in 1406; see also RYM., VIII., 440; PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 2 (Aug. 13th, 1408); RYM., VIII., 596 (Aug. 24th, 1409); Vol. III., p. 98. [4] JURADE, 137. For several writs referring to his accounts in 10, 11 H. IV. (1408-9), see Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{5}^{7}$. He was at Bordeaux as Receiver of the King's revenues and Lieutenant for the Constable on Aug. 6th, 1409. [5] Called Lieutenant of the Constable of Bordeaux in ROT. VASC., 9 H. IV., 14; or Burdili in RYM., VIII., 596; FR. ROLL, 11 H. IV., 13; Bordili, RYM., IX., 113, 148; Bordin, ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 319; DEP. KEEP., 45th REPT., 316; RYM., VIII., 650; IX., 146, 152; not "Bordun," as SOLLY-FLOOD, 67. He is supposed to be the chaplain who wrote GESTA HENRICI QUINTI (Edn. Williams, p. VII.). [6] PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 5 d, Aug. 27th, 1409. In PAT., 12 H., IV., 3, 12 (1411), Sir Ralph Ewere is Lieutenant of the Constable of England. [7] *I.e.*, probably on the March of Scotland, see p. 281.

appears in an order for the arrest of Mitford, dated July 24th, 1410,[1] but we know that Farington himself returned to Bordeaux as Constable in Aug., 1412.[2] In the meantime, arrangements were made to levy an extraordinary tax of one shilling in the £ on French goods entering Bordeaux, and sixpence on those of other foreigners, for carrying out the necessary repairs of the fortifications. The Seneschal remained in England till Jan., 1410,[3] when he set sail for Bordeaux in the *St. Mary* of Bayonne; but though £566 13s. 4d.[4] was paid to him from the English Exchequer to help his expenses while waiting the decision of the Council as to their future policy for Guienne, yet he had to borrow 700 gold florins[5] in London before he could get clear off, and on his way back he was captured, together with 400 men, by some Harfleur privateers.[6] In the following year (1411), Aquitaine was scourged with the flux.[7] 4000 persons died of it in Bordeaux, and the grapes could not be harvested for want of vintagers and treaders. In May[8] of this year (1411) the Castle of Tiset was attacked by the Duke of Burgundy and surrendered without striking a blow. The English made no effort to relieve it, and all Poitou and Limousin were reduced to the French obedience. On Oct. 26th, 1411,[9] a safe conduct was

[1] Fr. Roll, 11 H. IV., 15; cf. Rym., viii., 597. [2] Rot. Vasc., 13 H. IV., 3 (Aug. 15th, 1412); cf. *ibid.*, 14 H. IV., 1, Jan. 29th, 1413. On Aug. 2nd, 1412, he was appointed to examine Richard Thorley, Treasurer of Calais.—Priv. Seal, 656/7303. [3] Rot. Viag., 2 (Jan. 5th, 1410). [4] Iss. Roll, 10 H. IV., Pasch., July 16th, 1409, has £66 13s. 4d. paid to him for staying in England; *ibid.*, 11 H. IV., Mich., Nov. 26th, 1409, has £500 to help his expenses in England. [5] Pat., 10 H. IV., 2, 10. [6] St. Denys, iv., 312. [7] Dissenteria.—Ott., 268; Wals., ii., 285; Lurbe, 34. For "flix," see Holins., ii., 537; "flux du ventre," Deschamps, iv., 307; cf. Vol. II., p. 456, note 8. [8] Lannoy, 10. He was present at the capture, which he dates in 1409, but he gives it as the year after the capture of Anteguera, which fell in 1410.—Mariana, i., 347; Cabaret, 312. There is, however, no mention of Tiset in Itin., 379. [9] Priv. Seal, 7019. For payment to him of 100 mks. p. a., see Iss. Roll., 13 H. IV., Mich., Nov. 28th, 1411, Jan. 22nd, 1412.

issued for Pontius, Lord of Castelhon, who was deputed to visit England as an envoy on behalf of the Three Estates of Guienne, though the exact purport of his mission is not known.

The Council still kept up negotiations with Scotland, in spite of the arrival of news of the destruction of Jedburgh by the Scots. The castle and forest of Jedworth had been made over to the English by Edward Baliol in 1334,[1] and had been granted to the Percies[2] by Edward III. On the confiscation of the lands of the Earl of Northumberland, Jedburgh and Fastcastle fell to the share of the Lord John,[3] who was formally appointed Constable of Jedburgh Castle on Jan. 28th, 1408,[4] receiving at the same time a grant of Jedburgh Forest with the towns of Bonjedward and Hassendean in Teviotdale. But Jedburgh was neglected, and the pay of the troops was all in arrear. The Lord John had tried to keep them together at his own cost; his plate and his "poor jewels"[5] were all pledged, and he wrote imploring letters to the Council, but got neither remedy nor reply.[6] The place was completely isolated, the walls were watched by the enemy night and day, and any stragglers who ventured out were pounced upon and despatched. In the summer of 1409, the captain, Robert Hoppen,[7] fled to Berwick "to beg for wages,"

[1] RYM., IV., 615, 619; not 1346, as RAMSAY, I., 122. [2] RYM., VIII., 364; CAL. ROT. PAT., 242 b; ROT. SCOT., II., 172. [3] VESP. F., VII., 110. [4] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 16; CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 27, where it is said that he had guarded the district at his own cost since the forfeiture. On this ground I should place VESP. F., VII., 110 (dated Warkworth, Nov. 26th, s. a.), in the year 1408, but see Vol. II., p. 277, note 1. [5] Vol., II., p. 276, note 3. [6] Sans nulle manere respouns ne remede.—VESP. F., VII., 110, 111. [7] Hopeñ.—ROT. VIAG., 3 (Dec. 8th, 1409), where the castle is referred to as *lately* lost and overthrown by the Scots. This is the earliest dated document that I have found relating to the capture. Hoppen was the owner of Hoppen Tower, near Bamborough, see BATES, 16; HODGSON, III., 1, 28.

and the castle fell an easy prey to the Scots. Following a precedent [1] often set before in similar cases, the men of Teviotdale [2] determined to demolish the fortress, and so prevent the foreign birds from nesting again in their midst. But the lime had set hard,[3] and the walls would not break up. So they made application to the Council at Perth for power to levy a tax of twopence on every hearth,[4] to pay for the demolition. This was refused, but a grant of £40 [5] was made to them for the work from the customs of Edinburgh instead, and James Douglas was at hand with a strong force to protect them as they dismantled stone from stone in instant dread of attack. None came, however, though an English garrison under Sir John Nevil [6] was within easy hail at Roxburgh.

Fastcastle was under the command of Thomas Holden,[7] who, being in touch with the sea, was able not only to keep his garrison better supplied with provisions, but even to deal stout blows at the Scottish bands that infested his walls. In the autumn of 1409 they made their supreme effort to bring him to book. They watched him closely on the land side, while the Earl of Mar,[8] who had secured substantial help in money from the King of France, lay off the coast between

[1] SCOTICHRON., II., 324; WYNT., II., 454, 456; ST. DENYS, III., 208, 414, 422. [2] Per mediocres Thevidaliæ.—SCOTICHRON., II., 444. [3] That biggit wes right stark with stane and lyme.—BUIK, III., 494; BOECE, 341; BELLENDEN, 256; cf. WYCL. (A), II., 209; CHAUC. (S.), III., 112. [4] *I.e.*, probably in the neighbourhood; not "on every hearth in the kingdom," as TYLER, III., 167. [5] EXCHEQ. ROLLS, SCOT., IV., 115, 117. [6] Vol. II., p. 224, note 3; ORD. PRIV. CO. II., 15; Iss. ROLL, 11 H. IV., PASCH. (May 2nd, 1410); *ibid.*, 12 H. IV., PASCH., July 13th, 1411, has payment to him of £333 6s. 8d. For his acct., showing receipt of £2500, from Nov. 12th, 1408, to Aug. 1st, 1411, see Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{1}$; FOR. ACCTS., 13 H. IV. The inventory includes one iron gun, three copper guns, and a watchwell valued at £40. His lieutenant was Richard Berehalgh. [7] SCOTICHRON., II., 444; BOECE, 342. [8] Vol. II., p. 276, where the date should probably be 1409; see Vol. III., p. 182.

Berwick and Newcastle to stop his supplies by sea. On March 14th, 1410,[1] orders were issued to have the forces of the Northern Counties in readiness; but all to no purpose, and after a prolonged siege [2] the place was finally captured in 1410, by Patrick Dunbar, fourth son [3] of the Scottish Earl of March.

The Earl of Mar and his comrade, Robert Davison, still roved the sea, plundering the Hanse and Flemish shipping [4] at their will, and finding a ready market for their booty in the French ports.[5] The Hansers threatened to buy no cloth made from Scottish wool,[6] and the Scotch replied with an order [7]

[1] PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 24 d. [2] Continuel agaite.—VESP., F., VII., 110. [3] Not the eldest son (*i.e.*, George), as PLUSCARD., I., 349. For safe-conduct for George and Patrick Dunbar, dated Oct. 13th, 1411, see ROT. SCOT., II., 199; cf. RAINE, N. DURHAM, APP., CXLIII. For Patrick Dunbar (not Paton, as Vol. I., p. 136), see DOUGLAS, PEERAGE, 441; SCOTICHRON., II., 444; ISS. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., June 1st, 1407. [4] On June 29th, 1410, the Copman at Bruges reports that sea-rovers from Scotland, Holland, Zealand, France and Calais, lie off the Zwyn (Vol. I., p. 443; Vol. II., p. 102) from day to day and have robbed many vessels of the Hansers, and that the Scots have captured a hulk carrying cloth from Flanders to Revel.—HR., V., 561; see also HIRSCH, DANZIG, 117. At a recess of the Hanse towns, held at Wismar, Nov. 1st, 1411, Davison and the Earl are charged with plundering from the Copman of Bruges.—HR., VI., 36. For a Scottish vessel freighted in Flanders, driven into Warkworth, and plundered by the Earl of Mar, see PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 4 d, Feb. 28th, 1410. [5] For complaint (Apr. 20th, 1410) by representatives of Hamburg to Charles VI., that the Earl and Robt. Davison have seized a Prussian crayer off the coast of Flanders, and sold the cargo at Harfleur, see HR., V., 551. On Dec. 1st, 1410, the baillies and consuls of Aberdeen write to Danzig that the Earl and Davison have represented at the Gildhall (rathhaus), that Davison and 160 of his men, with a barge and balinger, had been seized in the Seine by the Hansers, who demanded 10,000 crowns for their ransom from the Parliament in Paris, and that it had cost Davison 2000 crowns to defend himself. They asserted that it was really the Holland and Zealand fishermen that had robbed the Hansers, and they asked the authorities of Aberdeen to press the case for them, as their own seals were not so well known.—*Ibid.*, V., 552. [6] See meeting at Lüneburg, Apr. 30th, 1412.—*Ibid.*, VI., 49. For fabrics made of Scottish wool at Poperinghe and Bailleul, see POL. SONGS, II., 168; HR., VI., 79 (Bruges, July 14th, 1412). In the Temptation in COV. MYST., 210, the Devil points to "Pounteys and Poperynge and also Picardie." [7] Dated Aug. 13th, 1412.—HR., VI., 80.

excluding the Hansers from Scottish ports after Christmas, 1412. But trade interests were too strong, and both threats were really disregarded.[1]

At Berwick, meanwhile, the walls were still in ruins. Victuals were dear, distress abounded, the adjacent lands were flooded, and the place was only saved from capture by the rising of the Tweed.[2] Prince John remained out of harm's way at Warkworth,[3] writing letters at a safe distance, and messengers [4] were despatched post-haste from London to his lieutenant and the forlorn garrison, urging them to hold out a little longer and their wages would certainly be paid. The Council were apparently as good as their word, and between Nov., 1410, and May, 1411, the rolls record payments to the Berwick garrison, amounting to £3679 11s. 4d.[5]

Nevertheless, negotiations for a peace were still kept up. The Duke of Albany, although he "held him coy" [6] as to paying a ransom of 50,000 marks for the release of his son, was ready to suggest a marriage between one of his daughters and the King's son John,[7] and representatives [8] were on their way to the border to discuss this among other matters in a friendly spirit. April 21st, 1410,[9] was appointed for the

[1] HR., VI., 100, Feb. 6th, 1413.. [2] "Lesquelles seulement estaient lessez par cause de grant crecyne de ewe."—VESP. F., VII. [3] Vol. II., p. 276. [4] Iss. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 27th, 1410, has payment to messengers. [5] Iss. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH. and PASCH., Nov. 15th and 21st, 1410 (= £1000 + £333 6s. 8d. + £42 arrears since Easter, 1410), also £1333 6s. 8d. (Mar. 23rd, 1411) and £970 18s. (May 21st, 1411). [6] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 325; MENTEITH, I., 212. Cf. "He kepte him coy."—CHAUC. (S.), I., 205; "still and coy."—CHAUC., CLERK, 7878; "Tenez vous coy."—DESCHAMPS, VIII., 184. [7] Vol. II., p. 399. [8] RYM., VIII., 609; ROT. SCOT., II., 192, 193; ROT. PARL., III., 622, 630. Iss. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 3rd, and Mar. 1st, 1410, has payment to Sir Richard Redman (£23) for journey to Scotland; also £100, Apr. 2nd, 1410. [9] ROT. SCOT., II., 194; RYM., VIII., 635. For order for horses for Sir Henry Fitzhugh going to Scotland to negotiate, see PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 25 (April 9th, 1410).

meeting at Haudenstank. On May 6th, 1410,[1] the Duke of Albany wrote a kind letter from Falkland to King Henry at Westminster. A further meeting took place on the border on June 17th, 1410,[2] and though there were still apprehensions[3] that the Scots were preparing to invade, yet a truce appears to have been arranged to last till Nov. 1st, 1410. Early in 1411,[4] Sir Robert Umfraville, as Lieutenant[5] for the Admiral in the North, put to sea with two ships, two barges, and four balingers.[6] He had on board 106 men-at-arms and 212 archers, and besides these the crews amounted to 288 men. The Council had promised £400 to pay their wages for two months and seven days. The flotilla sailed up the Forth for 14 days, and watched the coast from Blackness to Musselburgh.[7] Here they captured 13 vessels with their crews, and brought back such a glut of wheat, rye, cloth, tar, wool, wax, wine, and spicery, that the needy North had reason long to remember the pluck of Robin Mend-Market.[8] Returning to Northumberland he then "forayed full sore with many a manly man" about Kailwater and Rulewater and Jedworth Forest, and was rewarded by being made Constable of Roxburgh Castle, in place of Sir John Nevil, for six years from Lammas, 1411.[9] But all his vigour

[1] KAL. AND INV., II., 80. [2] ROT. SCOT., II., 194. [3] RYM., VIII., 639, July 5th, 1410. For letter from King Henry to the Duke of Albany complaining that Scottish armed ships had seized fishermen from the hundred of W. in "N." (possibly Walsham in Norfolk), in spite of the truce, see ADD. MS., 24062, f. 157. [4] For payment to messengers to take muster of men-at-arms and archers going with Sir Robert Umfraville *super mare boreale*, see Iss. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH., Dec. 9th, 1410. [5] PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 8 d; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 16, shows 1000 marks paid to him for this voyage, allotted Nov. 26th, 1410; Iss. ROLL, *ut sup.* [6] Iss. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 23rd, 1412, refers to the agreement; not "10 sayles," as HARDYNG, 365; NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 398. For balinger (= small war vessel), see A. S. GREEN, I., 85. [7] This I take to be the meaning of "Moushole (or Mousehole) on our side," in HARD., 365. [8] HALLE, 26; GRAFTON, 431; HOLINS., II., 537; STOW, CHRON., 338. [9] Vol. III., p. 277; ROT. SCOT., II., 197; PRIV. SEAL, 652/6949, July 11th, 1411;

could not unmake the past, and Jedburgh and Fastcastle were lost to England for ever, though the easy acquiescence of the Council seems to show that other schemes were brewing which would make it advisable to keep in with Scotland while English energies were given vent elsewhere. On April 4th, 1411,[1] Lord John and the Earl of Westmoreland were authorized to arrange a further truce for two years. On May 23rd,[2] a Commission consisting of the Earls of Warwick and Westmoreland,[3] Bishops Langley and Bubwith, and others was appointed to meet the Earls of Douglas and March[4] at Haudenstank. Negotiations were continued[5] in the succeeding autumn, with the result that a long truce was concluded, to last till Easter, 1418.[6]

CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 7 (July 12th, 1411); ISS. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH. (Dec. 16th, 1411), has £333 6s. 8d. paid to him for wages for half-year from Michaelmas, 1411, to Easter, 1412. On Aug. 2nd, 1411, his deputy was William Galen or Galon. In ISS. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 25th, 1412, Umfraville receives £100 for repair of Roxburgh Castle.

[1] RYM., VIII., 678; ROT. SCOT., II., 195; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 13. [2] RYM., VIII., 686, 703; ROT. SCOT., II., 196, 197; PRIV. SEAL, 951/6890. [3] For indenture dated Jan. 25th, 1411, between the King and the Earl of Westmoreland as to service on the West March of Scotland, see Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{57}{5}$. [4] Vol. II., p. 401. [5] RYM., VIII., 704; ROT. SCOT., II., 199; KAL. AND INV., II., 82. For payment to messengers to Lord John and other commissioners as to form of treaty with Scotland, see ISS. ROLL, 12 H. IV., PASCH., July 23rd, 1411. [6] Vol. II., p. 393; RYM., VIII., 737.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

OLDCASTLE'S PARLIAMENT.

THE large grants made at Gloucester[1] would run out by Michaelmas, 1410, and it became necessary again to call a Parliament. In the spring of 1409[2] it had been a matter of common speculation that the Houses would meet in the following September; but it was not till Oct. 26th that writs were made out summoning them to meet at Bristol[3] on Jan. 27th, 1410. The King's health was sufficiently restored to allow of his moving frequently from place to place. Official documents are dated at Windsor[4] on Oct. 3rd, 4th, and 5th, 1409, and we know that on Oct. 4th he was present with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Arundel in the Bishop of Ely's hostel at Holborn.[5] On Nov. 14th,[6] he was at St. Alban's Abbey. On Nov. 20th,[7] he arrived with his son Humphrey, Lord Beaumont, and the Duke of York at Berkhampstead, where the whole party were entertained at supper by the Prince of Wales.[8] He was at Stony Stratford on Nov.

[1] Vol. III., p. 120. [2] VEN. STATE PP., I., 49. A later despatch (dated Oct. 9th, 1409) refers to the meeting as expected for Christmas, 1409.—*Ibid.*, 50. [3] REPT. DIGN. PEER, III., 804; DEVON, 314. [4] PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 16, 31, 32, 33; FR. ROLL, 11 H. IV., 42; PRIV. SEAL, 654/6273. [5] CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 29; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{45}{15}$, APP. B. [6] VESP. F., VII., 61, where date should be 1409; see also MENTEITH, I., 216; PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 3 (Nov. 14th and 16th, 1409), though in PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 11, 13, there are documents dated at Northampton, Nov. 16th, 1409. [7] Q. R. HOUSEHOLD, $\frac{25}{37}$, APP. F. [8] Vol. III., p. 272.

23rd,[1] and on the same day he reached Northampton, where documents are dated Nov. 23rd, 24th, and 25th.[2] He was at Leicester on Dec. 4th,[3] and at Northampton again on Dec. 15th. On Nov. 21st [4] the Council met at Westminster; on Dec. 2nd [5] orders were issued to forward all necessary rolls, letters, and records to Bristol, and preparations were made for the Court to spend Christmas at Worcester,[6] in readiness for the approaching meeting of the Parliament.

It may be that Bristol, like Gloucester, had been selected for the meeting in order to be out of the range of any awkward pressure that might have been exerted in the capital. But Bristol was obviously unsuitable for a session in the depth of winter; and, indeed, when preparations for victualling the expected inthrong of visitors began, the supplies of fish, flesh, and corn were stopped and plundered in the Forest of Dean.[7] Accordingly, fresh writs were issued on Dec. 18th, 1409,[8] altering the place of meeting to Westminster, the Convocation of Canterbury being summoned to meet in St. Paul's before Feb. 15th, 1410.[9]

Before the Parliament met, Archbishop Arundel had ceased to be Chancellor. On Dec. 21st, 1409,[10] he delivered up the great gold [11] seal into the King's hands in the Palace at Westminster. The King kept it in his own possession at

[1] PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 14, 23. [2] RYM., VIII., 611; PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 12, 15; CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 29; ROT. VASC., 11 H. IV., 18. [3] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 40. [4] RYM., VIII., 610. [5] PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 23 d. [6] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{45}{14}$, APP. B; L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12, 4, APP. C. [7] PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 14 d, Nov. 22nd, 1409. [8] REPT. DIGN. PEER, III., 807; COTTON, 469. For payment to messengers, see Iss. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH. (Mar. 20th, 1410), and *ibid.*, PASCH. (July 17th, 1410). [9] See writs dated at Eltham, Jan. 3rd, 1410, in REPT. DIGN. PEER, III., 807. For meetings from Feb. 17th, 1410, onwards, see CONC., III., 324; WAKE, 348. [10] RYM., VIII., 616; CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 8. For documents dated from Dec. 23rd, 1409, onward, with Keeper of the Great Seal as pro-chancellor, see PRIV. SEAL, 646/6379-6408. [11] FOSS, IV., 130.

Eltham[1] till Jan. 19th, 1410, giving oral directions in person[2] for the sealing of official documents. It may be that reviving health made him take this somewhat unusual course,[3] or possibly some difficulties had arisen with the Archbishop. On Dec. 11th, 1409, Sir John Tiptot was relieved[4] of his office as Treasurer of England. He was succeeded on Jan. 6th, 1410, by Henry, Lord Scrope of Masham,[5] nephew to the late Archbishop of York.

The royal Christmas was spent at Eltham,[6] and it seemed likely that, when the Parliament met, the country would be at peace with all its neighbours. The Welsh were crushed and the Scots were negotiating for terms; trade was at last in a more settled groove; the arrangement with the Duke

[1] For documents dated at Eltham, Dec. 26th, 28th, 29th, 30th (1409), and Jan. 1st, 3rd, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th 12th, 13th (1410), see PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 11, 13; ROT. VIAG., 1, 2, 3; DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 42′; PRIV. SEAL, 646/6394. The Hanse envoys had an interview with the King at Eltham on Jan. 2nd, 1410 (HR., V., 492), and TRANSCR. FOR. REC. (Lille), 143, 5, 102, shows that he was at Eltham on Jan. 5th, 1410. [2] For documents dated Jan. 8th, 21st, 24th, 25th, 26th (1410), endorsed "istæ literæ fuerunt de mandato ipsius dñi regis *vivâ voce*," see PRIV. SEAL, 646/6387, 6403-4-6-9. [3] HARDY (47) notes that this is the only recorded occasion on which he did such a thing. [4] Exoneratus. —ISS. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., Dec., 4th, 1409. See p. 129. [5] ROT. VIAG., 11 H. IV., 2; not Richard, as OTT., 267. His account begins Jan. 24th, 1410.—REC. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH. In ISS. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., his first entry is Feb. 3rd, 1410, see ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 331 (Feb. 8th, 1410); WALS., II., 282; DUGD., CHRON. SER., 36. In REC. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 22nd, 1409, Sir Thomas Brownflete is Treasurer of the King's Household (see Vol. II., p. 475, note 13). So also ISS. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 13th, 1411; REC. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 17th, 1411, March 14th, 1412. Called *William* Brownflete (*sic*) in ISS. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 3rd, 1409. In Sep., 1410, Scrope married as his second wife Joan Holand, who had been wife (1) of Edmund, Duke of York (d. Aug. 1st, 1402):—(2) of Sir William Willoughby, Lord of Eresby (d. Dec. 4th, 1409). She was a sister of the late Earl of Kent.—DUGD., I., 659; II., 84; ISS. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 13th, 1411; CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 33, 34; ISS. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., Dec. 10th, 1412; SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 140. The marriage took place in the chapel at Faxfleet.—TEST. EBOR., III., 320. [6] REPT. DIGN. PEER, III., 807.

of Burgundy and the Flemish towns[1] had still more than a year to run and was being carried out with fair strictness on both sides;[2] messengers from Ghent[3] and the trading towns of Flanders were about to cross to London for friendly conference as to the future, and there was every prospect that the treaty would be renewed. There was truce with Brittany;[4] Guienne was peaceful, and envoys from Bordeaux were ready at Bayonne,[5] prepared to meet the representatives of the Infanta Ferdinand, Regent of Castile for his little nephew, John II. His ambassadors had started from Valladolid, and were waiting at Fuenterrabia with credentials ready signed for extending the annual truce which would expire on Feb. 8th, 1410. By this means the truce was continued[6] for another year, and subsequent meetings were held to arrange for its further renewal till Feb. 8th, 1413,[7] and, as that date drew near, further friendly negotiations[8] were to be maintained at Bayonne. In June, 1411,[9] King Henry sent his great gun to Spain; in

[1] Vol. II., p. 108. [2] RYM., VIII., 614. [3] VARENBERGH, 500; RYM., VIII., 625. [4] Vol. III., p. 105. [5] RYM., VIII., 593, 617; ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 319. For messengers from the Queen of Castile, June 17th, 1409, and merchandise arriving from Bilbao, see FR. ROLL, 10 H. IV., 5. [6] RYM., VIII., 625, 640; ISS. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 3rd, 1410, shows that Sir Thomas Swinburn, Mayor of Bordeaux, gave letters to Richard Lethe, servant to John Cokking of Bristol, to carry to the King, referring to truce with King of Spain. For payment to messengers for proclaiming truce, see *ibid.*, Mar. 1st, 1410; *ibid.*, 13 H. IV., MICH. (Feb. 19th, 1412). [7] FR. ROLL, 11 H. IV., 13 (Apr. 27th, 1410), has appointment of the Bishop of Bayonne, Bertrand de Montferrand, Sir Thomas Swinburn, and Dr. John Burdili (p. 274, note 5) to treat with Castile and Leon; see RYM., VIII., 657, 703, 705, 707, 772; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 25. For safe-conducts both on the English and Castilian side, see PRIV. SEAL, 648/6588, 6593 (May 27th, and June 3rd, 1410). The Castilian envoys were Gomez Garcia de Hoyos chlr., Diego Garcia de St. Romain licenciez es loys, and Peter de Hoses esquire. ISS. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH. (Dec. 9th, 1410), has £26 13s. 4d. paid to John Sturminster sent to Castile. PRIV. SEAL, 654/7113, 656/7361 (Jan. 20th, 1412), states that truce with Castile will soon expire, and that the King has sent envoys for its extension. [8] RYM., VIII., 771, Nov. 13th, 1412. [9] RYM., VIII., 694; PRIV. SEAL, 652/6927 (June 25th, 1411), grants permission to John Ffer-

September of the same year he was treating for the purchase of a Spanish vessel then lying at St. Sebastian upon which he had set his heart;[1] and on Nov. 25th,[2] he forwarded two pieces of Rheims linen, two marts (*mercatus*) of gold-leaf, and 12 ells of scarlet cloth to his sister, Queen Catherine, by her squire, John di Samorra.

Moreover, an arrangement had just been completed in London whereby the long-standing grievances of the Hansers promised at length to be finally removed; but the consideration of this is reserved for a subsequent chapter.

Death had been busy amongst the great lords and barons since last the Houses met. The Earl of Northumberland had passed away, and his grandson and heir was a prisoner in Scotland. The Earl of Somerset was dying in the Hospital of St. Catherine-by-the-Tower. The Earl of Kent had been killed at Bréhat,[3] and had left no son. His place in Parliament was taken by Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury,[4] who was now

kin to ship for his own profit two small cannons that he had made in England, "en la nief d'Espaigne en la quele nre grande cañon sera envoiée a les parties d'espaigne."

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 25. [2] CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 32. [3] Vol. III., p. 104. [4] DUGDALE, I., 651; HUTCHINS, III., 413. His father's manors were granted to him Dec. 10th, 1404.—PAT., 6 H. IV., I., 20. Some of them, viz., Mold [called Montault, De Monte Alto.—DEP. KEEP., 36th REPT., 347, 349; or Mohaute or Moeaut.—AD QUOD DAMN., 344; PELLS, 6 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 18th, 1405 (not Mohant, as DOYLE, I., 397)], Hawarden (DEP. KEEP., 36th REPT., 350), Bosley and Neston (PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 18) had been granted April 16th, 1401, to Elizabeth, widow of his great uncle, William Montague, Earl of Salisbury (d. 1397).—ADD. CH., 662. She died Jan. 14th, 1415, and was buried at Bustlesham Montague, *i.e.*, Bisham, near Marlow, by the side of her husband. For her will dated Dongate, Nov. 24th, 1414, see TEST. VET., I., 183; DUGD., I., 649. The young Earl's mother, Maud, widow (first) of John Aubrey of London, and (second) of Sir Alan Buxhull (DUGD., I., 650; HUTCHINS, III., 4), was the daughter of Sir Adam Francis, mercer, who was Mayor of London in 1353-4 (Vol. I., p. 177; HERBERT, I., 249; PRICE, 112, 116, 264; SHARPE, I., 673; II., 40, 63; ARCHÆOLOGIA, L., 505; LOND. AND MIDDLX. ARCH. SOC., IV., 139). For his will dated London, Aug. 26th, 1374, see SHARPE, II., 171.

22 years of age, and had married Eleanor Holland,[1] sister to Edmund Earl of Kent, who had just died, and to the former Earl (Thomas) of Kent, who had suffered with his father on the block at Cirencester.[2] He now succeeded to the title of Earl of Salisbury, and seemed to be shaping for a steady fighting[3] English nobleman, without any touch of his father's distinction, whether as Lollard,[4] poet,[5] or rebel. Sir John Tuchet, Lord of Audley, in North Staffordshire, had died on December 19th, 1408,[6] leaving a son James only 10 years of age; and on May 8th, 1409,[7] Sir Bartholomew Bourchier died at Stanstead in

[1] For grants to him and his wife Alianore, Countess of Sarum, see PAT., 7 H. IV., I., 24, 32, Jan. 7th, 1406; KAL. AND INV., II., 74. In PAT., 14 H. IV., 30, Oct. 12th, 1412, she is called sister to Edmund, late Earl of Kent. In ROY. LET., Box 15, Pub. Rec. Office, is a letter from Thomas, Earl of Salisbury, dated at Shenley (near Barnet.—CUSSANS, III., 309), Nov. 24th, s.a., to his "dear friend John Wakering, Keeper of the Rolls," referring to Alianore his wife, and to letters belonging to his "very dear brother Esmond, formerly Earl of Kent, lately dead." [2] Vol. I., p. 99; Vol. II., p. 39. The Earl of Salisbury's body was removed from Cirencester in 1416, and buried at Bisham.—TEST. EBOR., II., 240; HUTCHINS, III., 5; DUGD., I., 650. For his portrait, see ANTIQ. REPERT., I., 78; DOYLE, III., 240, from HARL. MS., 1319. The combat that should have taken place between him and Thomas, Lord Morley, at Newcastle (Vol. I., p. 75), did not come about (DEVON, 275; USK, 44). But RAMSAY (I., 12, 19) is wrong in supposing that "the Earl of Salisbury was let off scot free" and "suffered nothing at all." [3] "Le plus subtil expert et eureux en armes de tous les autres princes et capitaines du royaume d'Angleterre."—MONSTR., IV., 300. "Of Salusbury the manly Montagw."—LYDGATE, 126; MIR. FOR MAG., 312. For portrait of him, see DOYLE, III., 241, from HARL. MS., 4826. His will dated 1427 is at Lambeth.--GENEAL., VI., 130. He had one brother, Richard, and three sisters (viz., Elizabeth, Margaret and Ann).—STAFF. REG., 147, 259. [4] Vol. I., p. 99; ANN., 174; WALS., II., 159. [5] Vol. I., p. 100; LYDGATE (TEMPLE OF GLAS., CV.) undertook the translation of the First Pilgrimage for him in 1426. [6] DUGD., II., 28; INQ. P. MORT., III., 323. He was in the Prince's muster at Shrewsbury at the head of 20 squires and 10 archers.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{2}{3}\frac{5}{6}$, APP. F. From Oct. 24th, 1403, to Feb. 19th, 1404, he was Keeper of Brecknock Castle, together with the Earl of Warwick.—PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 31, Oct. 14th, 1404. [7] WEEVER, 619, from his monument in Halstead church. In DUGD., II., 128; MORANT, II., 252; and CHESTER-WATERS, EARLS OF EU, p. 47, the date is May 18th. The name is spelt "Burser" in DERBY ACCTS., 39, 105, 302. For chantry founded May 2nd, 1412, in Halstead church

Essex, leaving no son to follow him. Between the issue of the first and second writs, viz., on Wednesday, December 4th, 1409,[1] Sir William Willoughby, Lord of Eresby, in Lincolnshire, died at his manor of Edgefield near Holt, in Norfolk, at the age of 37. His son Robert, who was already 24 years old,[2] succeeded him, but no writ[3] was yet issued to him summoning him to attend in Parliament. Two names of the highest interest now first appear on the list of barons. One is John Talbot, Lord of Furnival,[4] and the other Sir John Oldcastle, who was summoned by virtue of his recent marriage with Joan, grand-daughter and heiress of John, Lord of Cobham.

A month after the last Parliament had been dismissed at Gloucester, Lord Cobham had died at a great age.[5] He had been a friend of Wickham[6] and Gower,[7] and, jointly with Sir Robert Knolles,[8] had built the stone bridge[9] over the Medway between Rochester and Strood, with the All-Soulen Chapel[10] at the bridge-foot[11] where three priests were to sing mass every day at 5, 8, and 11 o'clock, for the benefit of the throng

for his soul and those of his wives Margaret and Idonea, see Vol. II., p. 119. The college or chantry house for a master and five priests is still standing.—MORANT, II., 260.

[1] DUGD., II., 84; INQ. P. MORT., III., 329; BLOMEFIELD, V., 915. In CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 20, March 7th, 1410, he is referred to as dead. In *ibid.*, 23, Feb. 7th, 1410, his widow is called Joan, Duchess of York. [2] DUGD., II., 84. [3] REPT. DIGN. PEER, III., 808; COTTON, 469. [4] DOYLE, III., 309; Vol. III., p. III. [5] HYPODIG., 379. [6] ARCHÆOL. CANT., I., 69; HIST. MSS., 2nd REPT., 133. [7] ARCHÆOL. CANT., IV., 37; XI., 71; POL. SONGS, I., 433, 446. [8] See Vol. III., p. 238. [9] LEL., ITIN., VI., 4, f. 4; VIII., 26; HASTED, II., 17, 21; THORPE, 573; SURREY ARCHÆOL. COLL., II., 138; HIST. MSS., 9th REPT., I., 147, 285; JUSSERAND, 62; DENTON, 179. Yet in PAT., 11 H. IV., I., 28 (Nov. 7th, 1409) and 12 H. IV., 23 (1411), the bridge is still referred to as in danger of falling. For bequests to it see SHARPE, II., XX. WEEVER makes Oldcastle build the bridge. "I made a bridge her swiftest currant (*sic*) ore."—WEEVER, OLDCASTLE, 193-197. [10] THORPE, 555; HASTED, I., 503; MONAST., V., 99; VI., 1454; WILLIS AND CLARK, I., LV.; BURROWS, WORTHIES, I. [11] FAB., 383. For chapels on bridges, see JUSSERAND, 48; BESANT, 65.

of pilgrims and wayfarers who travelled the great road[1] between London and Canterbury. He enlarged the parish church at Cobham, founded a college[2] there for five chaplains, and built the castle at Cooling,[3] "in help of the marsh country," on the south shore of the Thames. Some years before he died he caused a monumental brass[4] to be laid down to his memory in Cobham church; but when his death came (Jan. 10th, 1408),[5] he was buried beneath another brass in the Grey Friars church in London. He left no son, and his property passed to his grand-daughter Joan,[6] the only child of Sir John At-Pool[7] (or De la Pole), a Hull[8] merchant, who had settled at Crishall,[9] near Saffron Walden, in Essex.

[1] Vol. II., 437. For Henry's halts at Rochester in 1390 and 1393, see DERBY ACCTS., 6, 98, 256; PRUTZ, LII. For Dartford and Sittingbourne on the road to Canterbury, see CHAUCER (S.), I., XIX.; WIFE OF BATH, 6429; DERBY ACCTS., XXVI., 6. [2] THORPE, 234. [3] HASTED, I., 539; COLL. TOP., VII., 346. For documents relating to the work of building, see ARCHÆOL. CANT., II., 95-120; XI., 128-134. For inscription on the tower, see *ibid.*, XI., 77, 134; C. E. MAURICE, POPULAR LEADERS IN THE MIDDLE AGES, 247. [4] Figured in GOUGH, III., 22; ARCHÆOL. CANT., XI., 85; see also WEEVER, 328. [5] DUGD., II., 67; INQ. P. MORT., III., 315; HASTED, I., 491. [6] Not Margaret, as WEEVER, OLDCASTLE, 186; nor Agnes, as YEAR BOOK, 14 H. IV., p. 32 a (1413). For her brass at Cobham, see STOTHARD, 84; GOUGH, III., 103. [7] LEL., ITIN., VI., 5, f. 8; THORPE, 555; BRIDGES, I., 342. For "Atte Poole" see ANN., 312; WALS., II., 149, 309. For Atte Grove, Atte Gate (INQ. P. MORT., II., 327), Atte Chamber, Atte Hethe, Atte Forde (or De la Fourde, FAB., 86), Atte Conduit (or De la Conduit, FAB., 148, 175, 201, 202), Atte Hall, Atteloft, Attehous (DERBY ACCTS., 18, 24, 143), Atte Soler, Atte Pyrye, Atte Mille (Vol. II., p. 110), &c., see HARDY AND PAGE, 172-174; HOLT, 188. [8] FROST, 31; ROT. PARL., V., 397, 401; MONAST., VI., 19, 781; T. BURTON (MELSA), I., 170; II., 192; III., 17, 48; CAMDEN, II., 77; III., 74; RALPH BROOKE, 46; WALS., II., 141, 146; VINCENT, 698; BLOMEFIELD, III., 745; A. S. GREEN, II., 79. Unless he belonged to the London family. Cf. Hugh De la Pole (1307).—SHARPE, I., 195; Richard De la Pole, vintner, of Edmonton (1310), Alderman of London (1330).—NOTES AND QUERIES, 7th Ser., X., 50; John De la Pole or Atte Pole of Edmonton (temp. Ed. III.).—LYSONS, ENVIRONS, II., 357; William De la Pole (temp. Ed. III.).—FROST, 113; Thomas Poole (or Polle), Sheriff of London (1404), Alderman (1406).—FAB., 381; PRICE, 158. [9] INQ. P. MORT., III., 246. For his brass at Crishall, see HAINES, XCI.; BOUTELL, BRASSES, 30; ARCHÆOL. JOURN., IV., 338; ARCHÆOL. CANT., XI., 87. For his family estates in Suffolk and Essex, see BLOMEFIELD, V., 1340.

Joan, the heiress, was 30 years of age[1] at her grandfather's death; but she had already been thrice married. At a very early age she was made the wife of Sir Robert Hemenhall,[2] a Norfolk knight, who died in 1391.[3] Her next husband was Sir Reginald Braybrooke,[4] a nephew of the Bishop of London.[5] He died at Middleburg, in Zeeland, Sep. 20th, 1405,[6] and his body was brought to England to be buried at Cobham. Within a few months Joan was married a third time to a widower,[7] Sir Nicholas Hauberk or Hawbergh,[8] a knight of the King's court and chamber,[9] who had accompanied Queen Isabel to Leulinghen[10] in 1401, and the Princess Blanche to

[1] DUGD., II., 67; COLL. TOP., VII., 329. [2] Otherwise Hempnall or Hemenale (COLL. TOP., VII., 327), or Hemnale (AD QUOD DAMN., 352, 353, 354); not Havenhall, as MORANT, II., 535; J. HUNTER, II., 44; nor Heningdale, as CHESTER ARCHÆOL. JOURN., V., Pt. I., p. 88. In CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 5 d, July 18th, 1408; 10 H. IV., 20 d, he is called Sir Robert de Hemenhall of Suffolk. See also BLOMEFIELD, III., 122, 745; V., 1340; VII., 34; ROT. PARL., V., 397, 401; INQ. P. MORT., III., 136, 179, 311. [3] In ARCHÆOL. CANT., XI., 87 (followed by COMPLETE PEERAGE, 317), he is said to have been buried in Westminster Abbey, but there is no mention of him either in DART or NEALE. [4] Not Gerard, as WORDSWORTH, I., 354. See LOND. AND MIDDX. ARCHÆOL. SOC., III., 530; PROCEEDINGS OF SOC. OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON, Ser. II., IV., 394; COLL. TOP., VII., 323, 326; HARDY AND PAGE, 173. [5] Vol. I., p. 482; Vol. III., p. 125, note 13. [6] Vol. II., p. 104. [7] COLL. TOP., IV., 334. [8] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 137; ARCHÆOL. CANT., XI., 90; MACKLIN, 55, 59; HAINES, LXVIII., 54; CHESTER ARCHÆOL. JOURN., V., Pt. I., 85. For his seal dated Oct. 6th, 1407, see COLL. TOP., VII., 329, 336, 342. In BLOMFIELD, BICESTER, II., 165, is an entry under 1409, for expenses of the Prior of Bicester going to London about a certain debt due to him from Nicholas Hawberk, knight. In 1405, Dr. John Hawbergh or Hauberk was a prebendary of Lincoln.—LE NEVE, II., 177. For his will, proved Sep. 28th, 1411, see GIBBONS, LINC., 123. [9] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{48}{4}$, APP. B. [10] Not Lenlingham, as Vol. I., p. 205; SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 28; qui est lieu en marche entre Bouloigne et Calais.—TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 4; FROIS., XVI., 374; ou pays de Boulenois.—MONSTR., II., 168. Spelt Lollyngham.—KAL. AND INV., II., 66; TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 1; Lollyngame.—RYM., VIII., 54; Lolinghehen.—CRETON, 417; Leulingham.—ADD. CH., 12499; Leulinghem.—VARENBERGH, 544; KAL. AND INV., II., 67; Lulyngham.—ROY. LET., I., 340; Lullyngham.—DERBY ACCTS., II.; Lelinghem.—VARENBERGH, 471; Lellyngham.—ISS. ROLL, 1 H. V., MICH., Oct. 17th, 1413; DEVON, 325.

Cologne in 1402.[1] He had been Sheriff and Raglor of the County of Flint[2] and Constable of Flint Castle.[3] In 1403[4] he had followed Prince Henry into Wales with five men-at-arms and 20 archers, and was one of the body-guard who fought round him at Shrewsbury. He died at Cooling on Oct. 9th, 1407, and was buried by the side of Braybrooke in Cobham Church.[5] Children had been born from each of these marriages, but one had become an idiot,[6] and all the rest had died except one:—little Joan Braybrooke, who afterwards carried on the Cobham line. A few weeks after old Lord Cobham's death, the thrice-widowed Joan[7] was married a fourth time.

Her choice now fell upon Sir John, son of Sir Richard Oldcastle,[8] a Herefordshire knight, who took his name from an old castle at Almeley[9] near Kington, on the border of Wales. Sir John Oldcastle had been with the royal army which invaded Scotland in the autumn of 1400,[10] and remained for three months in the retinue of Lord Grey of Codnor,[11] to defend

[1] Vol. III., p. 251, note 4. Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{3}\frac{5}{0}$, APP. F. [2] From 1396 to 1406.—TAYLOR, 47. [3] Appointed Dec. 19th, 1396.—DEP. KEEP., 36th REPT., 224; ARCHÆOL. CAMBR. (1862), pp. 125, 126, 129. His successor, Sir Roger Leche, was appointed Oct. 17th, 1407.—DEP. KEEP., 36th REPT., 284; but in PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 12 (June 8th, 1407), the Constable of Flint Castle is Richard Grene. [4] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{9}{4}\frac{5}{6}$, APP. F.; DICT. NAT. BIOGR., XLII., 87. [5] For his brass, see GOUGH, III., 17; ANTIQUARY, XIX., 124. [6] *I.e.*, William, son of Sir Robert Hemenhall.—FROST, 31, from ESCHEAT, 8 H. IV. [7] Her fifth husband, Sir John Harpeden, is buried in Westminster Abbey. For his brass, see GOUGH, III., 43, 182; see also ROT. PARL., V., 39. [8] BALE in HARL. MISCELL., II., 252; JAMES, 187 (on the authority of Mr. Philpott, Herald); ROBINSON, APP., 1; ARCHÆOL. CANT., XI., 93; and WEEVER (OLDCASTLE, 180), make him the son of Reginald Cobham. WEEVER, p. 181, supposes him to have been a page with the Duke of Norfolk till 1398, and to have "led a garrison" against the Percies at Shrewsbury (p. 207). [9] CAL. ROT. PAT., 275, 277; INQ. P. MORT., IV., 124; DEVON, 299; ROBINSON, 4; STRONG, 81; not Oldcastle near Pandy Station in Monmouthshire, as MURRAY, HANDBOOK TO HEREFORD, p. 152. [10] Vol. I., Chap. VII. [11] ROT. SCOT., I., 155; Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{2}\frac{5}{2}$, $\frac{5}{1}\frac{5}{3}$, APP. G; where a side-note states that Oldcastle did not come to Roxburgh, because he was sent

Roxburgh and the East March after the main army had withdrawn. When the troubles in Wales were at their worst, he had been charged to keep the castles of Builth,[1] Hay,[2] Brecon, Kidwelly, and Dinas,[3] and had been appointed a commissioner to grant pardon to rebels and to prevent traffic on the border.[4] He had some land at Weobley;[5] and on Feb. 18th, 1405,[6] he was granted the reversion of the manor of Wellington,[7] near Hereford, after the death of Sir John Chandos and his wife Isabel. On April 3rd, 1406,[8] he received a grant of £40 per annum from the Duchy of Lancaster, charged on the manors of Minsterworth and Rodeley in Gloucestershire; and on April 30th, 1407,[9] an annuity of 40 marks from the revenues of the lordship of Monmouth. His uncle, Thomas Oldcastle, had been Sheriff of Herefordshire in 1388 and 1392, and had sat as one of the knights of the shire for the same county in the Parliaments of 1390 and 1393,[10] and he himself had occupied the same position in the Parliament that met in Jan., 1404,[11] when the great struggle as to the appointment of War Treasurers was fought out at Westminster. In 1405[12] he appears as one

to the King in Sep. and Oct., 1400, probably to Newcastle (Vol. I., p. 139), or Durham (Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{2}{20}$, APP. E); and as Lord Grey had ceased to be Captain of Roxburgh before Dec. 9th, 1400, it is probable that Oldcastle had returned to his own country before the close of that year.

[1] Vol. I., p. 244; RYM., VIII., 331; ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 174; II., 68. [2] Vol. I., p. 461, where the actual command was left to John ap Harry. —PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 27, Nov., 1404. [3] AD QUOD DAMN., 359. [4] Vol. I., p. 374; Vol. II., p. 5. WOODWARD (571) says that he was pardoned after the battle of Shrewsbury, but I have not been able to find any evidence for the statement. [5] CAL. ROT. PAT., 280 b; INQ. P. MORT., IV., 124; DICT. NAT. BIOG., XLII., 86. [6] PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 8. [7] INQ. P. MORT., IV., 122; DUGD., I., 503. [8] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 23'''. [9] *Ibid.*, XI., 16, 92'''. [10] RETURN PARL., I., 237, 244; PRYNNE, II., 407, 420; DUNCUMB, I., 143; DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, 5, APP. A; FULLER (WORTHIES, I., 448) wrongly calls him father to Sir John. [11] RETURN PARL., I., 265; PRYNNE, II., 466; STUBBS, III., 79. [12] PAT., 7 H. IV., 1., 26 d, Nov. 16th, 1405.

of the justices of the county of Hereford; and in 1407[1] he was Sheriff of the county, as his father[2] had been before him. On January 20th[3] of that year he was at Carmarthen, and in September following he was present at the siege of Aberystwith.[4]

He was now about 32 years of age,[5] and had been already twice married, but was a widower with two sons, Henry and John,[6] and three daughters, Kate, Joan, and Maud,[7] one of whom married[8] Clitherowe, the Admiral appointed by the Merchants when the King was set aside in 1406. On Dec. 2nd, 1409, he was one of three English champions[9] who met three Frenchmen in the lists at Lille; and in the same year the rolls record a payment to him of £133 6s. 8d., from the Exchequer, according to the terms of a bond dated Oct. 30th, 1409.[10] In September, 1411, he was on a commission to inquire as to damage done to walls and bridges on the Thames between Northfleet and Greenwich, and in October there is a record that Sir Thomas Brook[11] of Olditch, near Axminster in

[1] Vol. III., p. 111. [2] FULLER, WORTHIES, I., 459. [3] PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 6. [4] Vol. III., p. 111. [5] Nascitur Oldcastle Jon primo schismatis anno, *i.e.*, 1378.—ELMHAM, LIB. METR., 96, 156; MONTGOM. COLL., I., 315. When HOOK (IV., 510) says that he was one of the commission of 1386, that he was condemned to death in 1396, and returned to England with Henry of Lancaster (*i.e.*, was recalled from his banishment in Guernsey), that he founded a charity (? chantry) for three chaplains at Rochester and built a bridge, he is confounding him with John Lord Cobham, his wife's grandfather.—EUL., III., 360, 365; ROT. PARL., III., 221; HOWELL, STATE TRIALS, I., 94. For a similar mistake, see TYLER, I., XIV. [6] CAL. ROT. PAT., 275, 277; INQ. P. MORT., IV., 124; JAMES, 187. [7] ARCHÆOL. CANT., XI., 93. For Alice Oldcastle of Co. Hereford, married to John Merbury, a Hereford squire, in 1403, who had served under the Prince of Wales, see DEVON, 299; ROT. PARL., IV., 322; DUNCUMB, I., 91; II., 38. [8] Vol. II., p. 422; though this may perhaps be his son Roger.—JAMES, 187, who says: "There is allso a verie faire monument for Sir John Oldcastell in ye said Church of Ash." [9] Called Jehan Optchastel Chevalier, d'Anfreville (? Umfraville) and Roger Rambur or Rambuz (? Brember) esquires.—ITIN., 374. [10] ISS. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., Dec. 4, 1409. [11] CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 24 d (Feb. 25th, 1410); COLL. TOP., VII., 326, 334, 338 (with Oldcastle's seal), 340, 342; STAFF. REG., 272; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XLVI., 250; AD QUOD DAMN., 197. He had large estates in Somerset, Dorset, and Gloucestershire.—INQ. P.

Devonshire, owed him a debt of 1300 marks; but the matter was compromised on consideration of a marriage between Joan Braybrooke, the heiress to the Cobham estates, and Thomas Brook,[1] the son of Oldcastle's debtor. On his third marriage in 1408,[2] Sir John Oldcastle took the title of Lord of Cobham,[3] together with Cooling Castle, in right of his wife, and received his first summons to sit among the barons of England in the Parliament at Westminster in January, 1410.

These are all the facts that can now be made out with regard to the early life of this remarkable man, except that he was a big, strong fighter[4] and a most stalwart enemy of the Church, that he savoured much the Gospel[5] like many another of his class, and babbled the Bible night and day,[6] and that, while he corresponded by letter with Hus and others in Bohemia,[7] he was fast friends with the Prince of Wales,[8]

MORT., IV., 32, 120, 187, 324. Cf., "Brokilchester" and "Brokmontagu." In HASTED, I., 492, he is called "of Somerset." Cf. COLLINS, IX., 466; YEAR BOOK, 11 H. IV., PASCH., 61 a. In his will (dated May 26th, 1415; proved, Feb. 5th, 1418) he directs that he shall be buried under a flat plain stone just where the people enter Thorncombe Church, "ryzte as they mowe stappe on me." He will have no feast, nother terment, but three masses at his burying, and he wishes to be buried "neither in wheche (? hutch, *i.e.*, coffin) nor lead, but a great cloth 'to hely my foule caryin.'"—FIFTY WILLS, 26; SHARPE, II., V.

[1] For his will dated Feb. 12th, 1438, see FIFTY WILLS, p. 129. [2] He was certainly married before July 18th, 1408, on which date there is a reference to Joan now wife to John Oldcastle, Lord of Cobham in CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 5; see also COLL. TOP., VII., 336; ROT. PARL., V., 398, 401. [3] WALS., II., 291. [4] CAPGRAVE, CHRON., 304; DE ILLUSTR. HENR., 122; Fortis viribus.—CHRON. GILES, H. V., p. 4; GESTA H. V., p. 2. [5] But oo confort is of Knyzttis that thei savoren myche the gospel and han wille to rede in Englische the gospel of Cristis liif.—WYCL. (A.), I., 209; VAUGHAN, II., 131. Cf. Secler lordys schulde lerne and preche the lawe of God in here modyr tonge.—WYCL. (A.), III., 114. In the trial of Richard Wiche for heresy in Dec., 1400, two knights in the audience say: Apparet nobis quod ipse bene credit.—ENG. HIST. REV., V., 532. [6] POL. SONGS, II., 244; VAYNES, II., 487; RITSON, I., 123. [7] BALE thought that he "caused all the works of Wycliffe to be written at the instance of Hus, and so to be sent into Bohemia, France, Spain, Portugal and other lands."—HARL. MISCELL., II., 254. [8] RYM., IX., 61; WALS., II., 291; ELMHAM, 31; TIT. LIV., 6; CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR. HENR., 113; GESTA

with Sir Thomas Erpingham[1] who built the so-called penal gate[2] at Norwich, with Thomas Hoccleve, the orthodox rake of Chester's Inn,[3] with John Prophet,[4] the Keeper of the Privy

H. V., p. 2; CONC., III., 353; FASCIC., 434; HALLE, HY. V., II., 2, 30. This is doubted by HOLT, 303; see also DICT. NAT. BIOG., XLII., 87. Cf. Such love is on the leid of lordes and of lower.—THE CROWNED KING, 75, in P. PLO., p. 527. The order for arrest of Oldcastle in LETTER BOOK I., fo. 130 b, cannot refer to 1401, as SHARPE, LONDON, I., 249.

[1] Vol. I., p. 177. He appears as Steward of the King's Household in Jan. and July, 1404.—ROT. PARL., III., 528; ROT. SCOT., II., 127 a; RYM., VIII., 364. He was a witness in SCROPE V. GROSVENOR, I., 59. For an account of him see *ibid.*, II., 194. For his portrait in window of Norwich Cathedral see ANTIQ. REPERT., I., 342; and his arms in the Chapter House at Canterbury, see WILLEMENT, 155.—He was born in 1357, see his deposition in HASTINGS V. GREY in STAPLETON, CLXXVII. By indenture, dated York, Sep. 25th, 1380, he received £20 per annum in time of peace, and 50 marks in war, from John of Gaunt, for himself and servant, together with the usual wages of bachelors of his sort.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 14, 9. He accompanied Henry to Prussia (1390) and the Holy Land (1392).—DERBY ACCTS., XLIII., 302. In 1399, he was receiving 100 marks per annum from Henry as Duke of Lancaster.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 1, APP. A. On Aug. 8th, 1405, he received the Manor of Framingham Parva (*i.e.*, Framingham Earl and Framingham Pigot, RYE, 116).—CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 4. In REC. ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH. (Feb. 3rd, 1407), he is called farmer of the manors of Framingham and Suffield, and the lands of the Earl of March in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex; see also *ibid.*, 9 H. IV., MICH. (March 4th, 1408); 10 H. IV., MICH. and PASCH. (Jan. 16th, and July 16th, 1409); PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 16 (June 10th, 1410). These manors were handed to John Mowbray at Easter, 1410.—PRIV. SEAL, 649/6607, June 10th, 1410; REC. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 20th, 1410. Erpingham died June 27th, 1428.—STAPLETON, CLVI. For his will (proved at Norwich, now at Lambeth), see GENEAL., VI., 24, where the date is given as 1427. In BRANDO, 67, 71, he is called "Thomas Arpighum." [2] Figured in BRITTON, II., plate xxiii., and ENGLISH CITIES, p. 82. The word misread as "Pena" appears to be really his motto "yenk" *i.e.*, "think."—CARTER, 106. After the "combination" sermon (from Dominica competentium, *i.e.*, candidates for baptism), on Palm Sunday, Apr. 12th, 1405, Erpingham was present with the bishop in the Greenyard (BLOMEFIELD, II., 503), adjoining the Cathedral wall at Norwich, at the recantation of John Edward the Lollard Chaplain of Brington.—CONC., III., 282. [3] Vol. II., p. 23; ANGLIA, V., 23; VAYNES, II., 476-484. MASON (p. 11), in 1796 decided not to publish this poem, as "too great an imposition on the patience of his readers." [4] In PROPHET'S REGISTER, HARL. MS., 431, 36 (20 b), is a petition to some Bishop on behalf of his relative Joan Cobham, who is in great distress. The writer (Prophet's nephew), has seen her in poverty absque suis demeritis discis et ciphis et aliis suo statui congruis omnino destitutam ex eo quod Dominus J. Oldecastell *dum agebat in prosperis* donum omnium bonorum suorum mobilium *multis annis elapsis* per cartam

Seal, and with Sir Lewis Clifford,[1] who had once stood up as a champion of the Lollards, but had died repentant some five years back, confessing himself a false traitor to his God and unworthy to be called a Christian man.[2] In Hereford and the far West,[3] not Oldcastle alone, but the Actons,[4] Cheynes,[5]

suam in prefatum avunculum meum (*i.e.*, John Prophet) transferebat, and asking that his uncle may as far as possible prevent the sale of her goods.

[1] Oldcastle was one of the executors of his will.—DEVON, 323; KNIGHTON, 2661. Clifford is supposed to have been a younger son, either of Robt. Clifford, third Lord of Skipton, or of Roger Clifford, fifth Lord.—WHITAKER, CRAVEN, 314; DERBY ACCTS., 312. In HASTED, I., 508; II., 636, he is said to be descended from the family which owned Clifford on the western borders of Herefordshire, but the name had died out there by the middle of the 13th century.—ROBINSON, 27. In 1387 he was with John of Gaunt in Spain, and took command of the town of Santiago after the marriage of Philippa with the King of Portugal.—FROIS., III., 159. He fought with Boucicaut in the lists at St. Inglevert on March 21st, 1390.—PICHON, 70; FROIS., XIV., 111, and in the summer of the same year he was with the Duke of Bourbon's expedition against Tunis.—CABARET, 222, 238, 249.

[2] Vol. II., p. 292. See his will dated Sep. 17th, 1404 (proved Dec. 5th, 1404), in DUGD., I., 341; SCROPE AND GROSV., II., S. V.; TEST. VET., I., 164; BELTZ, 264; ROYAL WILLS, VII.; VAUGHAN, II., 135; COLLINS, VII., 120. Cf. the wills of two other repentant Lollards, viz., Sir Thomas Latimer of Braybrook, near Lutterworth, dated Sep. 13th, 1401.—MONAST., V., 183; BANKS, I., 258, in which he prays to be buried "in the next chirchenyerd and naut in the chirche but in the utterist corner as he that is unworthi to lyn therein."—DUGD., II., 33; TEST. VET., I., 158; ANN., 182; DEVON, 236; also the will of Bishop Philip Repingdon, dated Aug. 1st, 1424, who desires to be buried naked in a sack under the open firmament of heaven.—GOUGH, III., 76; GENEAL., VI., 217. But his friends would not have this, and they buried him with a grand inscription in Lincoln Cathedral. So also Philip de Mezières (d. 1405), desired that la charogne du pélérin soit despouillée toute nue excepte qu'une petite pièche de sac ou d'un touillon de cuisine en forme d'un escu soit mise et bien attachée sur les membres honteux. —FRANKLIN, II., 91.

[3] WALS., II., 291; FOX, III., 321, 322; CHURCH, 89; DICT. NAT. BIOGR., XLII., 88. For Swinderby preaching at Newton, near Lingen, and the Chapel Farm in the Darval, see Dr. Bull's paper in the WOOLHOPE CLUB TRANSACTIONS, 1869, pp. 164-197.

[4] BLAKEWAY, SHERIFFS OF SALOP, 60; ELMHAM, VITA, 31; FOROJUL., 6; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 64; REDMAN, 23; HARL. MISCELL., II., 252. In 1403, Roger Acton receives 40s. per annum as a squire of the King's household.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{4}\frac{8}{4}$, APP. B. In PRIV. SEAL, 657/6470, Feb. 12th, 1413, Sir Roger Acton has wardship of lands of J. Wareyn in Salop and Chester. Iss. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 9th, 1412, has payment of £20 per annum granted by Richard II. to Sir Roger Acton.

[5] Vol. I., p. 177.

Clanvowes,[1] Greindors,[2] and many great gentlemen of birth had begun to mell[3] of Lollardy and drink the gall[4] of heresy; so that, when he took up his abode among the malapert[5] miscreants of Kent who had followed John Ball and Wat the Tiler, he was only transplanted to a more congenial soil.

Before he had been many months in his new home, he sheltered an itinerant chaplain (possibly John Lay[6] of Nottingham), who not only preached in the parish churches of Hoo, Halstow

Spelt "Cheigne" in PIPE ROLL, 7 H. IV. (Gloucester), and REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH. (Feb. 4th, 1409); or "Chanie" ("Chanu").—DEP. KEEP., 36th REPT., APP., II., 105; "Cheyné."—SHARPE, II., 152. The French called it "Chesnay."—ARCHIVES DE LILLE in FROIS., XVI., 391. For Cheynes in Scotland see N. AND Q., 7th Ser., X., 223. In STAFF. REG., 57, John Cheyne is Canon of Exeter, Rector of Ugborough, near Modbury (Devon), and afterwards Rector of Rotherfield, Sussex. In POLWHELE, CORNWALL, IV., 35, Sir John Cheyne the ex-Speaker is called a Cornishman, probably in mistake for John Chenduyt of Bodannan, who was one of the members for Cornwall in 1404 and 1407.—RETURN PARL., I., 265, 271. In 1403 Sir John Cheyne is farmer of the alien priories of Newent and Beckford in Gloucestershire.—ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 195. For administration of his will, dated June 6th, 1410, see GENEAL., VII., 208.

[1] RETURN PARL., I., 247, 253, 255; STRONG, 38; DUNCUMB, II., 143; WALS., II., 159; SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 436; INQ. P. MORT., IV., 94, 95; TEST. VET., I., 165. In 1390, Sir Thomas Clanvowe joined the Duke of Bourbon's expedition in Barbary.—MALVERN, 234 (called "le Sire de Climbo" in CABARET, 222). In 1398, 1399, he was Sheriff of Herefordshire.—DUNCUMB, I., 143. On Oct. 22nd, 1404, he received part of the reversion of the castle of More-end, near Stony Stratford (BRIDGES, I., 319; BAKER, II., 228), after the death of the Duchess of Ireland.—PAT., 6 H. IV., I., 22. For payment of £40 per annum, to him and Perniē (? Pernelle) his wife, see ISS. ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 9th, 1406; PAT., 7 H. IV., 1, 20; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{4}$, APP. B. For his will dated Yosex (?), proved at Lambeth in 1410, and containing a reference to John Gale, sometime Vicar of Ocle (*i.e.*, Ocle Pychard near Hereford), see GENEAL., V., 326. For an inquiry as to his goods in Herefordshire, see CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 32 d (1412). [2] CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR. HENR., 121; ELMHAM, LIB. METR., 148. [3] RITSON, I., 122; cf. "medlid."—WYCL (A.), I., 181. [4] ANGLIA, V., 23; JAMES, 139; HOCCLEVE, MIN. PO., 47. [5] CAPGR., CHRON., 237; RICH. REDELES, III., 237; CHAUC. (S), II., 247. For "appert," see DESCHAMPS, VIII., 117, 199.

Cf. Les uns font hardiz et appers
Autres couars et malappers.—*Ibid.*, VIII., 280.

[6] CONC., III., 338.

and Cooling[1] without letter and leave[2] from the Bishop of Rochester, but scouted decrees and decretals[3] and the sanctions of the Catholic fathers. It was the time when Archbishop Arundel's Constitutions had just been promulgated at Oxford,[4] and an order was issued enterditing[5] the three churches in consequence; but, after a few months, a legal sanction was required for the marriage of Thomas Brook[6] and the young Joan in Cooling Church, so the difficulty was patched up and the interdict removed. Oldcastle himself tells us that he never set his seal to any letter which was meant to be preserved.[7] Yet two letters have lately been found which he wrote to his Bohemian friends in 1410,[8] and which prove him to have had a scholar's training, for he writes in Latin, and quotes from Austin, Isidore and Chrysostom. He wrote a statement of his belief on two sheets of paper, and read it at his trial;[9] and we know that he possessed one of Wycliffe's tracts[10] which he sent to be illuminated by a limner[11] in Paternoster Row, though he averred that he had never read more than two leaves of it. Tradition long handed down his name as the good Lord Cobham, but no picture by any friendly, or even impartial, hand remains to help us to estimate his real self. Every notice of him comes through the pens

[1] CONC., III., 330; CAPGR., 304. [2] WYCL. (M.), 57, 79, 85, 90, 105, 135; (A.), III., 464. [3] Cf. "les saintz decrez et decretals."—GALITZIN, 43. "The comyne lawe of decrees."—WYCL. (M.), 68; (A.), I., 205; II., 1, 61; III., 298, 462, 484; ENG. HIST. REV., V., 531, 535; PURVEY, REM., 28; PROL., 33; FASCIC., 504. [4] CONC., III., 316. [5] For "enterdyting," see YORK MAN., 119; WYCL. (M.), 63, 79. [6] He was then 30 years of age.—MORANT, II., 535. [7] Sigillum armorum nostrorum quod nunquam apponimus ad literam que deberet in posterum cessari.—LOSERTH, BEZIEHUNGEN, 267. [8] Both published, together with the Herrnhut letter, by LOSERTH, BEZIEHUNGEN, p. 266. See also ACADEMY, 26/10/89, p. 270; WYCL., LAT. SERMONS, IV., p. XII. [9] FOX, III., 326; HARL. MISCELL., II., 258; WORDSWORTH, I., 366; RYM., IX., 62; CONC., III., 354; FASCIC., 438; BALE, 557; TANNER, 561; GOODWIN, 167, 361; LEWIS, 201. [10] CONC., III., 352. [11] MUN. ACAD., 550.

of clerks who regard him as an imp of hell,[1] and who tell us straight that his memory was like a horrid stink in their nose. They admit his honesty[2] and courage; they grant that he was God's own handiwork,[3] a manly, worthy, honourable knight,[4] standing in the favour of every wight; that he gave up joy and ease for woe and pine, to live with cursed caitiffs in the slough of heresy.[5] Before his judges he is said to have confessed to sins of pride, wrath, gluttony, covetousness, and lechery in his frail youth;[6] but all this is obviously nothing but the self-meeking[7] dispraise[8] of a tortured and sensitive soul; for in the same breath he asserts that for such breach of God's laws his enemies had never yet accused him. So when they blacken his name,[9] and distort his purpose, or travesty him as the low vapouring braggart[10] and drunken stage-buffoon, we recall his dying words in sight of the chain and faggot:—"What you deem evil, I deem good;"[11] and we echo the reaction protest of the Elizabethan public that "Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man!"[12]

[1] ELMHAM, LIB. METR., 82; VITA HENR. V., p. 30; CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR., 122. [2] Probitatem.—WALS., II., 291. [3] ANGLIA, V., 31. [4] *Ibid.*, 23; JAMES, 139; HOCCL., MIN. PO., 8; MORLEY, VI., 133. [5] ANGLIA, V., 24; JAMES, 140. [6] FOX, III., I., 330; ENGL. GARNER, VI., 126; HARL. MISCELL., II., 251.

Cf. Her forward budding in the prime I blasted
With wind of pride and hoarie frost of shame
With riotous love, &c.—WEEVER, OLDCASTLE, 182, 183, 192.

BROUGHAM (61) thinks that "he had in early life been, like others of his rank, given to the indulgences which fortune placed within his reach." LINGARD (III., 236) shows his religious antipathy thus: "Among the wild and dissolute companions of the Prince, Oldcastle's pre-eminence in vice had been universally admitted." [7] P. PLO., VII., 10; VIII., 248; XXIII., 35; GOWER, CONF. AM., 306; HOLT, 199; WYCL. (M.), 338; (A), I., 27, 63, 356; II., 122, 321; III., 436. [8] WYCL. (A.), III., 239. [9] Virtute debilis.—CHRON. GILES, HY. V., p. 4; GESTA H. V., p. 2. [10] GESTA HENR. V., p. 6. [11] Quod vitium reputas, ego virtutem reputavi.—ELMHAM, METR., 159; cf. WYCL. (M.), 133, 153, 212; (A.), I., 204, 247; III., 181, 294, 354, 435, 495; PURVEY, REM., 22. [12] EPILOGUE, HY. IV., PT. II.; FULLER, CHURCH HIST., II., 417; HOCCLEVE, MIN. PO., XLIII.

Of the members serving in the Lower House in this Parliament, returns are only preserved for 15 counties and 43 boroughs,[1] and even among these many of the names are either mutilated or torn quite away. The burgesses of Colchester[2] were excused from sending representatives for the next 12 years, as they had to rebuild their walls, and wanted the money to pay for stone and lime. All the writs of expenses are lost;[3] but we know that the Parliament was not dissolved till Friday, May 9th, 1410,[4] after a session of over 14 weeks. The King was at the Palace at Westminster by Saturday, Jan. 25th;[5] and on Monday, Jan. 27th,[6] all the members assembled in the Painted Chamber. King Henry was present, but no Chancellor was yet appointed; so Bishop Beaufort discoursed from the adapted text:—"It behoves us[7] to fulfil all righteousness." He told the story of Aristotle's advice to Alexander to wall his city[8] round with his people's whole and hearty love, and to keep them in their rights and laws, and he told them that the people must give ready and speedy help as well as obedience and respect to their king, as his coffers[9] were empty and he was heavily in debt.

The next day, the Commons met in the Abbey at Westminster at eight o'clock, and again chose as their Speaker Thomas Chaucer, one of the representatives[10] of the county of Oxford.

Cf. For proud Becket hath already hidden his face, and poor Oldcastle beginneth now to appear very notable.—BALE in HARL. MISCELL., II., 280.

[1] RETURN PARL., I., 274. [2] PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 16; PRIV. SEAL, 649/6614, June 11th, 1410. [3] PRYNNE, II., 493. [4] ROT. PARL., III., 634. [5] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 327. He was still at Westminster on Feb. 28th, 1410.—RYM., VIII., 625. [6] ROT. PARL., III., 622-646. [7] *V.* "behoved him."—LUKE, XXIV., 46. [8] COTTON (490) translates citée by "Propugnacle" or "Frontier town." For Alexander and Aristotle in SECRETA SECRETORUM see GOWER, CONF., BK. VII.; WYCL., DE OFF. REG., 73. [9] EUL., III., 416. [10] RETURN PARL., I., 275.

On Jan. 19th,[1] the King handed the Great Seal to John Wakering, Keeper of the Chancery Rolls,[2] and on Jan. 31st,[3] Admiral Sir Thomas Beaufort[4] was made Chancellor of England, in presence of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, in the room known as the Parliament Chamber in Archbishop Arundel's hostel at Lambeth. Beaufort was the only layman who became Chancellor during this reign, and he

[1] In PRIV. SEAL, 646/6398, Jan. 20th, 1410, Wakering is Keeper of the Great Seal. [2] He succeeded Bubwith (see Vol. III., p. 128) as Keeper of the Chancery Rolls, on March 2nd (PAT., 6 H. IV., I., 14; DUGD., CHRON. SER., 57; FOSS, IV., 212), or 6th, 1405 (ISS. ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 27th, 1406). In ISS. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., May 26th, 1408, he is called Clerk of the Chancery Rolls and of domus conversorum; see also JURADE, 169, 170, 429; ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XLIV., 64, Jan., 1412; FOR. ACCTS., 13 H. IV. He had held the prebend of Thame, and gave a red cope to Lincoln Cathedral.—ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 25. On Oct. 15th, 1399, he had been appointed Chancellor of the County Palatine of Lancaster, and Keeper of the Great Seal, with a salary of £40 per annum, and a livery of green cloth at 5s. 6d. per yard, trimmed with fur.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 30, 52′. On May 20th, 1400, the Chancellor of the Duchy is William Bourgoyne (*ibid.*, 74), but on Jan. 28th, 1401, Wakering is Chancellor again (*ibid.*, 109), also Nov. 19th, 1399, Sep. 3rd, 1402, Feb. 20th, 1403.—LANC. REC. CHANCERY, MISCELLANEOUS, 1-4 H. IV., 2, 14, 21. On May 20th, July 11th, and Dec. 3rd, 1405, Thomas Stanley is Chancellor of the Duchy with a salary of 100 marks per annum.—*Ibid.*, m. 13, and DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 3, 32′′′. On Mar. 10th, 1409 (not 1405, as FOSS, IV., 212), Wakering was appointed Archdeacon of Canterbury.—ISS. ROLL, 10 H. IV., PASCH., May 18th, 1409; inducted Mar. 31st, 1409.—LE NEVE, I., 42; HASTED, IV., 783. In 1416 he became Bishop of Norwich, where he built a cloister paved with coloured tiles leading from his palace to the Cathedral and a Chapter-House adjoining. Both are now destroyed. He persecuted the Lollards, and put the town of Wymondham under an interdict because the bells were not rung for him when he went there. He is buried in Norwich Cathedral, on the south side of the altar steps.—BLOMEFIELD, II., 376; GODWIN, II., 18; BRITTON, II., 63. [3] CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 8; DUGD., CHRON. SER., 56; OTT., 267; TYLER, I., 255; NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 397; PRIV. SEAL, 646/6323, has a document dated Nov. 3rd, 1409 (11 H. IV.), with Beaufort as Chancellor; but this must be a mistake, as *ibid.*, 646/6324, with same date, has Arundel as Chancellor. [4] DEVON, 314. He had previously been governor of Ludlow.—*Ibid.*, 295. For exposure of a body supposed to be his at Bury St. Edmund's on Feb. 20th, 1772, see EXCERPT. HIST., 152; PHILOSOPH. TRANS., LXII., 465-468; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXXIV., 417; FOSS, 70, quoting *Times*, 19/10/41.

held the office for two years,[1] receiving an allowance of 800 marks per annum[2] beyond the ordinary wages and fees. He spent much of his time at Lynn[3] and the neighbouring manor of Wormegay,[4] which had been granted to him on May 12th, 1408,[5] with some other of Lord Bardolph's forfeited lands, to increase his stipend, his naval work being entrusted to his three lieutenants, Sir Robert Umfraville[6] for the north, and Sir John Blount[7] and Edmund Arnold for the west.

It has been supposed that this appointment of the Admiral as Chancellor marks the triumph of the Beaufort interest as against the influence of Arundel, and others have seen in it evidence of an anti-clerical reaction;[8] but it is certain that

[1] *I.e.*, till Dec. 19th, 1411.—PRIV. SEAL, 7072. In CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 35, Jan. 27th, 1411, Beaufort is "now Chancellor." He was still Chancellor on Nov. 5th, 1411.—PAT., 13 H. IV., 1., 6. In Iss. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Jan. 22nd, 1412, he is *late* Chancellor. [2] PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 4, Apr. 20th, 1410; DUGD., II., 125; ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 338. [3] For documents dated at Lynn, Dec. 5th, 8th, 22nd, 1410, and Jan. 2nd, 12th, 14th, 16th, April 7th, 8th, 1411, see PAT., 12 H. IV., 16 d, 25, 26, 29, 30 d; CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 24 d, 27 d, 28 d, 31, 32; FR. ROLL, 12 H. IV., 17; ROT. VASC., 12 H. IV., 14. [4] WILLS OF KINGS, 253. For documents dated there Mar. 28th, May 18th, 1410, and Aug. 3rd, 1411, see PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 27 d; *ibid.*, 12 H. IV., 4; CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 3 d, 13 d. [5] PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 20; 11 H. IV., 2, 4, 11; together with Stowbardolph, Runcton, Fariswell in Fincham, and Tilney, the total value being 250 marks per annum. [6] PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 8 d. [7] PAT., 11 H. IV., 2-7 (July 20th, 1410); *ibid.*, 13 H. IV., 2, 25 d; FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 15, Feb. 28th, 1412. On Oct. 18th, 1407, Sir John Blount is appointed Constable of Newcastle-under-Lyme.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 116''', and on June 7th, 1411, he is Constable of Tutbury. —*Ibid.*, 17'. PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 34 (Oct. 18th, 1411) refers to Sir John Blount as executor of the will of his brother Sir Walter Blount (Derby). In COMPLETE PEERAGE, I., 365, Sir Thomas Blount who was executed at Oxford (Vol. I., pp. 92, 106), is said to be of Belton in Rutlandshire. See also COOKE, 125, 130-135, where he is called half-brother or nephew to Alice Blount of Belton, Lady of Hampton Lovett in Worcestershire. But he seems really to have come from Kingston Blount in Aston Rowant under the Chilterns in S.E. Oxfordshire.—AD QUOD DAMN., 347. For a reference to Richard Blount of Tissington (otherwise called of Bentley), see PAT., 9 H. IV., 13. [8] STUBBS, III., 57-59; RAMSAY, I., 106; BURROWS, COMMENTARIES, 209; DICT. NAT. BIOG., IV., 50.

there was no personal breach with the Archbishop, for the King is known to have been frequently at Lambeth in the months of February, March, April, and May, 1410,[1] and for a time he made the Archbishop's house his headquarters. The Exchequer Rolls contain entries of money paid to him at Lambeth;[2] both he and the Archbishop were present at a Great Council held there on March 19th, 1411,[3] and we find him often there in the months of March, May, June, August and September, 1411.[4]

No business of any importance is recorded in the early part of the session. On March 15th, 1410,[5] the Parliament adjourned for three weeks for Easter, and the members dispersed to their homes. During the recess the King's half-brother, John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset,[6] died. He had been constantly changing his place in broken health. On Sep. 19th, 1408, he was at Canford,[7] near Wimborne in Dorsetshire. In July, 1409,[8] he unhorsed the Steward of Hainault in the lists at Smithfield; and on Sep. 24th, 1409,[9] he was at his

[1] *E.g.*, Feb. 13th and March, 1410.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{13}{15}$, APP. B. Apr. 8th, 9th, 24th, 26th; May 11th, 12th, 1410.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 13′, 50′. May 27th, 1410.—ISS. ROLL, 11 H. IV., PASCH. For a document dictated by the King vivâ voce at Westminster, March 4th, 1410, see PRIV. SEAL, 647/6484. [2] ISS. ROLL, 12 H. IV., PASCH., May 28th, 1411. [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 6. [4] *E.g.*, March 15th; May 4th, 12th, 13th; June 15th; Aug. 11th, 28th; Sep. 7th, 16th, 25th, 1411.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 12′, 21′, 60′. Sep. 25th, 1411.—ROT. VASC., 12 H. IV., 14. [5] ROT. PARL., III., 623. Et nihil actum est tunc.—EUL., III., 416. [6] Not "Surrey," as OTT., 268. For his expenses when Captain of Carmarthen, Oct. 1403 (Vol. I., 375), see Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5\,6}{2}$, $\frac{5\,6}{3}$, $\frac{5\,0}{4}$, APP. G. [7] PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 2, 23, which he calls "our manor," though it was just annexed to the Duchy of Lancaster (HUTCHINS, III., 6), and does not appear in the list of the Earl of Somerset's possessions at his death.—INQ. P. MORT., III., 330. Canford and Poole were granted to him for life on March 8th, 1400.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 24. [8] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{45}{13}$, APP. B; LEL., COLL., I., 486; CHRON. GILES, 56. [9] PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 1.

manor of Deeping [1] in the Fens. On Feb. 8th, 1410,[2] the Prince of Wales and the new Chancellor and Treasurer met him in council at the Coldherbergh,[3] a hostel [4] or place belonging to the King, situated in the Ropery on the waterside, a little to the east of Dowgate,[5] where arrangements were made for paying up arrears of his allowance. But his strength was fast ebbing out, and he died in the Hospital of St. Catherine-by-the-Tower,[6] on Palm Sunday, March 16th, 1410,[7] having made his will [8] only a few hours before his death. He was

[1] CROYL., 499; INQ. P. MORT., III., 330. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 330; PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 16, shows that the Earl of Somerset was in London Feb. 12th, 1410. [3] SHARPE, I., 609. It had belonged to the Earl of Hereford, the king's father-in-law. I presume that the Earl of Somerset tenanted it by the King's permission. It was afterwards granted to the Prince of Wales for life.—RYM., VIII., 628; TYLER, I., 257. BESANT (WHITTINGTON, 166), represents the Prince as "coming to live in the City," and "taking the great house known as Cold Harbour," and that "no doubt Sir John Falstoffe and Poins came with him," &c. A house called the Tower in the same parish appears among the possessions of the Earl of Somerset.—INQ. P. MORT., III., 331. [4] For "ostel," or "inne of herborowe," al. "herborwe," or "harborowe," see PROMPT. PARV., 236, 372; cf. "hereberwe," or "herbore," WYCL. (M.), 14, 146, 415; herbergh, CHAUC., PROL., 405, 767; WYCL. (A.), I., 317; II., 303; "yherborwed," P. PLO., VII., 235; VIII., 258; XII., 247. For "herbergage," see CHAUC., CLERK, 8077; NONNES PRIEST, 14995; "herburgagium," DERBY ACCTS., 175; Vol. II., pp. 128, 374. For "osteler," see DERBY ACCTS., 30, 31, 176. [5] For its position near the Church of All Hallows the Less, see STOW, LOND., 251; STRYPE, I., 206; BESANT, LONDON, 134, 225; WHITTINGTON, 51; ZIMMERN, 190; on the site now occupied by the Heralds' College.—RAMSAY, I., 127. [6] The regular inmates were three brothers, three sisters, three secular chaplains and ten bedewomen. Besides attending services, they visited the sick and infirm *ibidem degentes*.—DUCAREL, APP., 40, 74; RELIQUARY, IV., 150; BESANT, 53, 209. [7] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 354; not 1409, as DUGD., II., 122; WEEVER, 211; nor April 21st, 1410, as SANDFORD, 324; DART, 68; GOUGH, III., 30; DOYLE, III., 344; STUBBS, III., 66; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 111, 113, misdating Palm Sunday, which fell on Mar. 16th in 1410. In PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 2, May 17th and 20th, 1410, he is referred to as *late* Earl. Iss. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 26th, 1410, refers to an assignation made by him *isto die;* but the same phrase occurs *ibid.*, PASCH., under date April 22nd, 1410, when he was certainly dead. In CHRON. GILES, 60, his death is wrongly placed in 12 H. IV. (*i.e.*, 1411). [8] Proved April 5th, 1410.—WILLS OF KINGS, 210: GENEAL., V., 211; PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 9, refers to Bishop Beaufort as one of his executors.

buried in the Abbey Church on Tower Hill,[1] and a monument[2] in alabaster was afterwards erected to his memory in St. Michael's Chapel at the entrance to the choir on the south side of Canterbury Cathedral. His widow, Margaret,[3] had her dower with a third of her husband's lands[4] to support her family, and an allowance of 200 marks per annum for the custody of Henry, his son and heir. The boy was now nine years of age, and was brought by his grandmother, Alice, Dowager Countess of Kent, from Maxey, near Stamford, to be shown to the king at Lambeth;[5] but he died eight years afterwards, before he was old enough to claim his estates.

By the death of John Beaufort several valuable offices fell vacant. The King's youngest son, Humphrey, increased his already large possessions in Wiltshire[6] by a grant of the custody of the forests of Clarendon,[7] Groveley,[8] Melchet,[9] and Buckholt. Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor, was made Cham-

[1] LEL., COL., I., 486; CHRON. R. II.—H. VI., p. 37; yet CHRON. GILES, 60, places his burial at Canterbury. For the Abbot of Tower Hill see YEAR BOOK, 11 H. IV., 64 a; ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XLIV., 57. [2] SANDFORD, 311; GOUGH, III., 127; HASTED, IV., 535; WILLEMENT, 40; DOYLE, III., 343. [3] PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 10, June 20th, 1410; assigned Dec. 22nd, 1410.—Iss. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH. (Jan. 25th, 1413). She was a sister of the Earl of Kent.—DUGD., II., 122; CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 34; CROYL., 499. [4] PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 25; PRIV. SEAL, 648/6544, Apr. 21st, 24th, 1410. [5] For payment to her for her journey, see Iss. ROLL, 11 H. IV., PASCH., May 17th, 1410. [6] On Dec. 1st, 1403, he had received the castle of Marlborough and the forest of Savernake.—PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 13. Iss. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH. (Nov. 23rd, Dec. 1st, 1412, and March 1st, 1413), shows £406 13s. 4d., granted to him April 24th, 1412. In PAT., 14 H. IV., 22 (Nov. 9th, 1412), he is granted a balinger with cargo of wool confiscated at Newcastle-on-Tyne for non-payment of customs. [7] PRIV. SEAL, 648/6501, March 17th, 1410; HOARE, V., I, 121; INQ. P. MORT., III., 92, 188, 303. For account of the Earl of Somerset's lieutenant, Richard Boyton, for carts of hay for deer in Clarendon Park, see FOR. ACCTS., 12 H. IV. [8] HOARE, IV., 186. [9] Not Mich-holt, as DOYLE, III., 344.

berlain of England,[1] and on March 18th, 1410,[2] the Prince of Wales was appointed Captain of the town of Calais for 12 years. The command of the castle at Calais had been entrusted to Sir Thomas Beaufort on July 1st, 1408.[3] The appointment was to last for 12 years, and he still retained it after his brother's death.[4] Sir Thomas Pickworth[5] was the Prince's Lieutenant, and his Receiver was John Vale.[6] On October 27th, 1409,[7] Robert Thorley had been again appointed Treasurer of Calais when Merlaw became Mayor of London. The purchasing of stores and supplies for the garrison was in the hands of Richard Clitherowe, who was appointed Victualler of Calais on February 21st, 1410.[8] His account, dated January, 1410,[9] is still extant, and records large purchases of varnish, house-flax, spikings,[10] osmund goads, faggots, stirrups for balistas, elkhorns, sinews, bast-ropes, blanchboards, big planks

[1] PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 23, May 4th, 1410; RYM., VIII., 721, 732, Feb. 10th, 1412; PAT., 14 H. IV., 12, Jan. 11th, 1413; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{4}{18}$, APP. B. On July 9th, 1404 (ROT. SCOT., II., 172 a; RYM., VIII., 364), Jan. 28th, 1405 (PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 13), Dec. 22nd, 1406 (ROT. PARL., III., 585), Lord Grey of Codnor is Camerarius noster. [2] PRIV. SEAL, 648/6503, 6506; RYM., VIII., 629; TYLER, I., 253. [3] FR. ROLL, 9 H. IV., 3; *ibid.*, 10 H. IV., 10, Jan. 28th, 1409; ROT. VIAG., 11 H. IV., 4, Jan. 8th, 1410. [4] FR. ROLL, 11 H. IV., 12, May 17th, 1410; PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 10, July 11th, 1410; PAT., 12 H. IV., 25, Feb. 12th, 1411; FR. ROLL, 12 H. IV., 15, June 25th, 1411. [5] TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 143, 3, ARCHIVES DE LILLE, May 5th, 1411 (called Thomas Prelborch, *ibid.*, 143, 5, 103, Jan. 16th, 1410); FR. ROLL, 12 H. IV., 5, June 21st, 1411. On April 17th, 1412, he has a grant of three sarplers and three pokes of confiscated wool for his services to the Earl of Somerset and the Prince. —FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 5. [6] Iss. ROLL, 11 H. IV., PASCH., July 31st, 1410. [7] Vol. III., p. 66; FR. ROLL, 11 H. IV., 22; PRIV. SEAL, 646/6311. In REC. ROLL, and Iss. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 29th, 1409, Thorley is Treasurer; also REC. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 3rd, Nov. 19th, 23rd, 1412; Iss. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 3rd, Nov. 15th, 19th, Dec. 9th, 1412. In *ibid.*, Nov. 15th, 1412, John Bernard is *lately* Treasurer of Calais. [8] Vol, II., p. 114, note 1; FR. ROLL, 11 H. IV., 13, 14, 17; CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 16; 13 H. IV., 15; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 9. In Iss. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH., Dec. 4th, 1410, he is *provisor victualium*. [9] FOR. ACCTS., 13 H. IV. [10] Cf. DERBY ACCTS., 157.

for a jetty, iron crows, picks, scoop-pots,[1] quart-pots, pint-pots, cotton candles, calaber wisps,[2] slofhoues, hoists[3] and such like gear. The change of command was to be signalized by a revival of energy, and it was arranged that when the new subsidy was voted, three-fourths of the yield should be set aside for repairing and strengthening the castles of Calais and the district, payments for the garrison being secured for more than two years, to date from the day on which the Earl of Somerset died.[4]

On April 7th, 1410, the Houses met again at Westminster, and on April 23rd,[5] petitions were presented. They include the old complaints:—impartial justice; the King to live of his own;[6] a firmer hand on the Marches and a stronger fleet on the sea;[7] no more of these short special truces which neither side believed in or observed; searching reform for Calais, Guînes and Ireland; wages to be promptly paid, and no one to get any office which would put him above the law by making him accountable to the King alone; the encroachments of the Constable's, Marshal's, and Admiral's Courts[8] to be checked; customers,[9] controllers, and searchers to be kept better in hand; frauds by foreign traders to be stopped; the Chancellor, Treasurer, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and all paid officials to be

[1] Scop-pots. Cf. "1 scope."—DERBY ACCTS., 86; PRUTZ, 81. [2] "Wyspes calab." Cf. "Here colere splayed and furryed with ermyn, calabere and satan."—COV., MYST., 242; ARCHÆOL., XLIII., 167. [3] "Hoites." [4] ROT. PARL., III., 627; ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 332. [5] Not March, as ROT. PARL., III., 623.

[6] By wise counseille sette your hye estate
In suche an order *as ye liven may*
Of your goode propre in reule moderate.
Is it knyghtely to live on rapyne? Nay.—
HOCCL., DE REG., 173.

[7] ROT. PARL., III., 639; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 14, 17. [8] For origin and growth of the Court of Chivalry, see NEILSON, 178, 196. [9] For these officers see CUNNINGHAM, I., 257.

debarred from accepting presents; grants made for the defence of the kingdom to be used for that purpose alone; foreigners to be refused any further permission to settle in England, or, if they come for trade, they must lodge in English houses duly certified to receive them and report upon them. All these familiar griefs were paraded and agreed to with the usual insincerity. The Statute against Maintenance was a dead letter; the "great cobs" in every shire laughed at the courts; the gnats got meshed, but the big flies broke through.[1]

[1] HOCCLEVE (DE REG., 109) writes to the Prince in this year (1410):—

Now in good feithe I pray God it amende,
Lawe is nye flemed out of this contree,
For fewe ben that dreded it to offende,
Correccioun and alle this is longe on the.
Why suffrest thow so many assemblé
Of armed folke welnye in every shire?
Partie is made to venge her cruelle ire.

They withe her hande wrong to hem done redresse,
Hem daynethe not an accioun atame
At common lawe; such unbuxomnesse
Suffrede us wole make of seurtee lame.
Whoso may this correcte is worthy blame
That he ne dothe not. Allas! this suffraunce
Wole us distroye by contynuaunce.

Is there no lawe this to remedie?
I kan no more but and this forthe growe
This lande shalle it repente and sore abie.
And alle suche mayntenaunce, as men welle knowe,
Sustenede is not by persones lowe,
But cobbes grete this ryot sustene.
Correcte it gode is while that it is grene.

For and it hore, this londe is but loste.
He that our hede is (*i.e.*, Henry IV.) sore it shalle repente.
And this to amende axethe no grete coste,
But by lawe in no vengeable entent,
Say I, but for the better hem take and hent,
And punysshe hem by lawfulle rightwisnesse
And suffre not eche other thus to oppresse.

Throughout the discussion there was frequent reference to what the subsidy might be in certain events; but it seemed as if the people had been sucked too nigh, and that the pot that had gone so long to the water would come home cracked at last.[1] The influence of Oldcastle was soon felt. A petition was presented requesting that persons arrested under the Statute of Heretics might not be imprisoned during their trial and examination.[2] Many of the knights of Parliament urged that if the King had the wealth that was now wasted by Bishops, Abbots, and Priors, he could maintain with it 15 earls, 1500 knights, and 6200 squires, and have £20,000 a year for

Smalle tendirnesse is hade nowe of our lawes,
For yf so be that one of the grete wattes
A dede do which that ageyn the lawe is,
Not at alle he punysshed for that is.
Like as cop-webbes flyes small and gnattes
Taken, and suffren grete flyes go,
For alle this world lawe is reulede so.

The riche and mighty man though he trespace
No man seith ones that blak is his eye;
But to the poor is denied alle grace,
He snybbed is and putte to turmentrye,
He not asterte may, he shalle abye,
He caught is in the webbe and may not twynne.
Much good rule is sowe and springith thynne.

Of this growethe stryfe, bataile and discorde,
And by the grete poore folk ben grevede.
For he that noble is of blode and lorde
In stile and nought hathe stired is and mevede
Unto rapyne; that is often preved.
The poore it feelethe thus of lawe the lak,
Norrisshethe wrong and castethe right abak.

[1] The potte so longe to the water gothe
That home it comethe atte last ybroke.
Whan that the peple with a chere lothe
Her purses emptede have and eke her poke,
Hem thynkethe that they to ny ben soke.
What harme of that to kynges hath betidde
It may not be helede in no wise ne hidde.—
HOCCL., DE REG., 159.

[2] ROT. PARL., III., 626; COTTON, 472.

his own coffers besides.[1] It was estimated that the disposable funds from the greater monasteries alone would amount to 322,000 marks (£214,666 13s. 4d.) per annum.[2] If properly used, this money might help every township to maintain its own poor and keep up 100 more almshouses[3] than there were at present, each to be served by two secular priests and endowed with 100 marks per annum,[4] while over and above this amount the smaller religious houses would yield enough to endow 15,000 parish priests and clerks, each with the usual stipend of seven marks a year.[5]

These famous figures do not appear on the official roll. The earliest statement of them is given by a biographer of Henry V., who wrote some 30 years later;[6] but the details which he supplies enable us to affirm that the total is only a rough estimate, such as had often to do duty in those days in the absence of exact statistical detail.[7] A generation

[1] WALS., II., 282; HYPODIGM., 429; OTT., 267; MILMAN (V., 527) places the petition in 1407; so also VAUGHAN, MONOGRAPH, 489. [2] WYCL. (A.), II., 269; III., 400, estimates the wealth of the clergy, friars, and monastic orders in England at "many hundred thousend marke." He thinks that the friars alone have 60,000 marks a year. [3] FAB., 386; HALLE, H. V., 3; GRAFTON, 437, 445; HOLINS., II., 536; T. COOPER, 254 b; HUME, II., 295; FOX, III., 318. [4] One of the largest hospitals in the country was that of St. Leonard at York. It contained 206 poor immates, with 16 male and female servants to tend them, besides 1 master with his 8 servants, 13 chaplains, 3 secular chaplains, 30 choristers, and 2 schoolmasters (Vol. II., p. 485, note 7). It was endowed with a thrave (*i.e.*, 20 sheaves.—RAINE, YORK, 186) of corn from every ploughland in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland and Cumberland, originally granted to the King to keep down the wolves. These Petercorns had been commuted for a money payment, but the hospital found it difficult to collect its dues.—ROT. PARL., IV., 249; DRAKE, 333. For the decayed condition of many hospitals see STAT., I., 175; 2 H. V., cap. 1. [5] Vol. II., p. 117, note 5. [6] MS. of TITUS LIVIUS FOROJULIENSIS in PARL. HIST., II., 114. Possibly the English translation quoted in STOW, 339. The passage does not occur in HEARNE'S edition. [7] *E.g.*, in 1383, WYCLIFFE quotes an estimate that there were 4000 friars in England, that they spend £5 apiece on themselves and the same amount on their buildings and other expenses, making a total of £40,000 per

before, it was believed that the Church possessed one-third of the land [1] in England, and this was merely a rude attempt to express its value in cash. The dioceses of Canterbury,[2] Durham, York, Winchester, London, Lincoln, Norwich, Ely, Bath, and Worcester, with their larger abbeys, were now supposed to yield 20,000 marks apiece; the four sees of Chester,[3] St. David's, Salisbury, and Exeter are down for 20,000 marks between them; four other groups of abbeys produce 20,000 marks each, and another final group 22,000 marks. But the list is obviously incomplete; for it omits entirely the dioceses of Chichester, Hereford, Rochester, and Carlisle, and the three Welsh sees of Llandaff, Bangor, and St. Asaph.

Wycliffe had long preached that the King not only may, but must take away its wealth from a delinquent Church that misapplied it, and that any Pope or Bishop that gainsaid him should be removed as a heretic and disturber of the Church's peace;[4] that the Council should take all land and rent[5] from the dead hand and put it into the hand of the King and the secular arm;[6] that all endowment was a poisoned shackle

annum drawn from the English people for their support.—BUDDENSIEG, I., 28, 192. Cf. WYCL., LAT. SERM., II., 49, 52, 435.

[1] ROT. PARL., II., 337 (1376); CUNNINGHAM, I., 252. Thei han almost the tresor of the lond and worldly lordischipe.—WYCL. (M.), 139. In caase that the clergy hadde alle the temporal possescyons as thai han now the more parte.—*Ibid.*, 368; BURROWS, COMMENTARIES, 203. [2] For the temporalities of the Archbishop of Canterbury temp. R. II., see MONAST., I., 89. [3] *I.e.*, Coventry and Lichfield, see Vol. I., p. 117, note 7. [4] MURIMUTH, 222; WALS., I., 354, 361; CONC., III., 343, 345, 347, 349, from DE ANTICHRISTO, DE ORDINE CHRISTIANO, and DE ARTE SOPHISTICA. Cf. LEWIS, 99; LECHLER, I., 266; II., 149; HÖFLER, ANNA, 21; WYCL. (M.), 278; (A.), III., 514; BUDDENSIEG, I., 275; POOLE, 265, 345; DE ECCL., 180, 340; LAT. SERM., II., XVII., 176, 299; III., 20, 36, 158, 370, 489; IV., 173; DE OFF. REG., 29, 85, 120, 126, 186; DE APOSTASIA, 88; DE BLASPH., 64; ELMHAM, HIST. MON. AUG., 208. [5] GOWER, CONF., 239. [6] WYCL., LAT. SERM., IV., 145; DE BLASPH., 197.

with which the Devil caught the Bishops by the leg and fouled the Church's dignity; that the King was the head and the clergy the neck, which must not be bowed with the weight of its finery:—and here was a definite scheme to make these waste goods[1] support the Church, the Court, the army,[2] and the poor.[3] This very plan had really been worked out more than 10 years before in a special tract[4] by John Purvey,[5] the inseparable companion[6] of Wycliffe, and the translator of the

[1] "Last lordys and comyns taken fro hem here wast wordly godis and constreyen hem to kepe mekenesse and pouert and pennaunce."—WYCL. (M.), 274, 279. "Not robbery of holy chirche but rather riztwise restitution."—*Ibid.*, 389; (A.), III., 275; DE BLASPH., 216, 268, 271.

Cf. Taketh here londes, ye lordes, and leet hem lyve by dymes,
Yf the kynges coveyten in Cristene pees to lyven.
For yf posession be poyson and imperfyt hem make,
The hevedes of holy churche and tho that be under hem,
Hit were charite to deschargen hem for holy churche's sake
And purge hem of the olde poyson ere more perel falle.—
P. PLO., XVIII., 227.

[2] "Than myzte oure lond be strengere by many thousand men of armes than it is now, withouten any newe cost of lordis or taliage of the pore comyns, and be dischargid of gret hevy rente and of many talliagis and extorsions by whiche thei ben now cruelly pillid and robbid."—WYCL. (A.), III., 217, 391. [3] "Helpe youre selfe, yee lordus, and youre pore tenauntis with tho waste godis to whiche heretikis havyng the name of prelatis and prestis makyn sacrifice to Belial."—WYCL. (A.), III., 479. [4] FOX, III., I., 290; FASCIC., 393, where the editor (p. lxix.) strangely argues that PURVEY'S text must be later than 1410, as though he had borrowed from the Parliament. Cf. PURVEY, REM., 16, 91. VAUGHAN at first (I., 314; TRACTS, XXVII.), attributed it without doubt to WYCLIFFE, but later to PURVEY (MONOGRAPH, 478). [5] Vol. I., p. 179. He seems to have been a native of Lathbury near Newport-Pagnall. —FORSHALL AND MADDEN, I., XXIV.; PURVEY, REM., XIII.; MORLEY, VI., 135. In KNIGHTON, 2660, he is capellanus simplex; see also LEWIS, 218; NICHOLLS AND TAYLOR, I., 190; II., 13. His name does not occur among the vicars of Lathbury in LIPSCOMB, IV., 203; add FULLER, WORTHIES, II., 558. BALE (542) quotes from his COMMENTARY ON THE APOCALYPSE, written in prison in 1390, in which he refers to the earthquake in 1382. The book was published by Luther at Wittenberg in 1528 with the title "Ante Centum Annos," but without PURVEY'S name.—PANZER, IX., 87. [6] "Comes individuus."—KNIGHTON, 2660.

Bible;[1] though he had since recanted[2] his Lollardry, and was now neither cold nor hot.[3] But the churchmen had stood the brunt before,[4] and the lay fee[5] might go pipe in an ivy leaf[6] for anything they would give up. The Prince was on their side,[7] and the scheme was al-to-squat,[8] though years afterwards the figures floated before the eyes of reformers, who adapted them to suit the circumstances of their age.[9]

On Friday, May 2nd, 1410,[10] the Commons requested to be

[1] MOULTON, 22; WYCL., DE OFF. REG., 97. For Nicholas Hereford, see Vol. I., p. 301. For his recantation June 19th, 1382, see KNIGHTON, 2655; LEWIS, 208; PHILLOTT, DIOCESAN HISTORY OF HEREFORD; ENGLISH GARNER, VI., 107; FORSHALL AND MADDEN, I., XVII. FULLER (WORTHIES, II., 558) believed him to be a Welshman. In 1403 he has one pipe of Gascon wine from the King.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6\,8}{4}$, APP. B. [2] Mar. 6th, 1401.—CONC., III., 260; RAMSAY, I., 35. Not Feb. 29th, 1400, as FASCIC., 400; FORSHALL AND MADDEN, I., XXIV.; VAUGHAN, MONOGRAPH, 359; EDGAR, 7; MOULTON, 18; ENGL. HIST. REV., V., 531; nor 1396, as BALE, 542; LEWIS, 221. [3] ENG. GARNER, VI., 62, 106. [4] Vol. I., p. 475. For documents sent from Westminster to the Coventry Parliament on Oct. 22nd, 1404, to prove that Popes, Archbishops, and Bishops had in times past supported the Crown in resisting the encroachments of the "magnates of England," see KAL. AND INV., II., 70. [5] YORK MAN., 119; CAPGR., 102, 301. [6] "The seculer party may go pipe with an yuy leaf for eny lordschipes that the clerkis will zeve hem azen."—WYCL. (M.), 372. Cf. CHAUC., KNIGHT, 1840. [7] ROT. PARL., III., 583; ANGLIA, V., 36. [8] For "al-to-squatte," see MYROURE, XXII.; AUNGIER, 288. "She shal al-to-squatte thy head."—WYCL. (M.), 461. "A woman shal disquatte his head."—*ibid.* (A.), I., 246. "Shal squatte hem al to poudre."—*ibid.*, II., 68. "Al-to-quashte."—P. PLO., XXI., 259. "This stoon shal al-to-bryse him."—WYCL. (A.), II., 67. Cf. "al-to-breke, to-broken."—GOWER, CONF., 68, 120, 146, 180, 222, 259, 387, 414, 428, 431; WYCL. (A.), III., 25. "Al-to-dasshed."—CHAUC. (S.), II., 209. "Al-to-driven."—*ibid.*, III., 128. "Al-to-rent, al-to-renden."—*ibid.*, II., 120, 135; III., 114. "Al-to-tore, al-to-torn."—*ibid.*, I., 107; II., 56, 313; CHAN. YEM., 16103; GOWER, CONF., 72, 155, 191, 192, 438; HOCCL., DE REG., 209. "Al-to-shivered."—CHAUC. (S.), I., 352. "Al-to-hewe, to-hewen."—MAN OF LAW, 4850, 4857. "All-to-trede, al-to-trodyn."—PARSON'S TALE, p. 566; WYCL. (A.), III., 92. "Al-to-teerynge him."—*ibid.*, II., 204. "Al-to-beten, to-bete."—CHAUC. (S.), I., 234; GOWER, CONF., 144. "Al-to-shar."—CHAUC. (S.), I., 167. "Al-to-shent."—*ibid.*, 168. "Al to-shake."—*ibid.*, III., 118, 143. "Al-to-seche."—GOWER, CONF., 62. "To-drawe."—*ibid.*, 158, 165, 250, 282, 289. "To-sprad."—*ibid.*, 264. "To-clef, to-rofe."—*ibid.*, 414. [9] For Sharp's plan in 1431, see AMUNDESHAM, 63, 453. [10] ROT. PARL., III., 632.

informed of the names of the King's Council before they proceeded to vote their grant. Thereupon the King named the Prince, together with Bishops Beaufort, Langley, and Bubwith, the Earls of Arundel [1] and Westmoreland, and Lord Burnell. The new Chancellor is not on the list, though he and the Treasurer (Lord Scrope), and the Keeper of the Privy Seal (John Prophet) certainly attended the Council meetings.[2] The Prince at once declared that he and the others could not undertake the task of governing unless the necessary grants were forthcoming. The members of the Council were then solemnly sworn to govern well; but the Prince was excused from taking the oath because of the highness and excellence of his honourable person. A week later [3] the names of Bishop Chichele and the Earl of Warwick were added, as there was some uncertainty about the attendance of Bishop Langley and the Earl of Westmoreland. On May 8th the Commons voted the money. They had been pressed to grant their tenth and fifteenth once for all for the remainder of the King's life,[4] and so save the expense of these frequent Parliaments; but this they steadily refused to do. They renewed the Gloucester grant of three-twentieths for boroughs and one-tenth for counties,[5] which was estimated to yield about £48,000;[6] but instead of paying up all within a year, as the last Parliament had done, they spread it over two years, so that the last portion

[1] He was appointed May 2nd, 1410, at a salary of £200 per annum. —Iss. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 9th, 1412. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 331, 333, 335, 337. [3] ROT. PARL., III., 634. [4] WALS., II., 283. [5] Vol. III., p. 120. REC. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH. (Nov. 5th, 1411), refers to half of fifteenth and half of tenth granted anno xi. For reference to receipt of third half of tenth and half-tenth, and fifteenth and half-fifteenth granted anno xi., see *ibid.*, 14 H. IV., MICH. (Oct. 26th, 27th, 1412). [6] The actual total receipt from all sources for the half-year ending Easter, 1410 (11 H. IV., MICH.), was £45,283, and the expenditure £47,070 12s. 11d.

would not be claimable till Martinmas, 1412.[1] The subsidy[2] was fixed for the next two years at 43s. 4d. for English traders and 50s. for foreigners,[3] the same as had been voted at Gloucester, except that foreigners[4] were now charged 3s. 4d. per sack less than they had been at the last fixture. The tonnage and poundage[5] remained at 3s. and 1s. as before. £10,000 had been allotted on Oct. 30th, 1409,[6] for the expenses of the King's household for the six months ending Easter, 1410, and it was estimated that £16,000 would be required for the same purpose for the year ending Easter, 1411.[7] To meet this the Council now ordered that the King should have 20,000 marks (£13,333 6s. 8d.)[8] out of the taxation as it came in, to do with at his pleasure. On Friday, May 9th, 1410,[9] the

[1] ROT. PARL., III., 635; DEP. KEEP. 2nd REPT., II., 184. [2] The subsidy was estimated to yield £30,000 in the 12 months ended Sep. 29th, 1411.—ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 7. It was believed that in 1390 the yield of the subsidy and customs had amounted to £160,000 (ROT. PARL., III., 279, 625). But this is altogether beyond the facts.—ANTIQUARY, IV., 205. RAMSAY (I., 151) estimates the average yield of the customs, temp. H. IV., at £50,000 per annum (ANTIQUARY, VI., 101), and of the tenths and fifteenths (lay and clerical) at £47,000 per annum. In the reign of Edward III. the customs alone were believed to have yielded £68,000 per annum.—STAT., II., 346. [3] The extra sum paid by foreigners for the privilege of trading with England dates from the time of Edward I.—LIB. CUST., 209. [4] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 20, shows merchants of Florence to pay only 50s. from Feb. 1st, 1406, instead of 53s. 4d. as required by Statute of Coventry (Vol. I., p. 478); also FR. ROLL, 11 H. IV., 22, Oct. 26th, 1409. On Mar. 13th, 1407, the senate at Venice acknowledge that Venetians in England are absolved from the general tax levied on every class in England.—VEN. STATE PP., I., 44. [5] This was estimated to yield £333 6s. 8d. for nine months (Sep. 29th, 1410, to June 24th, 1411). —ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 10. The Port of Melcombe used to return £1000 (called 1000 marks in ROT. PARL., III., 639), but the town had been burnt, and the people had fallen into great poverty.—ROT. PARL., III., 616. [6] ISS. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH. [7] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 342; II., 11; ISS. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 15th, 1410; *ibid.*, 13 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 13th, 1411, refers to payment of portion of £16,000, appointed by the Council for payment of the King's household. [8] ISS. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Jan. 22nd, 1412, records £4000 paid on this account. [9] In medium mensis Maii.—WALS., II., 283.

Parliament broke up, and the members returned to their homes.

The clergy of the Southern province met in St. Paul's, and renewed their grant at the increased rate of three-twentieths in lieu of one-tenth,[1] but the Northern House was not so pliable. The Convocation of York was summoned to meet at Beverley on Feb. 15, 1410,[2] but no arguments could bend them to follow suit. They met again on April 11th, in the Nunnery Church at Clementhorpe under the walls of York. Here they discussed till May 23rd, when they so far yielded to their Archbishop's urgent pressure as to make a grant of one-tenth in the old terms; but beyond this they would not go.

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 342; ISS. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 15th, 1410. REC. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 5th, 1411, refers to tenth granted by clergy anno xi.; *ibid.*, 14 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 11th, 26th, 1412, refers to the tenth and half-tenth granted by clergy anno xi.
[2] CONC., III., 333; WAKE, 348.

CHAPTER LXXX.

PRINCE HAL.

THE King withdrew from London before the Parliament rose, and henceforward took very little part in public affairs. On April 3rd, 1410, he was at Beauregard,[1] on April 12th at Sutton[2] near Chiswick, and he spent his time at Windsor[3] till the middle of June. His tents[4] were then mended, probably for a hunting expedition, and he moved by Sonning,[5] Henley-on-Thames, Tetsworth,[6] and Thame to Queen Joan's park at Woodstock,[7] where he stayed the greater part of July and August. On Aug. 22nd, he was at Dadlington[8] near Hinckley; he was at Daventry[9] on Aug. 28th; and from Sep. 6th to Oct. 6th he was at or near Leicester,[10] being at Bil-

[1] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16. [2] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{4\,5}{1\,6}$, APP. B. [3] For documents dated at Windsor Castle, April 10th, 15th, 20th; May 14th, 25th, 27th, 29th; and June 1st, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 7th, 9th, 1410, see PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 16; DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, mm. 12, 16, 17, 26, 51, 61, 62. [4] For order to charter workmen for their removal, see PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 8, July 14th, 1410. [5] For papers dated at Sonning, June 16th, 17th, 18th, 26th, 1410, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 13′, 14′. [6] CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 2 d, Aug. 1st, 1410. [7] L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12, 4, APP. C; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{4\,5}{1\,4}$, APP. B. For papers dated at Woodstock, July 10th, 12th, 16th, 28th; Aug. 1st, 3rd, 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 16th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 1410, see PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, mm. 4, 8, 14, 21; FR. ROLL, 11 H. IV., 1; RYM. VIII., 651, 654; DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 14′, 18′; PRIV. SEAL, 649/6670, 6671, 6672. [8] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 18′ [9] *Ibid.* [10] For documents dated Leicester, Sep. 6th, 11th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 24th, 25th, 27th; Oct. 4th, 6th, 1410, see *ibid.*, 10′, 40′; PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 3, 5 d; 11 H. IV., 2, 5, 6, 8; CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 1. For receipt of 500 marks from the Treasurer *at Leicester*, for expenses of King's household, see ISS. ROLL, 11 H. IV.,

ton[1] on Sep. 15th, and at Oakham,[2] Sep. 21st. From Oct. 12th to Nov. 11th he was at Groby,[3] but after that date he returned to Leicester,[4] whither £4000 was sent to him from London in trussing-coffers,[5] under a guard of five archers, in the middle of December.[6] On December 20th he was at Coventry,[7] and the Christmas was spent at Kenilworth,[8] where he stayed two months into the following year.[9]

In his absence the Government had been carried on in London by the new Council. They met frequently in the

PASCH. (Sep. 2nd, 1410). For payment to messenger from Treasurer to the King at Leicester, see ISS. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 23rd, 1410. PAT., 12 H. IV., 43, has an entry dated Leicester, Sep. 15th (*i.e.*, 1411), which is probably a mistake for 1410. Papers are also dated this year (1410) at Middleham (Sep. 4th), PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 6 d; Beverley (Sep. 11th), CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 2 d; Kingston-on-Hull (Sep. 12th), PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 12, per bill. Thes.; indicating perhaps the whereabouts of the Chancellor or the Treasurer. For entries dated Windsor, Oct. 1st, 6th, 1410, see CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 36 d, 38 d.

[1] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 25. [2] FR. ROLL, 11 H. IV., 2. [3] For entries dated Groby, Oct. 12th, 14th, 17th, 23rd, 24th, 27th; Nov. 4th, 11th; Dec. 6th, 8th, 1410, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 15′, 20′, 24′; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{4}{15}$, APP. B. For payments made at Groby, where the Keeper of the Privy Seal then was, see ISS. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH. (Oct. 26th, 27th, 1410); REC. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH. (Oct. 27th, 1410). [4] For documents dated Leicester, Nov. 23rd, 25th, 26th, 28th, 29th, 30th; Dec. 1st, 3rd, 9th, 14th, 1410, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 10′; PRIV. SEAL, 650/6723, 6724, 6729, 6730, 6731, 6732, 6733; PAT., 12 H. IV., 20, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31, 33; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{4}{15}$, APP. B; CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 28, 31; FR. ROLL, 12 H. IV., 26, 27; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 6; RYM., VIII., 655, 657, 659, 661, &c. For a document dated Hertford, Nov. 25th, 1410, see CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 28 d. [5] Cf. 1 par trossyng-cofres pro auro imponendo.—DERBY ACCTS., 19; PRUTZ, LIV., 19; 1 par trussyng coffres in quibus solebant ponere sericum.—GIBBONS, LINC., 85; SHARPE, II., 250; HOLT, 67; KAL. AND INV., II., 60; PLUMPTON CORRDCE., XXXII.; STAFF. REG., 385; TEST. EBOR., I., 382; II., 194. [6] ISS. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH., shows that the Treasurer of England was at Leicester Dec. 9th, 1410, and his chaplain at Kenilworth. [7] DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 22′ [8] L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12, 4, APP. C; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{5}{14}$, APP. B. [9] For documents dated Kenilworth, Jan. 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 14th, 15th, 20th, 21st, 24th, 27th, and Feb. 4th, 6th, 9th, 16th, 1411, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 10′, 15′, 55′; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{4}{15}$, APP. B. He was at Lambeth on March 17th, 19th, 1411. —PRIV. SEAL, 650/6787; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 6.

summer of 1410, and we have records of their sittings at the Black Friars Convent on the Fleet on June 16th,[1] at Westminster (June 18th), at the Bishop of Hereford's Inn[2] on Old Fish St. Hill (June 19th), at Westminster again (July 22nd and 29th), and at Robert Lovell's hostel by Old Fish St. (July 30th). Indeed, the meetings followed so close upon each other that they could scarce divide the Sunday from the week, and old officials began to protest that there were working days enough in the year without holding councils on the holidays.[3]

The business recorded is chiefly financial. Arrangements were made for supplying funds to the needy garrisons. £2666[4] was sent to the Lord John at Berwick. The force under Lord Talbot[5] on the borders of Wales, which had before been only 100 men-at-arms and 200 archers,[6] was raised to three times the strength,[7] and £4939 6s. 8d. was sent to pay their wages for three months,[8] while £2004 13s. 4d. was paid to the Chancellor-Admiral for the wages of his sailors (July 17th, 1410).

For many months past the administration had been carried

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 331-341. [2] STOW, LOND., 393; WEBB, I., 128; II., LIX., CXXIV.

[3] Excellent Prince, eke on the holy dayes
Bethe ware that ye not your counceiles holde.
As for the tyme putte hem in delayes.
Thynkethe wele this, ye wel apaide be nolde
Yf your sugettes not by your heste holde.
In the long yere ben werkdayes ynowe,
If they be wele spent, for to entende
To counceiles.— HOCCL., DE REG., 178.

[4] Viz., £1500 (June 23rd), and £1166 (July 31st).—Iss. ROLL, 11 H. IV., PASCH. [5] Iss. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 29th, Nov. 26th, 1410. [6] *Ibid.*, 11 H. IV., PASCH., May 27th, 1410, has £400 paid for them to the Prince of Wales for 40 days. [7] *Ibid.*, 11 H. IV., PASCH., June 23rd, 1410; called 500 archers, *ibid.*, 12 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 15th, 1410; but 600, *ibid.*, Dec. 9th, 1410. [8] Viz., £3010 (Sep. 2nd, 1410), £1629 6s. 8d. (Sep. 28th, 1410), £300 (May 28th, 1411).—*Ibid.*, 11, 12 H. IV., PASCH.

on by means of loans. The citizens of London had lent £7000 on Nov. 22nd, 1409,[1] and arrangements had now to be made for repaying advances. Earlier in the year the controllers and collectors had been summoned[2] to bring their cash and securities; but the first instalment of the new taxation would not fall due till Martinmas, 1410, and careful calculations showed that it might be expected to produce only about £18,600. More than this, however (viz., £20,639),[3] would be required for the various defences. On May 8th, 1410,[4] the Council recommended that 2000 marks should be raised for the expenses of the King's household, by means of tallies on the customs; and on June 14th,[5] bishops, barons, and knights were commissioned in the different counties to arrange for loans of money for immediate use. The members of the Council and others advanced largely of their means.[6] The men of Lynn were paid to keep the sea. Comparisons were made as to the cost of garrisons in time of peace and war; and the Lord John, the Earl of Westmoreland and his son John Nevil, together with the captains of all the castles about Calais, were summoned to appear before the Council after Michaelmas. A close eye was kept on the payment of annuities,[7] that the public funds might not be wasted on

[1] Iss. Roll, 12 H. IV., Mich., Nov. 29th, 1410. [2] Claus., 11 H. IV., 2, Jan. 19th, 1410. For payments to messengers to Ipswich, Lynn and Yarmouth, see Iss. Roll, 11 H. IV., Mich., Feb. 3rd, 1410. [3] Ord. Priv. Co., I., 347. [4] Claus., 11 H. IV., 5. [5] Pat., 11 H. IV., 2, 13; Ord. Priv. Co., I., 343. For payments to messengers see Iss. Roll, 11 H. IV., Pasch., June 23rd, 1410. [6] *E.g.*, Bishop Beaufort lent £1000, June 9th, 1410, Iss. Roll, 11 H. IV., Pasch.; Drew Barantyn, £1500, July 30th, 1410, Pat., 11 H. IV., 2, 5; the Countess of Hereford, £333 6s. 8d., July 24th, 1410; Robert Chichele and the merchants of Florence, Lucca, Venice, and Lynn, 100 marks each, July 23rd, 1410, Claus., 11 H. IV., 4. [7] Iss. Roll, 11 H. IV., Pasch., Sep. 2nd, 1410, has payments to messengers, sheriffs, &c.

undeserving persons; and collectors[1] of the subsidy were to be at Westminster with their seals to be examined and reformed before the Octave of Michaelmas. The month of August[2] was devoted to conferences with the French envoys to secure a further prolongation of the truce; and on Sep. 17th, 1410,[3] the Prince undertook to seek out and punish all supporters of the rebels in Wales. When the first half of the taxation came in, tellers[4] were appointed to count up the proceeds in the Exchequer.[5] They were paid at the rate of threepence per day, and received a special allowance for their meals during 16 days.

But, for all the efforts of the Council, money was still scarce; and on Nov. 20th, 1410,[6] all persons who had been for the last three years in receipt of a clear annual income of £40, either from land or from any other source, were ordered to come before the Council by next Candlemas, to take up the order of knighthood,[7] or to pay a fine of £3 in case of refusal. As the new dignity entailed a substantial burden of military responsibility in finding men to meet the King's frequent musters, it is not surprising that many provincials shirked the honour. I have not found any proved case of knighthood traceable to this order, though from the flood of knighted names occurring in the lists of fighting men, who followed the English banners to France in the years immediately succeeding, it is more than likely that the wealthy and untitled classes took up the

[1] CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 1, Aug. 4th, 1410. For payments of messengers see ISS. ROLL, 11 H. IV., PASCH., July 24th, 1410. [2] RYM., VIII., 651-653. [3] PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 5. [4] H. HALL, EXCHEQ., 16. [5] ISS. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH., Dec. 9th, 1410; *ibid.*, 12 H. IV., PASCH., July 23rd, 1411. [6] RYM., VIII., 656, 685; DEVON, 315, 317. [7] For order of Hy. III., in 1256, requiring all who held lands valued at £15 to receive knighthood or pay one mark to the Crown, see MATT. PARIS, quoted in DENTON, 29; R. B. COTTON, 136.

honour greedily. On the other hand, the Receipt Roll of the Exchequer for this winter contains over 40 entries of gentlemen from every county in England, who declined the burden and paid the fine,[1] none of them being men of any public note, with the exception of Robert Whittington, who had before been Sheriff of Gloucestershire.[2] Still, in spite of this trafficking in honours, the budget would not balance. A great Council of 12 Bishops, 2 Abbots, and 15 Barons met at Westminster on Feb. 15th, 1411.[3] After deliberation, the sittings were prorogued till Feb. 25th,[4] and on March 19th they met the King and the Prince at Lambeth,[5] when it was announced that there was a prospect of a deficit of £16,040, even without providing for the payment of any annuities. Under these circumstances a commission was appointed, March 2nd, 1411,[6] to enquire as to what lands were held by the religious houses without special license and in contravention of the Statute of Mortmain. But the result of the investigation would appear to have been more irritating than productive, if we may judge

[1] *E.g.*, Richard Risheby, William Croysere, Stephen Bodulgate, Thomas House, &c.—REC. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH. The following year (*ibid.*, 14 H. IV., MICH.) shows refusals from Peter Melbourne, John Giffard (Gloucester), John Prestwich, and Nicholas Bloundell (Lancs.), Thomas Pauncefot (Somerset), Thomas Heselrig of Eslington, near Alnwick; John Hotoft (or Hotot.—BLOMEFIELD, VIII., 18), Norfolk; Robt. Whitney (of Pencombe.—DUNCUMB, I., 90; II., 151), John Merbury, and Lewis Cornwall (all of Hereford), and Ralph Raskymmmer (or Reskimer.—STAFF. REG., 305) of Cornwall. For brass of Joan Urban, daughter of John Reskemer, Kt. of Cornwall (June, 1414), at Southfleet, Kent, see HAINES, 107 (edn. 1848). [2] In CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 34 (Oct. 2nd, 1405); 12 H. IV., 32 (Nov. 9th, 1410), he is Escheator of Gloucester. In REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH. (May 3rd, 1408); 10 H. IV., MICH. (Oct. 27th, 1408), he is Sheriff of Gloucester. See also HIST. MSS., 12th REPT., IX., 421. He was one of the representatives of Gloucestershire in the Parliament of 1411.—RETURN PARL., I., 276. His younger brother was Richard, the London mercer.—BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 32, 73. [3] DEVON, 316. [4] ISS. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 16th, 1411. [5] ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 6; see Vol. III., p. 318, note 9. [6] PAT., 12 H. IV., 20.

from a return, dated June 13th, 1412,[1] of the liabilities of the inmates of the leper hospital[2] at Harbledown, near Canterbury, whose taxable property was found to amount to £5 per annum, including such items as a quarter of barley from a grange at Herne, a hen, half a teal (*sarcelle*), a third of a teal, &c., the gifts of divers persons at Reculver, Canterbury and other parts of Kent.

The King, as we have seen, was during all this time in retirement, and the energy of the new Council was directed with desperate earnestness by the young Prince of Wales. His manor of Byflete,[3] near Weybridge, was specially repaired for his use, but his time was chiefly spent at Berkhamsted[4] or Kennington.[5] He sat at the head of every Council meeting[6] throughout the summer of 1410, and seemed to bend the whole machinery of government, during the temporary lull in the strife, towards devising means to stretch out the limited resources at command for some great effort in the coming year.

He was now in his 24th year, having been born in August,[7]

[1] PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 18, where Herne is spelt Hierne. [2] See SOMNER, I., 42; II., 169; HASTED, III., 577. [3] PAT., 12 H. IV., 27 (Mar. 17th, 1411); 14 H. IV., 1, Feb. 12th, 1413; Q. R. HOUSEHOLD, $\frac{9}{38}$, APP. F, shows one tun of red Gascon given to those employed on the works, Dec. 8th, 1412. The park and manor were attached to the Duchy of Cornwall.—RYM., VIII., 93; ROT. PARL., III., 668; MANNING AND BRAY, III., 183. [4] Called "Barkamstyd" in DERBY ACCTS., 28. [5] ROT. PARL., III., 668. [6] LUDERS, 57, 63; TYLER, I., 259; SOLLY-FLOOD, 84. [7] "Natus in Augusto fueras."—MEM. H. V., 64. The date Aug. 9th is first given by JOVIUS, p. 70, but it seems to be a misprint for April, and refers to the day of his coronation. I can find no warrant for Aug. 19th, as PAULI, V., 67; ENCYCL. BRIT., XI., 660; or Sep. 16th, as DOYLE, I., 442; II., 317; COMPLETE PEERAGE, II., 228, 365. WILLIAM OF WORCESTER (442) places his birth in 1387, but he dates the birth of Thomas in 1388, John in 1389, and Humphrey in 1390. This date is accepted by TYLER, I., 1, 343; STRICKLAND, I., 498; HOLT, LANGLEY, 334; D. WILLIAMS, APP., 111; COXE, 307, 344; LUDERS, 26, 145; SOLLY-FLOOD, 71; PAULI, V., 67; CHURCH, 1; DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXVI., 43; GARDINER, 297; RAMSAY, 159, 161; and is placed on his statue in Agincourt Square, Monmouth.—STAR OF GWENT, 11/12/86. Others give 1388, as ARCHÆO-

1386, in his father's castle at Monmouth,[1] when his mother was only 16 years old. The year has been doubted, and I have not found it anywhere expressly recorded, seeing that at the time of his birth there was no expectation that he would ever be a king; but it is proved to be 1386 by the statements that he was 26 years old[2] when he was crowned on April 9th, 1413; that he was 34 at the death of his brother Thomas on March 22nd, 1421; and that he was 36 when he died, Aug. 31st, 1422.[3] Moreover, the records of the Duchy of Lancaster show that his father and mother, Henry, Earl of Derby, and Mary de Bohun, were keeping house at Monmouth in the summer of 1386,[4] and their next son Thomas was born in London in the fall of 1387.[5] Henry was not the eldest son, a boy having been born in April, 1382, when his mother was

LOGIA, XX., 29; WILLS OF KINGS, 404; SANDFORD, 277; BLORE, H. IV., 3, from BODL. MS. RAWL., LXXIX., B, 243; LINGARD, III., 452; SKEAT, CHAUCER, I., 83; BANKS, IV., 378; YORKS. ARCH. AND TOP. JOURN., IV., 267; N. AND Q., 5/3/87.

[1] ELMHAM, VITA, p. 4; EUL., III., 421; TIT. LIV., 3; LEL., COL., I., 487. The cradle in which he was supposed to have been rocked was formerly at Courtfield, near Welsh Bicknor (TYLER, I., 11), Troy House on the Trothy (LEWIS, DICT., III., 317), and French Hay in Winterbourne near Bristol (COXE, 344; STRICKLAND, I., 498; CHURCH, 3), but in 1881 was in the possession of Rev. G. W. Braikenridge at Clevedon.—NICHOLLS AND TAYLOR, I., 197; ANTIQ. REPERT., II., 372. [2] ELMHAM, 17; TIT. LIV., 5; MEM. H. V., 65; DUGD., II., 197. [3] LEL., COLL., I., 489. I am unable to trace the reference in SOLLY-FLOOD, 71, to BLACK BOOK OF EXCHEQUER (? WM. OF WORCESTER), for the assertion that he was in his 37th year when he died; but this would agree with the supposition that he was born in Aug., 1386. [4] TYLER, I., 2, APP. A. While Henry was there the burgesses of Monmouth had to give him eight gallons out of every brewing of ale. This tax was known as the "Castle Coule."—COXE, 311. For order dated Feb. 18th, 1401, commuting the claim for a payment of 10d. each brewing, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 85. [5] TYLER, I., 13. DOYLE (I., 397) says Sep. 29th, 1387; RAMSAY (I., 159) gives 1388; and COMPLETE PEERAGE (II., 271) gives 1389, which is certainly wrong. For payments for the midwife Joan (40s.), for white cloth for covering the cradle and for the nurse's bed at Kenilworth, see DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 1 (Sep. 30th, 1387, to Sep. 30th, 1388), APP. A.

only 12 years old,[1] but he was the first that was reared, and his birth was followed by that of three boys and two girls in close succession, at intervals of about a year, all of whom grew to be men and women. The record for the year ending Sep. 30th, 1388, has entries showing the purchase of a demigown [2] for him, together with kirtles and satin and tartryn gowns in scarlet and white, 28 pairs of russet shoes for him and his infant brother Thomas, and Christmas liveries for their two nurses, both of whom were called Joan. In the same year are entries showing how his father fluted on the ricordo,[3] while his mother sang to the guitar;[4] how she toyed with her popinjay,[5] or petted her brachs and grey-hounds,[6] with their collars of green and white checked silk, and silver-gilt letters and bells;[7] how both played chess [8] with a silver tabler and silver men; how

[1] One of her sister Eleanor's squires brought the news to Henry on April 16th, 1382.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, 3, APP. A. [2] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 1, APP. A; not a "long gown," as TYLER, I., 13. [3] 1 fistula nomine Ricordo. [4] There is also an entry for ruling a parchment skin to be stretched on her canticum.—1 ferr' empt. pro domina pro cantico regul'.—10d; et p. regulac' unius pell' p'cameni (*i.e.*, pergameni) pro cant' sup' intend'.—4d. [5] For six lbs. of popinjay seed (5s.) for her, see DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, 5 (c), APP. A. For a popinjay brought by Henry from the East in 1393, see DERBY ACCTS., LXVI., 350; PRUTZ, LXXVIII. Cf. "Qui contreferoit papegay?"—DESCHAMPS, VIII., 319. [6] Cf. "pleie with her litel hound."—GOWER, CONF., 189. For "smale gentil hondis," as a present to ladies, see WYCL. (M.), 12; CHAUC., PROL., 146. Cf. "as grehoundis suen an hare."—WYCL. (A), II., 359; CHAUC., PROL., 190. Cf. SHAW, DRESSES, Vol. II., from HARL. MS., 6431; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, PLATE XXXIV. Cf. trois blancs leuvriers (leporarii) si veluz comme un ours bien courans et de bone entaille.—P. MEYER, 400. For "levrier courant," see PISAN, I., 205, 262; DESCHAMPS, III., 264; VIII., 249, 251, 269. For harehound, see STAT., 13 R. II., cap. 13; DENTON, 168; CUNNINGHAM, I. 364. [7] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6,8}{1}$, APP. B. [8] For "chess or tables," see CHAUCER (S.), I., 278, 479; "the chesses," PINKERTON, I., 466; "ju de l'eschier," GESTE, 395. For the chekker or board (scaccarium), see DERBY ACCTS., 49; PROMPT. PARV., 332, 485; CATHOL., 62; CHAUCER (S.), I., 299; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6,8}{1}$, APP. B. The men (meisne) were kept in a bag.—CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, PLATE XLII., 271; XLVI., 294; STRUTT, REG. ANTIQ., Frontispiece; GESTA ROMANORUM, 70, 460; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXIV., 207. In 1390 tablers and meisne cost 44s. 4d.—DERBY ACCTS., 113, 178. For

his father lost 26s. 8d. playing hand-ball[1] with two of the Duke of York's men, and was twice down with the pox; how his mother was so ill that they had to fetch Master Geoffrey Melton from Oxford to attend her at Kenilworth; and how she washed the feet of 18 poor women, and gave them six-pences apiece at the Maundy[2] or Shere-Thursday[3] (March 26th, 1388), in indication that she was now 18 years of age.[4] The record then breaks; his father makes his voyage to Prussia; and when the parchments speak again in 1391, two more brothers, John[5] and Humphrey,[6] have been born, and little Henry has a nurse (Joan Waryn)[7] all to himself. Then we have entries of Champagne linen for shirts, and Brabant linen for a foot-sheet for the boys, kirtles for all three, and silver-gilt collars for the two elder ones.[8] Early in 1392, the first sister

"chesmeyne," see *ibid.*, 281. For scaccarium merellos et tabulas, see G. OLIVER, 271.

[1] Ad pilam manualem. Cf. pro lusu domini ad Palmam.—DERBY ACCTS., 263. For 12 crowns and a furred gown of grey cloth, lost by the Duke of Orleans in 1400, a l'esbatement du jeu de la paueme, see LABORDE, III., 195. [2] LAY FOLK'S MASS BOOK, 60; P. PLO., B. XVI., 140, and note, p. 379; WYCL. (A.), III., 415. [3] LYDGATE, 95, 99; WYCL. (A.), I., 325, 357; II., 81, 112, 117, 119, 152, 211; III., 304; SHARPE, I., 305; II., 571; ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 71, 77; ROCK, III., 42, 188; IV., 78, 84, 235, 236; WALCOTT, ARCHÆOL., 372; LOND. AND MID. ARCH. SOC., IV., 330; NICHOLLS AND TAYLOR, I., 203; N. AND Q., 3rd Ser., VIII., 388; 7th Ser., XI., 514. [4] For custom of washing the feet of "as many poor men as my lord is years of age," see ROCK, IV., 237, 238, from HOUSEHOLD BOOK OF EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND, p. 354; and SIR THOMAS MORE'S WORKS, p. 1319. [5] Born June 20th, 1389.—COMPLETE PEERAGE, I., 293; DOYLE, I., 150; III., 117; RAMSAY, I., 159; GENEAL., III., 293. [6] KINGSTON'S COMPOTUS records 13s. 4d. paid Oct. 31st, 1390, to a certain English sailor, portanti nova de partu Humfredi filii domini nostri, while his father was away at Königsberg.—HIRSCH, II., 792; DERBY ACCTS., LXXXII., 107; PRUTZ, LXX., 99; M. A. E. GREEN, III., 308; HOLT, LANGLEY, 335; not 1391, as DOYLE, II., 22. One of his shin-bones, saved from St. Albans, is now in the possession of Lt. Col. H. Molleras Le Champion, 64 Redcliffe Square, South Kensington. [7] CAL. ROT. PAT., 264; TYLER, I., 14; II., 142; HOLT, 19; Joan Donnesmere or Donnesmore is nurse to Thomas and John, and Humphrey's nurse is called Margaret.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, 4; 3, 5 b, c, APP. A. [8] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 2, APP. A.

(Blanche) was born,[1] and pipes of blanderers and baskets of quinces,[2] wardens,[3] costards,[4] and cayleways[5] were sent down to them at Peterborough from the fruiters[6] in the London markets. At the end of 1393, the four boys were under a governess named Mary Hervy[7] at Hertford; and when their mother died in the following year (July 4th, 1394),[8] they were attended by a varlet named William Lecham. In March, 1395,[9] young Henry was alarmingly ill at Leicester, and messengers sped post-haste from London; but he recovered from the attack, and among the purchases made for him in this year are a silver girdle with harebell links, a roll containing seven books of grammar bought in London for 4s., six and a half lbs. of soap sent down from London for the use of the three boys, 23 pairs of shoes at 4d. a pair, four pairs of boots at 6d. a pair, new hempen reins[10] which cost 2d., a brass mortar[11] for holding night-lights in their room (11d.), and payments to Thomas Ringwood, for coming from Faweboune (?) to London to make gowns for them,[12] with detailed expenses for their summer cloaks and mantles, their broad black straw hats at 3s. each, their scarlet caps, and gowns of green russet and white plunket, furred with bysse and popil, made by their tailor, Adam Gastron, and two and a half lbs. of Cologne

[1] Vol. III., p. 248. [2] Or koynes.—CHAUCER (S.), I., 150; DERBY ACCTS., 19, 351. [3] CATHOL., 270, 408; PROMPT. PARV., 516. [4] CATHOL., 77; PROMPT. PARV., 94. [5] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 3, APP. A. [6] SHARPE, I., 157, 432; II., 255; spelt "fruturer" in CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 28 d; or "freuterer," *ibid.*, 10 H. IV., 11. [7] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 3, 4, APP. A. [8] Vol. II., p. 436; Vol. III., p. 236; FROIS., XV., 137; OTT., 183; RAMSAY, I., 158; HOLT, LANGLEY, 332; not July 1st, as *ibid.*, 116. She was at Peterborough May 18th, 1394.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, 5 c, APP. A. [9] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 4, APP. A; TYLER, I., 15. [10] Capistris canabi; see DU CANGE, S. V. [11] Vol. II., p. 247; CHAUC. (S.), I., 342, 492; LEE, 228; SHARPE, II., 152; ROCK, III., 89; HOLT, 120. [12] For the King's tailor (cissor), see REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., May 9th, 1408.

thread at 16d. the lb.[1] They spent their time at Kenilworth or Tutbury, where St. Nicholas' clerks sang before them on St. Nicholas' Eve, and Wilkin Walkin and other mounted minstrels made minstrelsy for them at New Year and Epiphany.[2]

On March 18th, 1397, young Henry, who is still known as Henry of Lancaster, was present at a tournament at Pleshy, whither a horse was sent to him from Tutbury, with black silk stuff for his spurs and black housings for his saddle; and it may have been then that he received from his grandmother, the Countess of Hereford, the missal and portos that he cherished till his dying day.[3] In 1398, he is known to have been at Kenilworth and Framingham, and in this same year[4] must be placed his short stay at Oxford, under the charge of his uncle Henry Beaufort, who was then Chancellor of the University.[5] He entered as a scholar at the Queen Hall,[6] and kept in a small room[7] over the gateway, where his name was long afterwards remembered. The year following (1399), when his father was in exile, he accompanied King Richard as a "fair young bachelor"[8] to make his first arms in Ireland. Here he was knighted by the King, with whom he was a special favourite;[9] but when the news arrived of his father's rebellion, he was sent as a prisoner to the castle of Trim. On his liberation he sailed to Chester,[10] and soon found his father King of

[1] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 5, APP. A. [2] *Ibid.*, XXVIII., 3, 6, APP. A. [3] RYM., IX., 291; TYLER, I., 18. [4] Not after his father's coronation, as LUDERS, 149; STRICKLAND, I., 499; CHURCH, 6. [5] A. WOOD, II., 401. [6] ROUSE, 207; HUTTEN, in ELIZABETHAN OXFORD, 64; SKELTON, PLATE 146; GASCOIGNE, LXXXV.; A. WOOD, I., 209; LUDERS, 55; FULLER, CH. HIST., II., 292; not New College, as STOW, CHRON., 342. The records of Queen's College, so far as they are preserved, throw no light on the question.—HIST. MSS., 2nd REPT., 141; TYLER, I, 21; A. CLARK, 138. His executors gave 50s. 8d. to Exeter College.—BOASE, EXON., XVII. [7] Opposite to St. Edmund's Hall. It is figured in HEARNE'S Editn. of THOMAS NEALE, p. 134 (edn. 1713). [8] ARCHÆOL., XX., 299; ELMHAM, 5; MEM. HY. V., 65. [9] TIT. LIV., 3. [10] DEVON, 281.

England and himself Prince of Wales, Earl of Chester,[1] Duke of Cornwall,[2] Lancaster, and Aquitaine, and heir-apparent to the English throne.[3]

From this point onward he was at the front in every stir. He followed his father's army in the abortive invasion of Scotland in 1400, in command of a troop of 17 men-at-arms and 99 archers.[4] In April, 1403,[5] he was placed at the head of a picked force of 3000 men, to operate against the Welsh, in conjunction with the Earl of Worcester,[6] with his head-quarters at Shrewsbury. He fired Owen's wooden houses[7] at Glyndwfrdwy on the Dee, and Sycharth[8] near Llangedwyn,

[1] In 1397, Richard II. had made Chester into a Principality, to be held always by the King's eldest son, who was to have been the Prince of Chester, but this statute was repealed in the first Parliament of Henry IV. [2] RAMSAY (I., 147) estimates the net revenue of the Duchy of Cornwall at £3000 p. a. In 1410, John Waterton was Receiver for the Duchy, and the Bishop's tithe of tin was £10 from Devon, and £6 13s. 4d. from Cornwall.—STAFF. REG., 349. [3] APP. TO FŒD., E, 65; DEP. KEEP. 36th REPT., APP. II., 501. [4] Vol. I., Chap. VII.; Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{5}$, $\frac{5}{12}$, APP. G. The whole force consisted of 1771 men-at-arms, and 11,314 archers. —*Ibid.*, $\frac{5}{12}$, APP. G. On Aug. 12th, 1400, the King was at Fenwick Park (*ibid.*, $\frac{5}{4}$, $\frac{5}{18}$, APP. G), accompanied by 22 varlets, tailors, tasselmakers, and carpenters.—DEVON, 285. [5] Vol. I., p. 342; DEVON, 293; not 1401, as RAMSAY, I., 40; MONTGOM. COLL., IV. 325; nor 1402, as BRIDGEMAN, 257. [6] For wages of the Earl of Worcester from April 17th to July 18th, 1403, see Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{2}{3}$, APP. F. [7] Vol. I., p. 342; not "princely halls" or "palaces," as ROWLAND WILLIAMS, XIX., 55. [8] For its position on the Cynllaith, a tributary of the Tanat, a few miles above its junction with the Vyrnwy, see ORDNANCE MAP, LXXIV., S.E. It is called Sawarth-en-Kentlith (ROT. PARL., IV., 440), or Kentilleth (INQ. P. MORT., III., 330; APPLEYARD, III., 52), or Saghern (ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 61; ORIG. LET., II., I., 11). A few miles above it on the slopes of Gyrn Moelfre stood Moel Iwrch, the home of Howel, son of Jevan Vychan, famed also for its hospitality, see extract from Guto-y-Glyn (a contemporary) in CAMBRO-BRITON, I., 344. The house at Sycharth was built of timber on an artificial mound, surrounded with a moat six yards wide, and provided with a heronry, orchard, vineyard, chapel, mill, and dovecote.—CAMBRO-BRITON, I., 459, 460; III., 25; PENNANT, I., 329; COTHI, 393. For an account of it in 1854, see BORROW, 208-210, with translation from IOLO GOCH, original in GORCHESTION, 75; LLOYD, I., 217. Deer grazed in the park, and the fishpond was stocked with pike and whiting. At both places

in the valley of the Tanat; and in June of the same year, he made his way through the mountains to relieve the castles of Harlech and Aberystwith, which were threatened with famine and siege. Horses had been bought up in Cheshire,[1] and John Hennore was sent on to take over the command at Harlech, as constable for Richard Massey.[2] The accounts of John Spenser, Controller of the Prince's Household, and John Waterton, Keeper of his Secret Treasury during this period, are still preserved[3] and supply a few particulars as to the composition of the force, the payments to guides to bring them through the mountains, the bullocks they took with them to feed the garrison at Harlech, the wine they drank at Aberystwith, and the horses they lost on the way. On his return to Shrewsbury the Prince found himself betrayed by the Percies, but by his father's timely arrival he was rescued from peril, and before he was 17 years old, he received his first wound[4] side by side with the Talbots, Stanleys, Actons, Greindors, and others of the best blood of young England in the fight at

every vestige of the dwellings has now disappeared. At Sycharth the ground has been ploughed up and yielded "a few nails and fragments of stone bearing the marks of ignition." At Glyndwfrdwy there are "a few loose and straggling stones scattered about on an eminence."—CAMBRO-BRITON, II., 448, *i.e.*, on the top of the mound, but the house must have been in the field below. When I visited the spot in 1893, I was told by a cottager that the house had been swallowed up. In INQ. P. MORT., III., 330, it is called a manor and domain "in Edernyon," *i.e.*, the Vale of Edeyrnyon, which is a commote of ancient Merionydd, including the Dee valley from Penllyn, above Llandervel to the boundary of Denbighshire below Corwen.—COTHI, 404; EYTON, XI., 40. In 1325 (18 Ed. II.), Glyndyfrdwy is grouped with "Manhudo" (? Nanheudwy) in the domain of Roger Mortimer of Chirk.—HIST. OF LUDLOW, 141. It had been in the possession of Owen's family since 1282.—ROTULI WALLIÆ, 87, in CAMBRO-BRITON, I., 425; YORKE, 60.

[1] DEP. KEEP., 36th REPT., APP. II., 162, May 30th, 1403. [2] The change took place on June 2nd, 1403.—*Ibid.*, 333. Yet Wm. Hunt appears to be constable of Harlech on June 26th, 1403.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{25}{36}$, APP. F. [3] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{25}{36}$, APP. F. [4] TIT. LIV., 3.

Haytleyfield. In the spring of 1408, he went north to join the King on the news of the rising of the Earl of Northumberland, but arrived after the blow had been struck at Bramham Moor. We have seen how he commanded at the recovery of Aberystwith in 1407;[1] and he was now Captain of Calais, Warden of the Cinque Ports, Constable of Dover,[2] Lieutenant of Wales,[3] and President of the Council.

He is described[4] as of about the average height,[5] with a long handsome face,[6] high colour, straight nose,[7] flat forehead, thick brown hair,[8] round pate, small ears, regular white teeth, dimpled chin, and large clear hazel eyes,[9] that could beam like

[1] Vol. III., p. 106. [2] Vol. III., p. 272; PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 10 d, July 15th, 1410. For the office, see A. S. GREEN, I., 390. [3] In PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 15, he is re-appointed for a year from June 19th, 1410. [4] MEM. HY. V., 64. For exact description of Charles VI., see ST. DENYS, I., 564. For typical beauties in 1400, see PISAN, II., 192, 204; GOWER, CONF., 323. For an ugly man, see DESCHAMPS, IV., 273, 300; V., 32. For a lady, *ibid.*, V., 186; HOCCL., MIN. PO., XXXVIII. [5] ELMHAM, 13; TIT. LIV., 4; MEM. HY. V., 66. SOLLY-FLOOD, 69, 102 (followed by CHURCH, 36, who, however, gives the truer account on p. 157), seems to be quite wrong in attributing the Versus Rythmici to Hardyng. [6] For his portrait at Eton, see REDGRAVE'S CATALOGUE OF NATL. PORTRAITS, 1866, p. 4; RAMSAY, I., 161. For Kensington portrait, now at Windsor, see TYLER, Vol. I.; VERTUE, p. 7, for RAPIN, I., 504, from which the portraits in the Natl. Portrait Collection (CATALOGUE, p. 211) and at Queen's College, Oxford, seem to be copied, the latter with the crown added; see CHURCH, Frontispiece; GARDINER, 300. For a more boyish portrait, but crowned, from MS. at C.C.C. Cambridge, see LUDERS, also MS. ARUNDEL, 38, circ. 1410, see SHAW, DRESSES, Vol. II. For portrait in possession of Society of Antiquaries at Somerset House, see FINE ARTS QUARTERLY REVIEW, II., 1864. For another portrait, see HARL. MS., 2278.

[7] Hir nose was wrought at poynt devys,
For it was gentil and tretys.—CHAUC. (S.), I., 144; PROL., 152.
He seeth her nose straughte and even.—*Ibid.*, 322.

For "camused" (*i.e.*, hook-nosed), see GOWER, CONF., 246. [8] In HOCCLEVE'S Miniature, MS. REG., 17, D, VI., f. 40, he has a tall figure, brown cropped hair, and high cheek bones. [9] Cf. brunet, riant, persant.—PISAN, II., 192. Cf. the description of the eyes of his grandmother Blanche:—

And whiche eyen my lady hadde
Debonair, goode, glade and sadde,
Simple, of goode mochel, nought to wide.
Therto hir look nas not asyde

a dove or glare [1] like a lion. He was long in the neck and spare in the body; he took but moderately to the lists, to fishing, hawking, or hunting;[2] but he was a famous jumper, and so quick and deliver [3] of limb that he had often run down the fleetest deer without dog or bow. He was a man of few words,[4] but this does not imply any want of culture; for he could play the harp and gittern,[5] could read Latin and speak and write in French.[6] He joyed to read in books of antiquity and such like matters of sadness.[7] He borrowed chronicles,[8] studied ancient histories,[9] looked into decretals, and disported himself at night within his chamber,[10] reading books on hunting [11] and goodly tales, of which his high prudence had insight to judge if they were well made or no.[12] He was good

Ne overthwert, but beset so wel
Hit drew and took up every del
Alle that on hir gan beholde.—
CHAUC. (S.), I., 306; A. W. WARD, 71.

[1] PROMPT. PARV., 198, 457. [2] MEM. HY. V., 64. [3] Cf. "deliver smert and of gret might."—CHAUC. (S.), I., 128; cf. PROL., 84; GOWER, CONF., 346, 362, 415; LYDGATE, 243; HALLE, 32; GRAFTON, 442; COTGRAVE, s. v., Delivre. [4] WALS., II., 344; GESTA HY. V., 68. [5] DEVON, 363, 367. For 8d. paid for strings for his cithara (1397), see DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 5, APP. A.

[6] Endite in Latine or in Frensshe thy greef clere,
Syn thou so longe in hem laboured haste.—
HOCCL., DE REG., 67.

RYM., VIII., 390. In HARL. MS., 431, 122 (106 b) is a letter written by him in French to his aunt, Queen Catherine of Castile, but it contains nothing beyond complimentary enquiries after her health, and a request on behalf of a convent belonging to the knights of Rhodes. It was perhaps written by John Prophet. [7] Kithe thy love in mater of sadnesse.—HOCCL., DE REG., 70. Cf. LYDGATE, in S. TURNER, II., 384; TYLER, I., 399. [8] RYM., X., 317; TYLER, I., 332. [9] LYDGATE, in TYLER, I., 397.

[10] At hardest whan that ye ben in chambre at eve,
They ben goode to drive forthe the nyght.—HOCCL., DE REG., 77.
A romaunce to rede and dryve the night away.—
CHAUC. (S.), I., 278.

[11] DEVON, 368. [12] HOCCL., DE REG., 69; S. TURNER, II., 368; TYLER, I., 402.

lord and gracious [1] to Thomas Hoccleve,[2] who dedicated to him his version of *Giles's Regiment of Princes*;[3] he stirred Dan John Lydgate [4] to write his *Life of Our Lady*,[5] and to English the *Troy Book* [6] of Master Guy; and there is still extant a copy of Chaucer's *Troilus*, written on vellum for his use, and bearing his arms as Prince of Wales.[7] To those who sued to him for favours, he was kind almost to bashfulness.[8] He was the friend of John Oldcastle, Roger Acton, John Greindor, Thomas Clanvowe, and other freethinkers and Lollards, who fought and camped with him in Scotland, at Shrewsbury, and in the mountains of Wales.[9] But bigots played on his

[1] Cf. CHAUC. (S.), II., 240, 241.

[2] O lige lord, that have be plenteous
Unto your liges of your grace algate.—HOCCL., 72; MIN. PO. XXXIV.; DE REG., 66, 73, 74; MORLEY, VI., 129; WARTON, II., 9, 42; HARL. MS., 4826, 6; S. TURNER, II., 385; TYLER, I., 401; CHALMERS' BIOG. DICT., XVIII., 23. [3] *I.e.*, De Regimine Principum by Giles of Colonna, or Giles of Rome (Egidius Romanus), Archbishop of Bourges (d. 1316.—GALL. CHRIST., 76); called "Giles" in WILLS OF KINGS, 181; or "Egidius."—GIBBONS, 80; SHARPE, II., 326; see MORLEY, VI., 131. For Guido delle Colonne (or Master Guy.—WARTON, II., 99), see CHAUC. (S.), II., pp. LIII., LXI., LXV.; III., XXXVIII., 44, 278; quoting TROY BOOK or GESTE HISTORIALE, E.E.T.S., 1869-74. For translation into French by Henri de Gauchi, see EC. DES CH., XLIII., 213. For Spanish Regimento dos Principes, see MAJOR, 79. GERSON (v., 608) said that no one should be a prince or a lord who did not study it, and make his sons do the same. For "regiment" (rule), see GOWER, CONF., 119, 360, 361, 364, 393. [4] For Lydgate, see MORLEY, II., PT. I.; HALLIWELL, PERCY SOC., Vol. II., 1840; FURNIVAL, E.E.T.S., 1868, XLIV., &c. [5] ROCK., III., 304; LYDGATE, TEMPLE OF GLAS, CVIII. [6] HARL. MS., 629; WARTON, II., 57, 81; GESTA HY. V., XXV.; MORLEY, VI., 108, 118. He began it Oct. 31st, 1412, and finished it in 1420.—ACAD., 7/5/92, p. 445; LYDGATE, TEMPLE OF GLAS, p. CI. For the "Batel of Troy," see WYCL. (A.), III., 147. [7] *I.e.*, the Campsall MS. printed for the Chaucer Society, and now in the possession of Mr. Bacon Frank.—CHAUC. (S.), II., LXVII.

[8] Thou woste wele he benigne is and demure
To see (? sue) unto, not is his gost maistriede
With daungere, but it is fulle appliede
To graunte, and not the nedy werne his grace.—
HOCCL., DE REG., 67; TYLER, I., 401.

[9] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{8}$, APP. F; Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{5}\frac{5}{5}$, APP. G.

religious fears, and made of him a "Prince of Priests,"[1] who flung back the tailor Badby into the flames and left his friend and comrade Oldcastle to hang roasting in a martyr's fire.

In the year of the battle of Shrewsbury, 1403, he made a pilgrimage to Canterbury,[2] and before he moved his guns to Aberystwith[3] in 1407, he paid a visit of devotion to Bridlington, where in performance of a vow made at a previous date,[4] he offered five marks at the shrine of his patron Saint,[5] the holy Prior John Tweng,[6] whose "Prophecy"[7] was supposed to have predicted that the crown of England would come to the family of Lancaster. In 1340, when an acolyte,[8] Tweng had been Master of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene at Ripon, which had been founded by an Archbishop of York 200 years before to house all lepers born in Riponshire.[9] Here they were to be supplied with a "back" or cloak, two pairs of shoes, a loaf of bread, half a pot of beer, a notch of meat or (on fast-

[1] ANGLIA, v., 31, 40; VAYNES, II., 481; HOCCL., MIN. PO., 17; TYLER, II., 323. [2] HIST. MSS., IX., I, 138. [3] EXCH. TREAS. OF REC., MISC., $\frac{5}{11}$, APP. D. [4] Vol. II., p. 334, note 5. [5] RYM., VIII., 498; BLORE, 19. [6] So called from his birthplace in the East Riding of Yorkshire; not John Erghom, as MORLEY, VI., 159; see POL. SONGS, I., 123. [7] FROIS., XVI., 143; ELMHAM, 4. He is called Vates de Bredlyngton in SCOTICHRON., XV., 12. WALS. (II., 270) speaks of him as raving (*febricitantis*). His life was written by CAPGRAVE (NOV. LEG., 181), who has some information from conversations reported by those who had been fellow-students with him at Oxford. His account contains very few facts, but refers to several books then in the Priory at Bridlington. A century afterwards his account was transcribed by SURIUS, who, not knowing the author's name, calls it "a grave history written by a contemporary" (IV., 148). It is worked into the ACTA SANCTORUM (OCT. 10th, V., 137), together with an account, EX TOMO 95, BIBL. R.R.P.P. ORATORII VALLIS CELLÆ (? VAUCELLES) by "Dominus Hugo," who seems to have been nearly contemporary; though it is rather remarkable that neither of them should mention either the "Prophecy" or the translation. [8] RIPON MEM., 225. [9] Ripschire.—KIRKBY, 417, *i.e.*, the immediate neighbourhood of Ripon, including Skelden and Grantley; not "Richmondshire," as MONAST., VI., 620.

days) three herrings each. But, in the course of time, there were no lepers born in Riponshire. So Archbishop Melton took a lot of the land and put Tweng in as Master, without chaplains or lepers, in tumble-down buildings, to face an enquiry by the King's Commissioners as best he might. Before he had been ten months in possession, the Commissioners arrived to enquire into the condition of the hospital (1341). They found that the Master was reputed of good report and honest conversation, but that he was powerless to do anything, and so he had gone away and spent the money elsewhere; but where he was they could not find out, and the story went that he was dead.[1]

Hereupon, Tweng took pains to let them know that he was not dead at all but "enjoying bodily health,"[2] and for four years more no herrings got distributed,[3] though the Master cut down ten ash-trees at Studley, and sold them for 60s. At length, in Nov., 1352, the Commissioners again visited Ripon. Tweng appeared before them and made out his case, though it is evident that he was still "commonly absent for a great part of the year."[4] Before three years had elapsed he had ceased to be Master, and had shaken off all connection with the troublesome leper-house. He afterwards[5] became Prior of the Austin Canons at Bridlington, and died in 1379,[6] at the age of 60,[7] after a life of such high sanctity that it was reported that his prayers had been of special efficacy in saving shipwrecked sailors, interceding on behalf of elderly women, and removing deformities in their offspring if they required his further aid.[8] After his death, miraculous cures were

[1] RIPON MEM., 229. [2] *Ibid.*, 232. [3] *Ibid.*, 236. [4] *Ibid.*, 238. [5] Viz., Jan. 3rd, 1361.—MONAST., VI., 1379; though the identity is doubted by STUBBS, CHRON. ED., I., II., Vol. II., p. XXV. [6] ACT. SANCT. (OCT. 10th), V., 143. [7] BALE, 487. [8] CAPGR., NOVA LEGENDA, 185.

reported at his grave. The lame, the blind, and the leprous were healed; the dead were raised; paralytics were cured, and devils driven out. All England was struck with amazement,[1] and in 1386,[2] a commission was ordered to enquire as to the miracles.

This was the year of young Henry's birth, and at his baptism he had been placed under the special patronage of the coming saint. His father Henry made an offering at Bridlington on his return from Prussia in 1391,[3] and, after he had actually come to the throne, a strong effort was made to secure Tweng's canonization.[4] Nobody, however, seems able to prove that he was ever formally canonized,[5] though he was popularly regarded by the English as a saint. Twenty-five years after his death, his remains were reverently lifted from his grave by the hands of Archbishop Scrope, and transferred to the adjoining church,[6] where a shrine had been prepared to receive them behind the high altar, "in a fair chapel on high, having stone stairs on either side for the double row of pilgrims to go and come, and underneath the shrine five chapels with five altars, and small tables of alabaster and images."[7]

[1] WALS., II., 189. [2] June 26th, 1386.—MONAST., VI., 285; RAINE, LETTERS, 420. [3] DERBY ACCTS., XXXV., 117. [4] RYM., VIII., 161, Oct., 1400. [5] ACTA SANCT., OCT. 10th, V., 136. [6] Not to Rome, as Vol. I., p. 272. For translation of St. William's body at York in 1283, see YORKSH. ARCHÆOL. AND TOP. JOURN., III., 301. [7] ARCHÆOL., XIX., 270, from a survey made in 1540. For specimens of shrines, see Canterbury Cathedral and St. Augustine's in MONAST., Vol. I. For St. Edmund's shrine at Bury, see ROCK, III., 389, from LYDGATE in HARL. MS., 2278. For Durham, St. Cuthbert's, see RITES OF DURHAM, p. 4. For peregrination to Walsingham, see EARWAKER, I., 62.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

POPES *v.* CARDINALS.

WE left the two Popes in the opening of 1408,[1] ricochetting about the Gulf of Spezia, and, as the year advanced, the crisis became acute. In the beginning of January, Benedict was at Porto Venere, and on Jan. 26th,[2] Gregory moved up to Lucca in freezing winter weather,[3] accompanied by his 12 Cardinals, the Patriarch Simon Cramaud, and other envoys from the a French King,[4] ambassadors from Florence and Venice,[5] and great number of prelates and barons. In defiance of an understanding come to at his election, he had determined to create 12 new Cardinals in the coming Lent,[6] and he would not be dissuaded from his purpose. Envoys and Cardinals begged him, prayed him, shadowed him, besieged him, in season and out of season, in church and in palace; but he stood out against them all.[7] A Carmelite preaching in the cathedral at Lucca[8] hinted plainly that he was breaking faith,[9] but when the sermon was done, Gregory had the preacher shut up and kept

[1] Vol. III., p. 35. [2] SERCAMBI, 882; ARETINUS, EPIST., I., 52; LENFANT, 193; called Jan. 27th, in SURITA, 275; Jan. 22nd or 24th, ERLER, 163, from MS. CORSINI; in fine Januarii, MURAT., III., II., 839; SPONDE, 704; post natale Domini, NIEM, 309. [3] In tempore frigido et valde nivoso.—NIEM, 183, 417; maximis nivibus.—ARET., EPIST., I., 61. [4] MART., COLL., VII. 772; ECOLE DES CH., L., 29; NIEM (461) in a letter dated Lucca, April 27th, 1408, says that the French envoys had been with Gregory for the last 10 months. [5] DELAYTO, 1046. [6] NIEM, 492. [7] MURAT., III., II., 839. [8] NIEM, 186; SCHWAB, 207; CREIGHTON, I., 191. [9] In POSILJE, 298, Gregory is a "meyneyder und vorreter."

for a few days on bread and water. He declared again and again that resigning was the Devil's way, and he was not going to do that.[1] Exasperation ran high. Chains and stakes were preparing, and the Pope threatened to imprison any who opposed him. On April 16th,[2] the Archbishops of Rouen and Tarragona were at Lucca, attended by 100 horsemen as envoys from Benedict. They had an interview with Gregory in the morning of April 26th, but with no better result than to provoke a protest from him that they had wasted his time.[3] Ten [4] of Gregory's Cardinals made common cause with them, and resolved to withstand their own Pope to the face.[5] Then followed huge jars and open wrangling,[6] which reached a climax when Gregory summoned the Cardinals to a Consistory on May 4th,[7] and bade them hold their peace. Some stormed and raged; others crawled at his feet [8] and implored him to desist; but he only replied by an order that none of them should leave Lucca, or dare to hold any meeting without his consent. On May 9th,[9] he created four new Cardinals. Two of them were nephews of his own, one of

[1] CONC., III., 299; D'ACHERY, VI., 219; MART., COLL., VII., 821, 833, 854; NIEM, 254; LENFANT, 331; sedens in solio conceptum virus evomuit dicens expresse, &c.—RTA., VI., 677. His apologist says that, if he did say it, it was a slip of the tongue (ex lingwe procacitate). —*Ibid.*, 689. Gregory's own explanation is that he said, modos servatos fore diabolicos.—*Ibid.*, 376. [2] MART., COLL., VII., 773; RAYN., XVII., 325; SPOND., 704; NIEM (461) shows that they were still at Lucca on April 27th, 1408, together with the Bishop of Cracow as envoy from the King of Poland, a Portuguese Bishop and some envoys from the King of England, all urging union. [3] HARL. MS., 431, 90 (53). [4] Or 7, as RAYN., XVII., 326. [5] *Ibid.*, 328. [6] Querelæ ingentes et aperta oblucutio. —*Ibid.*, 325; multa convicia.—SOZZOMENO, 1192; LENFANT, I., 194. [7] GOBELIN, 326; RTA., VI., 466; CHRISTOPHE, III., 273; for "Consistoire," see GOWER, CONF., 134. [8] ARET., EPIST., I., 63; CREIGHTON, I., 192. [9] RAYN., XVII., 319, 325, 326; CONC., III., 297; NIEM, 493; MART., ANEC., II., 1430; MART., COLL., VII., 870; SERCAMBI, 886; PETRI, 996; PANVINIO, 271.

whom, Gabriel Condolmieri [1] (afterwards Pope Eugenius IV.), was then only 25 years old. The other two were men of very doubtful character, who are charged with murder and debauching nuns.[2] On May 11th,[3] at ten o'clock at night,[4] Jean Gilles of Liége, the ringleader amongst the disaffected Cardinals, though already a dying man,[5] escaped secretly [6] in disguise to Pisa. He was followed on the next day by eight other Cardinals,[7] some of them on foot, leaving all their belongings behind.[8] The snare was thus broken,[9] the officials of the Curia left Lucca in shoals,[10] and only three of the original Cardinals [11] remained who were too old and tottery [12] to get

[1] Or Condulmaro, born circ. 1383.—HEFELE, VII., 429. [2] Pessimos viros.—MART., COLL., VII., 829, 1071; SPOND., 705; LENFANT, I., 196.

Heu nomen transgresse sacrum Sodomita cremari

Digne focis pariterque homicida proterve caperna, &c.—NIEM, 434. *I.e.*, the Florentine Giovanni Dominici, Cardinal of St. Sixtus, Archbishop elect of Ragusa; not "Brother John the Dominican," as MILMAN, V., 448. For account of him see PASTOR, I., 43; SAUERLAND in BRIEGER ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE, IX., 245; X., 345; CHRISTOPHE, III., 275; PERRENS, VI., 172. See the letter of Satan addressed to him, reserving the hottest and foulest place in hell for him between Arius and Mahomet. For a high official character of him, see GUASTI COMMISSIONI DI RINALDO DEGLI ALBIZZI, Florence, 1867, Vol. I.; TRITHEIM, 103. [3] D'ACHERY, VI., 193; SERCAMBI, 887; CHRISTOFERI, 238, 318; MART., COLL., VII., 778; LENFANT, 336; PALACKY, III., 1, 219; Circa Maium.—BRANDO, 117. [4] RTA., VI., 399, 400. Gregory says that in the morning of the same day the Cardinals were with him, and seemed to be happy and contented (letanter videbantur concordes).—*Ibid.*, VI., 374. [5] He died at Pisa, July, 1408.—NIEM, 213; MART., COLL., VII., 833, 879; SERCAMBI, 891; RAYN., XVII., 329; ZANTFLIET, 367; CIACONIUS, II., 725. He was a Norman by birth.—NIEM, 207. Angelus, Bishop of Ostia, also died at Pisa, May 31st, 1408.—NIEM, 521; HEFELE, VI., 913. In STAFF. REG., 167, he appears as Archdeacon of Exeter. He had been an Auditor of the Rota, Dec. 11th, 1386 (NIEM, LIB. CANC.), and Provost of St. Lambert at Liége, Oct. 24th, 1386 (ERLER, 103, 170). He was created a Cardinal by Innocent VII.—MART., COLL., VII., 432; ANEC., II., 1323; RAYN., XVII., 286; CIAC., II., 725. [6] Occulte.—RAYN., XVII., 319; simulato habitu.—MURAT., III., II., 840; mutato habitu.—NIEM, 493; HEFELE, VI., 906. [7] For their names, see MILMAN, V., 452. [8] CONC., III., 307. [9] NIEM, 494. [10] Catervatim. —*Ibid.*, 211. [11] *Ibid.*, 208. The official indictment (ART. 26), says that all left him except one.—HARL. MS., 431, 103 (86). [12] Ex infirmitate. —MURAT., III., II., 840.

away. On Sunday, May 13th, 1408,[1] seven[2] of the dissentient Cardinals met in the Archbishop's palace at Pisa, and drew up a formal appeal to a General Council and a future Pontiff, whose task it should be to reform the misruly deeds (*gesta inordinata*) of his predecessor.

The under-current of working life about the Papal court in these momentous months is flashed out here and there in the brilliant letters of young Leonardo Bruni,[3] who followed Pope Gregory from his accession till the Council met at Pisa. Wherever he went, he was keenly alive to the antiquities of the past;[4] inscriptions,[5] ruins, monuments, gates, bridges, everything that is old attracts him. He lives upon letters, and would rather hear about the studies of his friends than all the Acts of any Council that ever met.[6] We see him in the cold winter at Siena[7] rising before dawn to translate his Æschines or Plato, or emend a reading in a speech of Cicero[8] by the aid of some new-found manuscript just forwarded from Florence. He cares not for gaudy head-letters storied in gold or purple; his thought is solely for the contents of the roll—the poets, orators, historians of the past and what they have to tell of the childhood of humanity; and if he has praise for

[1] NIEM, 408; RTA., VI., 276, 399; not 8th, as RAYN., XVII., 326; CONC., III., 297; nor 12th, as HARDT, II., 67. See HARL. MS., 431, 94; CONC., III., 293; MART., ANEC., II., 1394, where the date is May 30th. See also SCHWAB, 208; HEFELE, VI., 907. [2] Not eleven, as EUL., III., 411. [3] He came to Rome Mar. 24th, 1405 (SHEPHERD, 37), on the recommendation of his friend Linus Coluccio Salutato (for letters between Coluccio and Montreuil see A. THOMAS, 36, 89, 104, 110), who describes him as young in age, strong in body, comely in looks, &c. &c.—EPIST., I., 1; FABRICIUS, BIBL. MED. ÆTAT., I., 291. See SYMONDS, II., 216; PASTOR, I., 132, who takes him as the type of what he fancifully calls the "Christian Renaissance" as opposed to the "false Renaissance," whose embodiment is the frivolous Poggio. [4] Antiquitati deditus.—ARET., EPIST., I., 44. [5] See his account of Rimini.—*Ibid.*, I., 76, dated Rimini, Mar. 1st, 1409. [6] *Ibid.*, I., 87. [7] *Ibid.*, I., 48, 88. [8] For MONTREUIL'S enthusiasm for Cicero, see A. THOMAS, 52, 108.

any modern, it is for the man who can write as good a hand as a professional scribe.[1] He sees no haven in the tossing storm, no resting-place for his weary wanderings. His heavier books must all be left behind, but he revels in anticipation of a rattling feast[2] on some Greek manuscripts reported to be on their way with Manuel Chrysoloras from Venice. He saw the Church take fire, and watched it burn to ashes.[3] He longed to be away from all this wretched wrangle, to hide in some den or forest where he could lose himself in his books; and, while the Cardinals were coming to death-blows with the Popes, we see him snatching a June day[4] with a friend at the Archbishop of Pisa's[5] villa on the banks of the Serchio. Off go their coats and shoes; they fish and play like boys let loose; they shout and sing like mad over their wine, with the Archbishop joining in the fun, or mount their horses for a saunter through the yellow crops and leafy thickets to watch the rustics wrestle in the gloaming.

In the meantime, Pope Benedict was still at Porto Venere, with honey on his lips and gall in his heart.[6] On June 13th, 1408,[7] he heard that the French had subtracted their obedience, and that Boucicaut had orders to arrest him[8] as a reply to his

[1] A. THOMAS, I., 82. [2] Jocundissima Saturnalia.—ARET., EPIST., I., 49. [3] *Ibid.*, I., 68. [4] *Ibid.*, I., 57, dated Lucca, June 10th, 1408. [5] *I.e.*, Adhémar Alamanno.—BAYE, II., 47; UGHELLI, III., 553. For a letter signed by him, "A. Pisanus," see BAYE, II., 48, who shows (II., 50), that he had no knowledge of French, though he was accredited as legate to the French court in 1411. [6] MART., COLL., VII., 850; labiis mellitis.—BRANDO, 141; Fallax, mendax, in statera mobilis et inconstans.—NIEM, 448, who says that it was reported at Lucca on June 7th, 1408, that he was dead. [7] For a letter in which he addresses Gregory as "O homo!" and complains that his envoys are refused passports by the ambassadors of the French king who were then at Porto Venere, see MART., COLL., VII., 781, 786; D'ACHERY, VI., 237; NIEM, 212, 449. [8] St. DENYS, IV., 14, 28; DELAYTO, 1049; MART., ANEC., II., 1473, 1484, 1535; MAILLY, 469. For Boucicaut's early life, see DELAVILLE, I., 160-165. For his Book of Hours, see EC. DES CHARTES, LI., 145. For Livre des Cent Ballades,

excommunication. But he was like a sea-bugle[1] with only his head above water and the rest of him afloat below. He had previously made all preparations for clearing out from Avignon. Inventories were drawn up of his personal effects, and, being a wealthy man[2] and a "very keen collector of fine books,"[3] he had packed up the great Papal library in bales, and selected over 1000 volumes to be forwarded to him at Peniscola.[4] So, when he found himself threatened on the land, he bolted suddenly[5] in a galley with four of his Cardinals,[6] leaving behind,[7] for after-publication on the church doors and on his palace gates,[8] an order[9] summoning a General Council to meet at Perpignan on Nov. 1st, 1408. After cruising for awhile out of harm's way[10] he landed at Elne on July 2nd, 1408,[11] within the confines of his native Aragon. On July 15th, he was at Collioure,[12] and on the 23rd he entered Perpignan,[13] and created five new Cardinals, to replace those whom he had lost through his breach with France.

see CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 133. For suggestion that his history was written by Christine de Pisan, see PISAN, II., II.

[1] NIEM, 223, 462; RAYN., XVII., 323. For the buffalo, see MATT. PAR., CHRON. MAJ., V., 275; PROMPT. PARV., 55; CATHOL., 46; SHARPE, II., 271; KING'S QUAIR, V., 3, in ANGLIA, III., 253; DESCHAMPS, VI., 190. [2] Pierre d'Ailly in his letter to him calls him "ex parentibus generosum in divitiis copiosum."—BRANDO, 140. [3] Colligendorum egregiorum librorum avidissimus.—CLAMENGES, 122; DELISLE, I., 486; FAUCON, I., 60. [4] FAUCON, I., 59, 84; II., 42-151; EHRLE, 667, 668 (1411). For the Papal library at Avignon from 1305 to 1403, see EHRLE, 129. 291 of these volumes, rescued from the Collège de Foix at Toulouse by Colbert in 1680, are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.—DELISLE, I., 499. [5] MONSTR., I., 258. En un vaissel ou le dit Pierre de Lune *se boutta*. —MART., ANEC., II., 1425. De recessu adeo *repentino*.—D'ACHERY, VI., 210. *Subitus* et admirandus recessus.—MART., COLL., VII., 926. *Clam* solvit.—GERSON, I., xxiii. *Repente* recessit.—MART., COLL., VII., 965; HARL. MS., 431 (97 b); SERCAMBI, 892. [6] D'ACHERY, VI., 239. [7] *Ibid.*, 209. [8] HARL. MS., 431 (95). [9] Dated June 15th, 1408.—MART., COLL., VII., 787. [10] SERCAMBI, 892. He left Porto Venere in June.—HARL. MS., 431, 103 (88), ART., 31; CHRISTOPHE, III., 279. [11] SURITA, 276; D'ARCQ, I., 318. [12] MART., COLL., VII., 818. [13] Not Lisbon, as TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 54; GESTE, 361.

It had been believed that nothing short of miracle[1] could heal the Schism, and now the wished-for moment seemed to have arrived in natural course. Both Popes were isolated and deserted by three-fourths[2] of their college, and each was preparing to hold a separate conventicle[3] of his own in out-of-the-way corners, East and West.[4] The universities of Paris[5] and Bologna[6] and the city of Florence[7] pressed for immediate action. About the beginning of June, 1408,[8] four of Gregory's disaffected Cardinals[9] met four of the Ultramontane[10] or Gallican Cardinals, headed by Jean Fraczon,[11] Bishop of Ostia, the rich Savoyard of Brogny, who found funds out of the emoluments of bishoprics and other benefices of which he had the administration,[12] together with "many notable prelates and learned God-fearing men,"[13] at Leghorn to arrange for a united

[1] GERSON, v., 627. [2] D'ACHERY, VI., 208, 230. [3] Conciliabula.—MART., ANEC., II., 1413, 1443; MART., COLL., VII., 865, 902; NIEM, 220; APOLOGY, 50; GERSON, II., 135; CIAC., II., 779; PURVEY, REM., 112. [4] MART., COLL., VII., 852. [5] CONC., III., 299; D'ACHERY, VI., 220; MART., COLL., VII., 789, 893. [6] GERSON, II., 111. [7] MART., COLL., VII., 918, 931, 937-947. [8] MART., ANEC., II., 1416. [9] MART., COLL., VII., 925; HARDT, II., 79; D'ACHERY, VI., 209, 225. [10] MART., COLL., VII., 816, 819, 874, 938. For Ultramontani v. Italici, see NIEM, 378, 380. [11] GONTHIER (8) has recently proved that his father, so far from being a swineherd (as CROSET-MOUCHET, 2) was a respectable burgess of Annecy. The pretty story about the boy keeping pigs is probably due to a carving representing the Prodigal Son, at the west corner of the front of the Maccabees Chapel, which was built by the Cardinal beside the Cathedral at Geneva in 1406. Two other carvings of the same subject in wood from the stalls are still preserved in the public library at Geneva, and the church at Jussy l'Evêque.—BESSON, 47; SENEBIER, I., 108; MAZON, 214. The further development of the legend about his being unable to find sixpence to pay for a pair of shoes sprang from the supposed sabots carved round the great window, which are now found to be folded leaves.—GONTHIER, 13. MAZON, 305, still refuses to give up the story. Brogny gave 900 books to his college of St. Nicholas at Avignon.—GONTHIER, 31. For account of him see CIAC., II., 683; CHRISTOFERI, 5. For fancy portraits of him see LENFANT (Constance), 15; MAZON, 212; CROSET-MOUCHET, Frontispiece. [12] GONTHIER, 18, 34; CROSET-MOUCHET, 92. [13] D'ACHERY, VI., 202.

effort. Here the Cardinals issued a joint manifesto dated June 24th, 1408,[1] summoning a General Council to meet at Pisa on March 25th, 1409,[2] with a view to the repudiation of both Gregory and Benedict and the election of one Pope who should represent the whole united Catholic world. The remedy was certainly extreme enough,[3] and needed many a learned apologist;[4] but the innovators preferred to escape naked from the coming wreck, rather than go to the bottom with their clothes on.[5] If salves would not heal the sore,[6] they must try the branding-iron and the knife.

In spite of all opposing efforts on the part of the French,[7] Benedict's Council met in the Church of La Réal[8] at Perpignan, on Nov. 1st, 1408. Four new Patriarchs were created[9] for the occasion, and four high chairs were set for them, with benches for Cardinals and Prelates; but not many came,[10] and, "I doubt," says a messenger,[11] writing from Perpignan on the day fixed for the opening,[12] "whether the solemnity will be such as the Pope expects." As a fact, 120[13] Bishops, Abbots, and other high-placed ecclesi-

[1] CONC., III., 301; GOBELIN, 326; RAYN., XVII., 332; D'ACHERY, VI., 215. It was not actually issued till July 16th, 1408.—HARL. MS., 431, 100 (68 b); HÖFLER, 432; RTA., VI., 263, 319, 377; HEFELE, VI., 915-917. For safe-conduct, dated Florence, June 21st, 1408, see MART., COLL., VII., 820. [2] BRANDO, 125, who represents Gregory and Benedict as agreeing to it. Not May 29th, as CREIGHTON, I., 196. One proposal was to meet on Feb. 2nd, 1409.—MART., COLL., VII., 776, 795; NIEM, 219. [3] MART., COLL., VII., 923 997. [4] MART., ANEC., II., 1496. [5] MART., COLL., VII., 936. [6] *Ibid.*, 1151; ANEC., II., 1472; GOWER, CONF., 133, 163. [7] D'ACHERY, VI., 196; LENFANT, 222. [8] LABBE, XI., II., 2112; *i.e.*, Beatæ Mariæ regalis.—HEFELE, VI., 988, who shows that the sittings did not actually begin till Nov. 15th, 1408. [9] GERSON, I., XXIV. [10] Ob prælatorum raritatem.—SPOND., 709. [11] *I.e.*, Jean Guiard of Poitiers, who brought a despatch from the Cardinals at Pisa.—MART., ANEC., II., 1427; HEFELE, VI., 919; CHRISTOPHE, III., 286. [12] It would appear from MART., COLL., VII., 890, that the sittings had not begun by Nov. 14th. [13] Believed to have been 150 at Pisa.—RTA., VI., 477.

astics assembled, most of them being Spaniards,[1] though there were some from Provence, Savoy, Foix, Armagnac, and Lorraine.[2] A committee of 28 Bishops and Doctors was appointed to advise as to practical steps for meeting the emergency; but there was so much discord amongst them, that, after a heated discussion, nearly half of them left the place in disgust, and a remainder of 15[3] reported that Benedict had better give way. The Council then declared that he was the only true Vicar of Christ, but urged that he should follow a policy of reconciliation, send representatives to Pisa,[4] and be ready to resign his office for the sake of peace.[5] But the advice was thrown away on Benedict. He said that for him to give up his papacy would be mortal sin;[6] that, if he did anything of the kind, there would be no keys in the Church, unless God became incarnate again and gave them a second time; that, if the whole world advised him to give way and he thought he ought not to give way, he would not give way;[7] and he told his advisers that he would put them where they would not see the sun for the rest of their days.[8] The Council broke up on March 1st, 1409,[9]

[1] D'ACHERY, VI., 238. [2] MART., ANEC., II., 1474. Scotland was not represented, propter distantiam magnam et notoria pericula.—*Ibid.*, 1481; SPONDE, 717. MILMAN, V., 459, thinks that they had not time. [3] HARDT, III., 1249; or 18, according to LABBE, XI., pt. 2, 3008 (= 2108), followed by HEFELE, VI., 990; see also HARDOUIN, VII., 1955; MART., COLL., VII., 915; ANEC., II., 1538; RTA., VI., 679. It is usually represented that all the members left Perpignan except 18.—MAS-LATRIE, 1313; MILMAN, V., 454; but this is not consistent with MART., ANEC., II., 1481, where Boniface Ferrer says *totum concilium* concorditer nemine discrepante; cf. *per omnes de concilio* subscripta.—RAYN., XVII., 390. [4] GERSON, I., XXIV.; SCHWAB, 217. [5] MART., COLL., VII., 1146. [6] LETTER OF PIERRE D'AILLY in BRANDO, 142. [7] HARDT, III., 1250. These official statements are ignored by HEFELE, VI., 990, and CREIGHTON, I., 196, who represent that Benedict did as he was advised. [8] HARDT, III., 1250; RAYN., XVII., 362; CHRISTOPHE, III., 290; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 251. [9] MURAT., III., II., 824; not Mar. 26th, as HEFELE, VI.; RTA., VI., 477.

and four days afterwards,[1] Benedict sent his last word from Perpignan to the Cardinals before their Council met at Pisa. He hoped that what he had to say would not seem hard and bitter, but he called them traitors and deserters, and told them that any one who proposed or supported the election of another Pope would be deposed and excommunicated. His bull caused great satisfaction[2] to the dissenting Cardinals, for it proved officially that Benedict had really received his summons to the Council at Pisa, though he had seen fit to ignore it.

On July 2nd, 1408,[3] Gregory put out a letter from Lucca, in which he summoned Rupert and other kings, dukes, nobles, princes, and heads of universities to attend a General Council which he would hold somewhere[4] in the province of Aquileia, on the Gulf of Trieste, at Whitsuntide, May 26th, 1409. But his protests were treated as his "usual lies";[5] his name was not seriously mentioned in calculations of the future;[6] at the Assumption festivities at Rome (Aug. 15th)[7] the minstrels were forbidden to wear his arms; and no one was allowed to speak of him as Pope. Churchmen and laymen alike abandoned him as a crazy brain-sick old man, with one foot in the pit,[8]

[1] MART., COLL., VII., 985; MONSTR., II., 24. [2] MART., COLL., VII., 1093; SCHWAB, 239; HEFELE, VI., 1022. [3] LABBE, XI., pt. 2, 3002 (=2102); HARDOUIN, VII., 1949; HARL. MS., 431, 96; MART., ANEC., II., 1417; RAYN., XVII., 332; SCHWAB, 214; HEFELE, VI., 912. In RTA., VI., 263, 275, 499, 507, the date is July 5th (but July 2nd, *ibid.*, VI., 277); HÖFLER, RUPR., 410, wrongly gives July 8th. [4] Capua and Ephesus were also mentioned as possible alternatives.—MART., ANEC., II., 1417; not Rimini, as PERRENS, VI., 173. In quâ nullus locus determinatus exprimitur.—RTA., VI., 678, 691. In uno loco vel alio.—*Ibid.*, VI., 277. [5] "Mendaciis solitis."—MART., COLL., VII., 822. [6] *Ibid.*, 818. [7] PETRI, 996. [8] Cæcus deliransque senex jam pedem in fovea retinens.—HARL. MS., 431, 101 (91 b); MART., COLL., VII., 850.

and a maziness[1] in his totty[2] bald head. The threats and toil and worry and abuse of the last two years had told[3] upon him; his life was but smoke and scorching wind; he longed to put off its cares and burdens;[4] and the ghastly pallor[5] of his face led all to think that death was not far off. At his election[6] it had been believed that he would not live through another year, and the stars now foretold that he should die before this year was done;[7] but he outlived all the prophecies, and proved that he had mischief in him yet. At first he refused to leave Lucca;[8] but on July 14th,[9] he moved out on his way to Siena, and of the three wavering Cardinals, who had up till now supported him, only one continued with him still.[10] A silver cross[11] was borne before him, and the Holy Sacrament was carried, as usual,[12] on a mule. But at the first halt at Monte Carolo[13] in the woods outside of Lucca, the attendants drank too much of the good wine of the place. They shouted: "Oh be joyful in the Lord!" the subdeacon lost the silver cross and carried the empty stick, while the mule got driven into a ditch, where it lay for two hours half-dead. Next night they saw a comet; the Pope and all the party passed a sleepless night; and when

[1] Homo vertiginis morbo laborans.—*Ibid.*, VII., 828. Pone modum phrenesi.—NIEM, 434. Cf. the jeering letter (dated July 17th, 1408), qui testam tuam calvam phantasiis implendo rotat et rotatam præcipitat, confundens cerebellum tuum transformavit in petram.—NIEM, 525. Cf. My mased head slepeles hath of kunnyng and witte dispoyled.—HOCCL., DE REG., 5.. But as it were a mased thing.—CHAUC. (S.), I., 277. As mased folk they stonden everich on.—MAN OF LAW, 5098. Al amasid in myn hed.—LYDGATE, TEMP. GLAS, 66. But gone amased all about.—GOWER, CONF., 280, 314. [2] CHAUC., REEVE'S TALE, 4251. [3] MART., COLL., VII., 1077. [4] NIEM, 436; LENFANT, 188. [5] NIEM, 215. [6] *Ibid.*, 151. [7] MART., COLL., VII., 879. [8] PETRI, 995. [9] DELAYTO, 1049; SOZZOMENO, 1192; NIEM (183) says that he stayed in Lucca till the beginning of August, 1408; but on p. 215 he says that he left Lucca about the end of June. [10] MART. ANEC., II., 1430; SERCAMBI, 893; CREIGHTON, I, 195; NIEM (530) writing from Lucca on July 23rd, 1408, says that there were only two Cardinals with Gregory at Siena, and that they were wavering. [11] SPONDE, 707. [12] MURAT., III., pt. 2, 820. [13] NIEM, 527-529.

they reached Siena, they had to beg permission to enter the town as suppliants with empty purses and hungry stomachs.

At Siena, Bishop Chichele[1] and Sir John Cheyne had arrived as envoys from England, and were received with special honour.[2] On Aug. 1st, 1408, Gregory's Cardinals addressed a despatch to King Henry in England, roundly railing at the apostate Cardinals for their treason, blasphemy, perfidy, infidelity, and heresy. Gregory, they said, was quite ready to call a Council; but the others were making up a lot of lies, and Henry was warned not to be snared in their impious tricks and wiles.[3] On both sides new Cardinals[4] were being created in batches, and amongst a long list of Gregory's men appears the name of Philip Repingdon, Bishop of Lincoln,[5] who received the purple at Siena, Sept. 18th, 1408.[6] He had long ago

[1] In TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 54, he is called Bishop of St. David's in Scotland (*sic*), and the Archbishop of Canterbury (possibly Bishop Repingdon) is said to have been with him at Lucca. [2] HARL. MS., 431, 25 (14 b). [3] Plurima mendacia confingentes . ab impiorum astuciis decipi seduci fraudibus et erroribus implicari, &c.—HARL. MS., 431, 99 (67); EUL., III., 413. [4] HARL. MS., 431, 24 (14). [5] He received the temporalities of Lincoln, March 23rd, 1405, to date from March 14th.—PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 11; RYM., VIII., 393. He was consecrated Mar. 29th, 1405.—GODWIN, I., 296; II., 374; STUBBS, REG., 65, from which date his Institutions begin. For silver chrismatory, basins, red altar cloth, and six blue copes given by him to Lincoln Cathedral, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 10, 21, 37, 56. He was succeeded at Leicester by Richard Rotheley, who was elected Abbot on May 3rd, 1405 (PAT., 6 H. IV., 2, 28), on a *congé d'elire*, dated Apr. 13th, 1405.—*Ibid.*, m. 26. In REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., July 7th, 1408, Leicester Abbey is called St. Marie de Pratell'. [6] PANVINIO, 272; CIAC., II., 769; PARKER, 252; GODWIN, I., 296; II., 374; CHRISTOFERI, 75, 369 (SS. Nereo et Achilleo); not May 3rd, as RAYN., XVII., 345; nor 1420, as LEWIS, 218. In HARL. MS., 431, 101 (91 b) the dissentient Cardinals writing from Pisa (Sep. 23rd, 1408) announce that their representatives heard of the election of new Cardinals before they entered Siena on Sep. 19th, 1408, and they beg of Repingdon not to accept the dignity. F. WILLIAMS (II., 31) says that he was "sent to the Council of Pisa by Pope Gregory;" but his account is hopelessly inaccurate. The writer in CH. QUARTERLY REV., XIX., 77, assumes that he accompanied Gregory in "his romantic adventures," because he was absent from Lincoln at the time.

recanted his Lollardry,[1] had been four times Chancellor of Oxford University,[2] was reputed one of the most learned men of his time,[3] was King Henry's Confessor[4] and intimate friend,[5] and on the battlefield at Shrewsbury, when the fight was done, the King had taken a ring from his own finger and sent it to him by special messenger as a token that he was alive and well.[6] The papal compliment was doubtless personally gratifying to the King and Repingdon, but it had no effect in shaping England's policy.

Several notable Englishmen[7] are known to have been at Lucca during the memorable month of May, 1408, and all of them took sides with the dissenting Cardinals. One of them was William Colchester,[8] Abbot of Westminster, and another

[1] Viz., Oct., 21st, 1382.—LOND. AND MID. ARCHÆOL. TRANS., III., 536; THOMPSON, 157; or Nov. 24th, 1383.—FULLER, I., 255; PITS, 586; RYM., VII., 363. [2] Viz., in 1397, 1400, 1401, 1402.—WOOD, II., 401; MUN. ACAD., I., 237. [3] Literis suo seculo commendatissimus.—BALE, 501. For a volume of his sermons presented to St. Catherine's Hall at Cambridge by the founder Robert Woodlark, circ. 1470, see CAMB. ANTIQ. SOC. PROCEEDINGS, I., 3. For a volume now at Lincoln Coll., Oxford, see CHURCH QUARTERLY REV., XIX., 72. [4] ROT. SCOT., II., 172 a, July 9th, 1404; ROT. PARL., III., 669; RYM., VIII., 364. [5] Vol. I., p. 199. [6] TANNER, BIBL. BRIT.-HIB., s. v., p. 622, from VITEL., F., 17, 42 b. [7] Viri non modicæ auctoritatis.—NIEM, 461, writing at Lucca on April 27th, 1408. [8] So named in MALVERN (HIGDEN, IX., 89); AD QUOD DAMN., 353 (1405); see also CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 18 d, Mar. 1st, 1410; HIST. MSS., 10th REPT., VI., 100. The mistakes in NEWCOURT, I., 716, and DART, II., XXXII., are corrected in MONAST., I., 276. He had been with Richard II. in Ireland, though he was afterwards one of the witnesses at his resignation.—ANN., 248, 252; WALS., II., 232, 234. In CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 1, 14, May 18th, 1412, is a reference to William, Abbot of Westminster, and Richard Harnden, one of his monks, who went out to Harrow-on-the-Hill on Friday after Ascension, 1411, with bows and arrows, and swords, and sticks, and seized a horse valued at 40s., alleging that Richard II. gave the manor of Northall (now Northolt.—LYSONS, III., 309; MONAST., I., 326) to the Abbot, and that John, the owner of the horse, was a naif of the King (*pertinens ad manerium*), and therefore of the Abbot. John claimed to be a freeman, and the matter was referred to Judge Gascoigne for decision. Abbot Colchester died in Oct., 1420.—NEALE AND BRAYLEY, I., 87. For his monument in St. John's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, see GOUGH, III., 56; DART, I., 190; STOTHARD, 87; STANLEY, 355.

was his quondam prisoner,[1] Thomas Newmarch,[2] ex-Bishop of Carlisle, both of whom signed as witnesses[3] at Pisa to the appeal of the Cardinals against the Popes. Newmarch died a few months afterwards,[4] and his two English livings at Stur-

[1] Vol. I., p. 109. [2] This I take to be the real translation of De Novo Mercatu, see HUNTER, I., 323; MONAST., III., 264; DUGD., I., 435; ARCHÆOLOGIA, L., 329; LIB. NIG. SCAC., 169. In EUL., III., 387, he is Episcopus Merk'. In BALE, 556; PITS, 591; followed by HOLINS., II., 542; HOOK, IV., 467; he is said to have been born at Newmarket near Cambridge, but this is probably only a guess. For a bible given by him to Robert Stonham, Vicar of Oakham, see GIBBONS, 139. In a list of books given to C. C. College, Cambridge, by Thomas Markaunt, in 1439, is Allgorismus cum Magistro Thoma de Novo Mercatu exponendum.—CAMB. ANTIQ. SOC., PROC. II., XIV., 18. The name Sumestre (Vol. I., p. 73) may perhaps have arisen from his diocese Samastrensis. It occurs as Summayster (Wm.), Principal of Hart Hall, Oxford, 1463 (LE NEVE, I., 390, 611; III., 582), or Seurmaistre (John), Chancellor to the Duke of Clarence, 1412 (TYLER, I., 277). Thus far I have failed to identify his diocese of Samaston. It may perhaps be Samosata, now called Someisat or Samsat on the Upper Euphrates, or Samaron on the western shore of the Caspian (RUBRUQUIS or RUYSBROËK in PURCHAS, III., 49; see map in BROCQUIÈRE). In NIEM, LIB. CANC., 35 (written in 1380), the Archbishop of Cæsarea has a suffragan Sebastensem quæ civitas Sebastia scilicet alio nomine dicitur Samaria; but Samaria was in the hands of the Turks (*ibid.*, 43). Samaria is called Sebaste or Semeron (ORIENT-LATIN, I., 598) to distinguish it from Sebastis in Tarsus, which was suffragan to the Archbishop of Sultanieh (NIEM, 38, 42). It may possibly be Amasserah on the south shore of the Black Sea (=Samastrensis in MAS-LATRIE, 2089). In APPLEYARD, III., 46, it is called "Cephalonia in the isle of Samos." [3] CONC., III., 293; MART., ANEC., II., 1394. [4] *I.e.*, before Jan. 13th, 1409.—GODWIN, II., 347; HUTCHINS, II., 133. For supposed portrait of him, see HARL. MS., 1319; HOLT, VII. For modern writers who believe in the genuineness of his supposed speech in defence of Richard II., see BAYLEY (1825), p. 308, who calls him "the single yet undaunted champion of his sovereign's cause;" also LORD CAMPBELL (CHANCELLORS, I., 207) in 1848, who praises "the boldness, lucid arrangement, close reasoning, and touching eloquence" of the speech; see also BEAMONT, p. 57; ROGERS, GASCOIGNE, LXXV.; LOND. AND MID. ARCHÆOL. SOC., III., 541 (1871). STUBBS (II., 508) is content to "see nothing improbable in it." FONBLANQUE (I., 191) accepts it without enquiry, apparently because it is in Shakespeare. In LABBE, XI., 2, 2217; HARDOUIN, VIII., 101; D'ACHERY, VI., 352; Gulielmus (sic) olim Ep. Carleol. is said to have been present at the Council of Pisa, though this may possibly be meant for William Strickland.

minster-Marshall[1] in Dorsetshire, and Todenham[2] in North Gloucestershire thereby became vacant. John Prophet, Keeper of the Privy Seal, was in Italy at the time, and had an interview with the malcontent Cardinals at Pisa; for which presumption Gregory declared him to have forfeited all his benefices in England, which were believed[3] to bring him more than 3000 gold florins every year. Another Englishman who was on the spot was Master Richard Dereham,[4] Dean of the College of St. Martin-le-Grand in London,[5] Warden of the King's Hall at Cambridge,[6] and Chancellor of Cambridge University.[7] In 1402 he had helped to negotiate the marriage of the Lady Philippa,[8] and he was one of the four persons whose exclusion from the royal hostel had been specially demanded by the Parliament in 1404.[9] He now escaped from Lucca with the Cardinals, and was deprived of all his offices by Gregory.[10] But he had prudently chosen the winning side. Events were

[1] In REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 9th, 1408, Thomas Outon (clerk) has custody of revenues of Sturminster-Marshall. In PAT., 11 H. IV., 1, 31, William Marnhull is vicar in Nov., 1409; also PRIV. SEAL, 647/6494, March 13th, 1410. He was instituted Feb. 28th, 1410, having exchanged with John Langthorne, whose institution dates from Oct. 23rd, 1409.—HUTCHINS, II., 132. [2] REC. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., May 7th, 1408. He was made Rector of Todenham, Aug. 13th, 1404 (GODWIN, II., 347, from REG. CLIFFORD, WIGORN., f. 18), the manor and advowson of which belonged to the Abbot of Westminster.—ATKYNS, 778; MONAST., I., 325. [3] Ut dicitur.—NIEM, 521, where he is called Archdeacon Norfalsiæ in ecclesia Saresbyriensi. His only connection with Salisbury was that he held the prebend of Netherbury-in-Ecclesia from 1402 till his death in 1416.—W. H. JONES, 407. His register (HARL. MS., 431) contains copies of a large number of State papers, referring to the events of 1408-9. [4] For a letter to him from Henry IV., dated Windsor, Apr. 15th, 1405, see CLEOP., E., II., 61. [5] PRIV. SEAL, 652/6908, June 16th, 1411; NEWCOURT, I., 306, 428 (1403, 1409); MONAST., VI., 1324. [6] LE NEVE, III., 697; FULLER, 61. [7] LE NEVE, III., 599; FULLER, UNIV. CAMB., 87; COOPER, ANN., I., 151. [8] ROY. LET., I., 121; RYM., VIII., 259; SILFVERSTOLPE, I., 130, 133; M. A. E. GREEN, III., 348. [9] Vol. I., p. 410; ROT. PARL., III., 525; COTTON, 426. [10] CONC., III., 290, 291.

with him. He crossed at once to London and made sure of his ground with King Henry, and after the Council had been held at Pisa he became a Papal notary, passing frequently with confidential messages between the Courts of Westminster and Rome.[1] He arrived in London on July 8th, 1408,[2] and had an interview with the King on the 11th.

Under the influence of Archbishop Arundel, who had thrown in his lot with the French and the revolted Cardinals,[3] Henry's heart had been "most blessedly kindled with zeal for the union of the Church,"[4] and when he heard how matters sped in Italy, he did not mince his words. He would stand by the Cardinals if he had to shed his blood or be brayed to bits for it.[5] He would write to all the Kings to support them, and would see to it that no man should lose a benefice for being faithful to them. He did in fact write a letter to King Rupert,[6] but it is quite moderate and diplomatic in tone, and inclines rather to support Gregory than the Cardinals, though a side-note—(*non emanavit*)—shows that it was never sent. From his subsequent action it is clear that it was only with great reluctance that he ultimately abandoned Gregory to his fate, and even after he

[1] RYM., VIII., 726. For reference to him esteant a present en nostre service en la courte de Rome, see PRIV. SEAL, 649/6623, June 21st, 1410. [2] Not 1409, as VEN. STATE PP., I., lxxviii., 50. HARL. MS., 431, 102 (72), shows that he was back in Pisa before Sep. 10th, 1408, where he and the Archbishop of Bordeaux acted as the medium of communication with England. [3] RTA., 700, 701; LENFANT, 349. [4] CONC., III., 388. [5] Eciam si conscindi debeamus in frusta.—HARL. MS., 431, 26 (15 b). For a similar expression of Henry V., see CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR. HENR., 121.

Cf. Lever me were that knyves kerve
My body shuld in pecis smalle.—CHAUC. (S.), I., 186.
To peces do me drawe.—*Ibid.*, II., 179. Hackeden as small as morselis.—WYCL. (A.), III., 197. For "bit" or "morsel," see TREVISA in HIGDEN, VII., 186; CATHOL., 243; CHESTER PLAYS, II., 105, 107; WYCL. (M.), 171; GOWER, CONF., 313, 409. [6] HARL. MS., 431, 28 (16 b); RTA., VI., 277.

had despatched his representatives to Pisa, he sent a message[1] to King Rupert assuring him that he had never formally withdrawn obedience, but that he still looked upon Gregory as his Pope, and had prayers said for him in his chapels every day.

On June 24th, 1408,[2] messengers had started from the Cardinals at Pisa formally announcing the rupture, and bespeaking the support of England for their adventurous policy. But Archbishop Arundel had already issued a summons[3] from Lambeth, calling a special Convocation of the clergy of his province[4] to meet at St. Paul's on July 23rd and decide upon the course that England should be advised to take; and many lords, knights, and others were summoned[5] to London to communicate with the Convocation as soon as it should assemble. On the appointed day there were 13 Bishops present, and 200 Abbots and Priors, together with the Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, many Doctors of Laws, and Proctors for the clergy of the whole Southern province.[6] The King himself attended in person, together with several of the lords. Archbishop Arundel, Bishops Beaufort, Clifford, Hallum, Repingdon, and Stafford, nine Abbots, two Priors, and 24 representatives of the lower clergy were deputed to meet and discuss preliminaries. On Thursday, July 26th, these delegates, together with a "not-easily-to-be-counted multitude of men skilled in all knowledge of letters," were

[1] RTA., VI., 475; CREIGHTON (I., 200) is scarcely correct in representing that King Henry accepted the Council willingly. [2] CONC., III., 290; HARL. MS., 431, 98. For a letter from the Cardinals to King Henry, dated Leghorn, July 16th, 1408, see *ibid.*, 431, 100 (68 b). [3] Dated June 25th, 1408.—CONC., III., 308. [4] WALS., II., 279; CAPGR., 296; WAKE, 347. [5] For payment to messengers, see Iss. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., July 11th, 1408. [6] RTA., VI., 276, from HARL. MS., 431, 27 (16), where the date is a little too early; HEFELE, VI., 924, 984.

entertained at Lambeth by the Archbishop, who regaled them "most richly in every abundance of feasting," and the result was announced in the Chapter House at St. Paul's, in the presence of the King, on Sunday, July 29th. Each House had deliberated apart, but, by God's inspiration, they had arrived at an unanimous conclusion, which was curiously identical with an order drawn out by the Council more than a month before. They would not recommend subtraction of English obedience, but they would try the effect of subtracting English money, and keeping it at home till the union was effected. By this means they "shut the Pope's hands,"[1] and resolved that he should neither give nor take anything in England, but that all his dues should be kept back till there should be only one recognized Head of the Church. A receiver, Dr. John Welbourn, had been already appointed on July 19th,[2] to take charge of all moneys claimed by the Pope; and on July 30th,[3] it was ordered that these funds should be collected by officers nominated by the King. The decision was announced by letter[4] to Gregory, and proclaimed with the royal sanction at Paul's Cross before the sermon. Five representatives were chosen to notify the Pope in person, viz., Bishop Beaufort, Abbot Prestbury of Shrewsbury, Henry Lord Scrope, and the Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge Universities.[5] And because no man goeth a warfare at his own cost, their expenses were to be met

[1] EUL., III., 412. Cf. "thus shulden rewmes stoppe first fruytes."—WYCL. (A.), I., 248. For similar action of Sigismund in Hungary and Bohemia in 1403, see ASCHBACH, I., 189, 218; PALACKY, III., I., 151. [2] RYM., VIII., 543. [3] CLAUS., 9 H. IV., I. [4] HARL. MS., 431, 30 (18), in RTA., VI., 277, where the date is wrongly assigned to the beginning of June, 1408; see HEFELE, VI., 925. [5] HARL. MS., 431, 25 (14 b), 26 (15 b), refers to them as on their way out. In PARKER, 274, and WOOD, I., 207, this embassy is wrongly assigned to 1413.

by a special levy[1] of 1½d. in the £, to be raised before Michaelmas on all Church goods and benefices which were liable to be taxed for the usual tenth. The Archbishop issued his order to this effect from Lambeth on Aug. 10th,[2] after which he retired to Canterbury[3] for the rest of the month. But before the new rate was collected, he found it necessary to pay a personal visit to some of the larger monasteries of the West, probably with a view to enforce his policy wherever there appeared any signs of unwillingness; and we find him at Winchester on Sep. 5th, Salisbury (Sep. 6th to 10th), Bruton (Sep. 12th), Glastonbury (Sep. 15th), and Wells (Sep. 16th).

The same questions were considered by the Northern Convocation at York on Aug. 20th,[4] but there remains no record of their deliberations.

Meantime the breach between Popè Gregory and the Cardinals grew daily wider, and amounted soon to open war,[5] to the huge amusement of Jews, heathen and profane onlookers. The Cardinals sent messengers to the Pope, but he obstinately refused to see them,[6] and fired up at the notion that he would stoop to such trash[7] as an appeal to a Council. They suggested that he should submit the question to the lawyers of Bologna; but he answered: "I am Pope, and have not to submit to any one. Yes, I am above the law, and you

[1] Bicester Priory paid £4. 15s. 2¾d.—BLOMFIELD, BICESTER, 163. Exeter College, Oxford, paid 17d. in 1408 ambasciatoribus electis pro unione in Ecclesia Dei.—BOASE, EXON., pp. XV., 14. [2] CONC., III., 311. [3] For documents dated at Canterbury, Aug. 15th, 18th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 1408, see PAT., 9 H. IV., 2, 3, 4, 5, and CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 3. [4] CONC., III., 319. [5] MONTREUIL (1430) says that one man will meet with another and say with a laugh: Dic tu equitator quomodo se habet *guerra* papæ adversus cardinales. [6] MART., ANEC., II., 1415; COLL., VII., 874, 1045; HARL. MS., 431, 101 (91 b). [7] Uti frivolæ.—SPONDE, 706.

must conform to my decision downright!"[1] He spent three months at Siena,[2] and in the beginning of Nov., 1408,[3] crossed with a diminished escort[4] of 100 mounted men to Rimini, where he spent the winter weeping and crying out that he was in a great strait. On May 17th, 1409,[5] he sailed with his attenuated court in two galleys for Chioggia. Avoiding Venice, where little countenance would be shown him, he moved up to Cividale,[6] near Udine,[7] to hold his Council or (as the Cardinals called it) his "chair of pestilence."[8] But though Catholics and Schismatics were alike summoned, scarcely any responded to the call,[9] and even his best friends foresaw that no certain fruit could be predicted from it, and very little profit to the peace of the Church.[10] Those who did attend met in the Collegiate Church of St. Mary[11] at Cividale del Friuli, on June 6th, 1409,[12] and declared Gregory to be the One True and Undoubted Pope. But by this time the success of the greater Council at Pisa was assured, and the Undoubted Pope was

[1] Ego sum Papa, nec habeo me alicujus subjicere consilio. Ymo ego sum super jus, et meæ sententiæ debetis vos conformare in totum.—HARL. MS., 431, 103 (81), Art. 14. [2] NIEM, 215; MART., ANEC., II., 1405, Oct. 5th, 1408. [3] MART., COLL., VII., 866, 880, 969; SILFVERSTOLPE, II., 120, 129; HEFELE, VI., 923; CREIGHTON, I., 195. Yet in HARL. MS., 431, 4 (3) it appears that the Archbishop of Rouen and unus alius Archiepiscopus de Arragona (? Tarragona) arrived at Siena on Nov. 23rd, and together with the Archbishop of Tours and another French Bishop had an interview with Gregory in the Cathedral on St. Catherine's day (Nov. 25th, 1408). [4] DELAYTO, 1051. [5] MURAT., XVIII., 597; DELAYTO, 1086. MART., COLL., 1061, 1067, shows that he was still at Rimini on April 26th, 1409. [6] HÖFLER, RUPRECHT, 442; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 250; called Cividad di Frioul in LENFANT, 295. Cf. "Civitas Nostr" (*i.e.*, Austriæ), or "Guydel."—DERBY ACCTS., LXXV., 210, 260, 310. [7] Zur Widen in Fryul.—JANSSEN, I., 139; RTA., VI., 467. [8] Sedem pestilentiæ.—MART., COLL., VII., 1098; HARDT, II., 306; PSALM I., 1; VAUGHAN, I., 178. [9] Nemo ad illud accessit.—DELAYTO, 1086; LENFANT, 295. [10] See the letter of Carolo Malatesta to the Council at Pisa.—MART., COLL., VII., 1151. [11] RAYN., XVII., 388; RENIERI, 83. [12] RTA., VI., 341; SCHWAB, 246; HEFELE, VI., 1036. Not "after the Council of Pisa had closed its sittings," as RAMSAY, I., 120. NEANDER (IX., 103) calls it "an insignificant farce."

left to fulminate amongst a very few supporters indeed. It is noteworthy, however, that in one of his last efforts to arrange a compromise with his rivals, dated at Cividale on Sep. 5th, 1409,[1] he named Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, as a delegate to represent him; but whether the English bishop consented to act does not appear.

Gregory's position had now become perilous. On Aug. 22nd,[2] Venice declared against him; the last sitting at Cividale took place on Sept. 5th;[3] he was reduced to absolute want,[4] and could only escape disguised as a merchant with two attendants, and drop down the river in a galley to the open sea. Thence he sailed to Ortona[5] in Abruzzo Citra, crossed the hills to Fondi, and settled for a time in Gaeta,[6] in the hands of King Ladislas.[7] Here he was surrounded by a small court, and some few favoured him in Liguria, Æmilia, and Tuscany. Finding, however, that Ladislas was secretly making terms with his rival John XXIII. at Rome, he took ship for Ancona,[8] to rest under the protection of his loyal follower, Carolo di Malatesta.[9]

In pursuance of their determination the Cardinals at Leghorn had braced in earnest for the inevitable struggle. They satisfied themselves that they were right in law by quotations

[1] RAYN., XVII., 390; LENFANT, 297; HEFELE, VI., 1038. [2] SOZZOM., 1196; RTA., VI., 345; DELAYTO, 1087, who says that the English envoys formed part of the deputation to Venice after the Council closed at Pisa. [3] RTA., VI., 341, 574. [4] NIEM, 237; in pauperrimo statu detentus.—BRANDO, 127. In a letter dated June 28th, 1409, he is reported to be a fugitive, living in the castle of a squire, et est valde miserabiliter.—MART., COLL., VII., 1118. In a letter to King Rupert, dated Sep. 1st, 1409, he announces his determination to leave Cividale, necessitate nos ad præsens multipliciter urgente. [5] NIEM, 240; SPONDE, 717; RAYN., XVII., 390, 394. ANTONINUS (III., CXXVII.) quite misunderstands his movements. [6] For a letter from him dated Gaeta, June 5th, 1410, see SILFVERSTOLPE, II., 306. [7] In manibus regis Ladislai.—MART., COLL., VII., 1163, 1166, 1170; NIEM, in MEIBOM, I., 17; SPONDE, 717; JUSTINGER, 211; ANTONINUS, III., CXVIII. [8] NIEM, in MEIBOM, I., 17; CREIGHTON, I., 245. [9] BRANDO, 96.

from Aristotle's *Ethics*,[1] and they argued that they could call a General Council without Emperor or Pope, because Christ had sanctioned the meeting of two or three together—not in Peter's, but "in My name";[2] nevertheless, it was evident that of the three competing Councils success would fall to the biggest and best disciplined battalions. On June 30th, 1408,[3] 13 of the Cardinals bound themselves to act together in all things till the Schism was at an end. On July 1st, they issued an order calling upon the faithful to withhold all dues[4] that had been previously paid to Gregory, believing that when he found himself stripped of these supplies, his obstinacy would soon break up.

In England, as elsewhere, this advice had already been acted out, and there is extant an order dated June 24th, 1408,[5] forbidding Lawrence, Bishop of Ancona,[6] the Papal Collector in England, to raise any money as Peterpence or first-fruits on benefices, or to take any gold or silver out of the country, whether in plate or in mass. The same policy was followed in Guienne;[7] and many places that had not yet taken sides threw in their lot with the rebellious Cardinals, believing that, whichever way things went, they could not be worse, and that God would perhaps have pity on His Church and not suffer it to perish for ever.[8] Waverers came in as the case grew stronger, and by Oct. 11th,[9] eight more Cardinals had given in their adhesion. All possibilities were carefully thought

[1] GERSON, II., 112; MART., ANEC., II., 1410; COLL., VII., 909. [2] SCHWAB, 222; CREIGHTON, I., 210. [3] MART., COLL., VII., 798. [4] D'ACHERY, VI., 192; HARL. MS., 431, 95. Alle renthe synir kamir.—POSILJE, 290. [5] Vol. III., p. 354; CLAUS., 9 H. IV., 11; RTA., VI., 507; not June 14th, as RYM., VIII., 540. [6] HARL. MS., 431, 92. [7] For what to do with money and plate belonging to the Pope during the coming subtraction of obedience, see JURADE, 356, Sep. 12th, 1408. [8] MART., COLL., VII., 810. [9] *Ibid.*, 803.

out, and all contingencies minutely provided for. The Council was to be called in the name of the two combined colleges of Cardinals, and was to include Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Cathedral Chapters, and Universities, and the heads of the Carthusians, the Celestines, and the four Mendicant orders. Kings and Princes were to send deputies and guarantee the safety of all in transit through their dominions. In this sense, letters were despatched[1] from Leghorn and Pisa to King Rupert,[2] the Duke of Austria,[3] the Doge of Venice,[4] the Emperor of the East,[5] the Kings of France, Castile, Aragon,[6] Sicily, Navarre,[7] Bohemia,[8] Hungary,[9] Portugal,[10] and Poland. The Duke of Albany received an invitation as Governor of Scotland, and King Henry was pressed not only by means of a formal intimation,[11] but by letters addressed from Bologna, both to himself and Archbishop Arundel, by the Archbishop of Milan, who forwarded copies of letters written in the names of the Kings of France and Sicily, the Counts of Görz and Cilli, the University of Paris, and others, as evidence that all parties were combining to support the action of the Cardinals.[12]

Still there were difficulties yet to be overcome, and the issues of the coming Council were seen to be big with possibilities of danger.[13] There was some hesitancy as to the place of meeting. If Gregory would not have Pisa, might it not be possible to meet him at Rimini or Forli or Mantua or Bologna?[14] King Wenzel wrote from Wratislaw on Nov. 24th,

[1] RTA., VI., 418. For messenger sent from Pisa, Sep. 1st, 1408, to Wadstena, see SILFVERSTOLPE, II., 57. [2] RTA., VI., 490, 508. [3] MART., COLL., VII., 908. [4] *Ibid.*, 886. [5] *Ibid.*, 862. [6] He claimed also to be King of the Islands of the Mediterranean, though Sardinia was almost all in revolt.—GAMEZ, 166; MART., ANEC., I., 1705. [7] MART., COLL., VII., 795. [8] RTA., VI., 344. [9] MART., COLL., VII., 860. [10] *Ibid.*, 1000. [11] Vol. III., p. 353, note 2. [12] MART., COLL., VII., 815-817; HARL. MS., 431, 29 (18); RTA., VI., 462. [13] MART., COLL., VII., 966. [14] *Ibid.*, 971, 993, 1006.

that he would gladly send representatives to Pisa if the Cardinals would guarantee that he should be treated as the true and rightful King of the Romans.[1] King Rupert[2] had been often urged to step forward like some of his great predecessors, and compel union in spite of the Popes by calling a Council in his own right,[3] as the Church's highest Officer, Advocate and Defender,[4] from whom all her endowments and power were derived;[5] but he was lukewarm and faint-hearted,[6] and thought there was no living away from Heidelberg.[7] He assembled his lords and bishops, however, at Nuremberg on Oct. 21st, 1408,[8] and decided to wait the deliberations of a Diet that would meet at Frankfort early in the following year.

[1] MART., COLL., VII., 891. Under the influence of Ladislas he had declined negotiations with Gregory in Dec., 1407.—NIEM, 461. [2] He never received the Imperial Crown from the Pope (TRITHEIM, II., 310), though he is reckoned as the thirty-fourth *Emperor* in URSPERG., 371, and called Rex *et Imperator* Romanorum in DELAYTO, 964, 987. For his coronation at Cologne (not Aix-la-Chapelle, as CORNER, 1182) on January 6th, 1401 (not Nov. 11th, as WINDECKE, 1083), see CHMEL, VI.; NEUSS, 596; FROIS., IV., CXX.; MEYER, 218; URSPERG., UNT., 284; PANTALEON, 360; ZANTFLIET, 359; PONTANUS, 340; RTA., IV., 239-258, 315; HÄUSSER, I., 220; HÖFLER, 182; ENNEN, III., 138. For previous negotiations between his father and Richard II. see RYM., VII., 854; HÄUSSER, I., 209; HÖFLER, 137. In Dec., 1400, Henry IV. appears in the list of his supporters.—RTA., IV., 220. For draft of a proposed treaty between him and Henry IV. in 1402, see HARL. MS., 431, 150; RTA., V., 338. [3] ZABARELLA, 545, 547; ERLER, 137. [4] JANSSEN, I., 144. [5] WYCL., DE OFF. REG., 36, 139, 143, 202. [6] Cf. "pusillanimis et effæminatus," "desides et effæminati," "pigri et desides principes," "effæminato Sardanapalo apud Rhenum jam diu cubando negligentia et desidia."—NIEM, 154, 463, 468, 473, 475, 478; HEFELE, VI., 929. He was known as Clem, *i.e.*, the Small or the "Nigh."—JANSSEN, I., 66; HÖFLER, 176; MEYER, 218. He is called Duc de Heleberge in FROIS., IV.. CXX., p. 322; cf. ZANTFLIET, 365. [7] Extra Heydelburgam non est vita.—NIEM, 474; HÖFLER, 411; LENZ, 12, 89; ERLER, 165. He was at Heidelberg, Nov. 29th, 1408, Feb. 12th (RTA., VI., 465, 565), March 23rd (*ibid.*, 496), Apr. 9th (HR., V., 463), June 19th (RTA., VI., 568), July 1st, 15th (HR., V., 466, 533), Aug. 3rd, 18th (*ibid.*, 467), 20th, 21st, 25th (RTA., VI., 478, 479), Sep. 2nd (*ibid.*, 486), Nov. 21st, 1409 (HR., V., 469), Jan. 20th, 21st, 23rd, March 2nd, 1410 (*ibid.*, 470). [8] MART., COLL., VII., 889.

King Sigismund of Hungary sought to gain a little time by fruitless efforts[1] to reconcile Gregory and the Cardinals, and induced the Doge of Venice to wait till he had made up his mind. The King of Aragon, who had married a relative of Benedict's,[2] excused himself on the ground that his own Pope was holding a Council already at Perpignan.[3] But, in spite of obstacles, the French pressed matters eagerly on.[4] They sent a messenger, Robert Heremite,[5] to Scotland, to secure, if possible, a representation from that country at the Council; and as he passed through England, he delivered letters of encouragement from the University of Paris, addressed to Archbishop Arundel and the University of Oxford. By Nov. 6th, the French had selected more than 120 of their Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Doctors in Theology, Doctors in Law, and notable graduates, to represent them at the coming Council.[6] Every holder of a benefice had to pay his share[7] of the expense; and the bishops could call in the help of the secular arm where contributions were refused. Lodgings[8] were bespoken at Pisa, as a great multitude of visitors was expected, and it was a question of sending on provisions[9] beforehand, in view of the certainty of serious scarcity.

[1] MART., COLL., VII., 886, 969, 1002. A messenger from Sigismund to Gregory had been at Lucca before April 27th, 1407.—NIEM, 461. [2] ART DE VER., I., 757. [3] MART., COLL., VII., 890. [4] *Ibid.*, 898, 922. [5] For his instructions, dated Oct. 27th, 1408, see HARL. MS., 431, 91 (53 b). [6] MART., COLL., VII., 883; HEFELE, VI., 919, 988; not counting the provinces of Arles, Embrun and Aix, whose representatives were chosen later.—MART., COLL., VII., 914. Boniface Ferrer says that they were all compelled to attend *per notoriam impressionem*.—MART., ANEC., II., 1463. For orders dated Jan. 2nd, and 8th, 1409, requiring the French representatives to be at Pisa by Mar. 25th, 1409, see ORDONNANCES, IX., 411. The population of France was then estimated at 700,000.—MONTREUIL, 1374. [7] BAYE, I., 274; MART., COLL., VII., 914. [8] "They take logginge in the town."—GOWER, CONF., 335. [9] MART., COLL., VII., 899. For 300 florins borrowed from a Lucca merchant, May, 1409, see BAYE, I., 313.

In the opening months of 1409 all obstacles seemed breaking down, and so many adhesions[1] were coming in that the Cardinals felt assured that the mere numbers attending their Council would astonish[2] both the contending[3] Popes. Yet there were still some minds snared in Satan's net,[4] and as rumours were abroad that the Cardinals were even now repenting their temerity, some of them started on distant journeys to strengthen the unsteady. Everywhere they were received with great respect as men of God and messengers of peace.[5] As they ambled their white mules[6] through the towns on their route, sometimes with a full-dress Doctor in Theology[7] sitting pillion[8] like a woman behind, the townsfolk and magistrates streamed out and escorted them in solemn procession. The people thronged the streets and windows, made them presents of food and drink, and offered the courtesies of hospitality. We have still an interesting portion of a diary kept by one of them, Landulf Maramaldo, Archbishop of Bari,[9] who left Pisa on Nov. 5th, 1408,[10] and travelled in the depth of winter by Constance, Basle, Strasburg.[11] and Mayence,[12] to Frankfort, to be present at the Diet that met there on Sunday, Jan. 13th, 1409.[13] King Rupert was lodged at Sachsenhausen,[14]

[1] For Navarre, see MONTREUIL, 1364. [2] MART., COLL., VII., 991. [3] This useful word was started by the French.—RTA., VI., 686. [4] MART., COLL., VII., 906, 947. [5] *Ibid.*, 899; CLEOP., E., II., 65; DELAYTO, 1079; RTA., VI., 349, 464, 700; SCHWAB, 216. [6] Upon a mule white amblaunte. —GOWER, CONF., 116, 335. For "ambler" see CHAUC., PROL., 471. [7] MONSTR., I., 349. [8] HOLT, 174; LANGLEY, 179, 183, 203. [9] JANSSEN, I., 137; RTA., VI., 464, 467; NIEM, 220; ERLER, 183; LENFANT, I., 351; CHRISTOPHE, III., 282, 295. He died at Constance, Oct., 1415, and is buried in the Church of the Black Friars there.—CIAC., II., 653. [10] RTA., VI., 306; HEFELE, VI., 930. [11] RTA., VI., 349-355; HÖFLER, 414. [12] RTA., VI., 359, 360. [13] *Ibid.*, 306, 313, 358; MART., COLL., VII., 905; GOBELIN, 327; SCHWAB, 216; HEFELE, VI., 930; CREIGHTON, I., 200; ASCHBACH, I., 275; ERLER, 184; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 251; not Jan. 18th, as HÖFLER, 413. [14] CHMEL, 169; RTA., VI., 313, 367, 369. He was at Frankfort on Jan. 21st, 1409.—HR., V., 448.

and the Frankforters supplied him with wood for baking his bread, and harbourage for man and beast.[1] Cardinal Landulf appeared before the meeting, accompanied by Doctor Robert Fronzola,[2] to argue his case. He was well received by the majority of those present, but he could make no way against the pleading of Pope Gregory's nephew, the newly created Cardinal Antonio Corraro, Bishop of Porto,[3] who was there to advocate the other side; and after some weeks of hesitation[4] Rupert finally declared for Gregory, on March 3rd, 1409.[5] Finding himself balked at Frankfort, Landulf went on to Prague, where he met with more success. On Jan. 22nd, 1409,[6] Wenzel formally withdrew his obedience from Gregory; and on Feb. 16th,[7] he agreed to send representatives to the Council on receiving a promise that whoever should be chosen Pope at Pisa would recognize him as King of the Romans, and bring all his censures to bear to crush, demolish, and exterminate Rupert. Wenzel's representatives were appointed at Prague on March 15th,[8] and by March 28th[9] Landulf was at Bologna on his return to take his place at the Pisan Council.

The Cardinal selected to visit England was Francesco Uguccione,[10] a native of Urbino,[11] who had been for the last

[1] JANSSEN, I., 136; RTA., VI., 358, 363. [2] For his speech see RTA., VI., 319, 422-444: LENFANT, 330, 1408; called Franzola in HEFELE, VI., 932. [3] JANSSEN, I., 139; RTA., VI., 318, 371, 467. [4] Rex vero aliquanto hesitantior est.—RTA., VI., 464. [5] DELAYTO, 1086. [6] PALACKY, Doc., 348. [7] *Ibid.*, 364-368; JANSSEN, I., 144, 150; RTA., 583, 596, 700, 702; HEFELE, VI., 929; ASCHBACH, I., 276; PELZEL, 2; URKUNDENBUCH, 126, 129; HÖFLER, RUPR., 422; HÖFLER, HUS, 213; PALACKY, III., I., 240. [8] PALACKY, Doc., 368. [9] MURAT., XVIII., 596. [10] VEN. STATE PP., I., 50;—variously called Hugocio, Hugotion, Hugocionio, de Huguccionis, de Uguccione, or de Aguzzonis.—GALL. CHRIST., II., 839; CIAC., II., 726; CHRISTOFERI, 152; RAYN., XVII., 349; LENFANT, I., 270; LOPES, II., 281-287 (from Archives de l'hôpital de Libourne); JURADE, 9; GERSON, I., XXV.; GASTON DE LABORIE, 6; BARTHE, 12; RIBADIEU, 166. [11] Not of England, as MONSTR., I., 349; LENFANT, I., 350.

20 years Archbishop of Bordeaux.[1] He was reputed to be a learned lawyer, had been made a Cardinal by Innocent VII.,[2] had visited Benedict at Savona,[3] and was one of the first to join the revolted Cardinals at Pisa.[4] Thereupon Gregory deposed him from his Archbishopric,[5] and appointed Jean de Montferrand[6] in his place; but he paid no heed to the sentence, and so long as there was a possibility of reconciliation, he was regarded as the most prudent medium for attempting it.[7] With this view he went to Gregory at Siena, but was unable even to obtain a hearing.[8] As early as June 24th, 1408,[9] he had been selected to approach the English Court, where he would be specially a *persona grata*,[10] owing to his staunch fidelity to England's interest during the late attack of the French in Guienne.[11] On Sep. 10th,[12] he was with the Cardinals at Pisa, but before the end of the same month he travelled to Paris,[13] where he had repeated conferences with the French Council, and being an active man

[1] Not Bourges, as STOW, 336; HOLINS., II., 534; not "titular Archbishop of Bordeaux," as REUMONT, II., 1140. [2] MAS-LATRIE, 1203. [3] NIEM, 180 (see SHEPHERD, 34), who says that he also went to Siena to Gregory (*laboriose pervenit*), and tried to induce him to go to Savona (*multum importune, sero et mane*). [4] RAYN., XVII., 339; NIEM, 494. [5] ROT. VASC., 11 H. IV., 20 (Oct. 28th, 1409), has order to the Seneschal of Guienne to disregard all processes or sentences against the Archbishop of Bordeaux issued since May 3rd, 1408. [6] Who died Aug. 12th, 1410.—LOPES, II., 285; BARTHE, 17. [7] RAYN., XVII., 325; ARET., EP., I., 63. [8] MART., COLL., VII., 865. [9] CONC., III., 191; ST. DENYS, IV., 64. On July 23rd, 1408, he had a long talk with Niem at Lucca, whence he started for Pietra Santa to take ship for Gascony, intending afterwards to visit England. Niem was then an old man (senio confractus). He had had 30 years' personal knowledge of the Papal Court, and was just finishing his *Nemus Unionis*, and praying that God would send some steady weather after the storm that he saw ahead.—NIEM, 531. [10] Amici mei merito prædilecti.—MART., COLL., VII., 887; RYM., VIII., 568. [11] For his letters to Henry IV., dated April 21st, May 10th, June 30th, July 13th and 22nd, 1406, see JURADE, 87-93; Vol. III., p. 77; cf. ROY. LET., I., 438, which should probably be dated April 17th, 1401. [12] HARL. MS., 431, 102 (72). [13] MONSTR., I., 349.

and a ready speaker,[1] in spite of his great age,[2] he did his best to bring about an understanding between France and England for common purposes.[3] Accompanied by his secretary, the saintly herd-boy Pey Berland,[4] who had just been ordained priest at 32 years of age, he crossed the Channel from Calais,[5] and arrived in England about the beginning of November, 1408, bringing with him a letter[6] addressed to Archbishop Arundel from the Patriarch Simon de Cramaud and many Archbishops, Bishops and Abbots assembled in Paris. It was written in elegant Latin, padded out with the usual imagery about the ship and the storm and the haven in sight, and told how the French had decided to send representatives to Pisa, and hoped for the Archbishop's co-operation, both to secure a present success for the Council and a subsequent peace between England and France.

The aged Cardinal was met on landing by a retinue of lords and bishops, and escorted to London with great display.[7] The King received him, crowned and throned, at Westminster. As he entered the Hall, he laid aside his scarlet hat.[8] Advancing to the centre of the floor he doffed his hood,[9] and as he approached the King, he lowered half of it to the ground and bowed.

[1] Vir potens in opere et sermone.—WALS., II., 279. [2] Valde senex. —NIEM, 180. [3] HARL. MS., 431, 76. [4] CORBIN, 18, 62; GASTON DE LABORIE, 5; BARTHE, 15; called "Petrus Burdegalensis."—SPONDE, 705, 708; LENFANT, I., 188. [5] MONSTR., I., 350. [6] HARL. MS., 431, 56 (27). [7] Iss. ROLL, 10 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 8th, 1408, has payment to messenger to Bishop Bubwith at his palace at Dogmersfield near Odiham in Hampshire, to meet the Cardinal on the day of his arrival, and ride with him to London as other lords of the kingdom are ordered to do. It is usually assumed that the park and palace of Dogmersfield belonged to the Archbishops of Canterbury, but they were certainly the property of the see of Bath and Wells; see HIST. MSS., 10th REPT., Pt. II., *passim*; MONAST., II., 257, 268; LEL., ITIN., II., 33, f. 40; ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIV., 35. [8] EUL., III., 412. [9] APOL., 91. Thou woldest don of thin hoode and kisse hys seal.—WYCL. (M.), 348. I dide of myn hood. —CHAUC. (S.), I., 294. Don thyn hood.—*Ibid.*, II.,, 218.

King Henry then rose, took him by the hand and kissed him. A few days later he delivered a harangue in presence of the King, the Prince,[1] the Archbishops, and many bishops[2] and nobles. He chose for his theme: "The word is to thee, O King!" from the story of the young prophet, who approached Jehu with the words: "I have an errand to thee, O captain!"[3] and poured the oil on his head;—not, as he said, the oil of deceit and smooth flattery, but the oil of knowledge and clearness, and correct information;[4]—and then he explained the true state of things as to the action of the Cardinals, and pleaded laudably and elegantly[5] for the union of the Church.

All opposition was silenced, and even Sir John Cheyne and Bishop Chichele,[6] who held a brief for Gregory, did not dare to open their lips. The Cardinal was assured that England would promise her assistance, and send representatives to the coming Council. On Nov. 12th, King Henry wrote to Gregory, protesting his immense surprise[7] at hearing of the appointment of the new Cardinals; and on Nov. 30th,[8] Archbishop Arundel issued an order from Lambeth, calling together the Convocation of the Southern Province to meet at St. Paul's on Jan. 14th, 1409. The Cardinal was handsomely entertained[9] so long as he remained in England. He afterwards returned to Italy by way of France,[10] and when the Council

[1] RYM., VIII., 568; JURADE, 424; TYLER, I., 254. [2] CONC., III., 311; EUL., III., 413, says that Scotch and Irish bishops were also present. [3] 2 KINGS, IX., 5. [4] LOPES, 285, who quotes from the original speech preserved in a Latin Register in the Cathedral of St. Andrew at Bordeaux. [5] Laudabiliter exposuit ac etiam eleganter.—HARL. MS., 431, 57 (28); et aliis causis per ipsum patenter expositis.—ADD. MS., 24062 f., 191 b. [6] Johanni Cincio equiti Britanno et Metensi (? Menevensi) episcopo.—ARET., EP., I., 72, who heard this at Rimini on Feb. 1st, 1409. [7] "Vehemens admiratio consurgit."—HARL. MS., 431, 24 (14); *ibid.*, 86 (47 b); ADD. MS., 24062 f., 192; HEFELE, VI., 924; quoting MANSI, XXVII., 108. [8] CONC., III., 312; WAKE, 347. [9] WALS., II., 280. [10] He was in Paris, March 17th, 1409.—MONSTR., I., 401; JUV., 450; BAYE, I., 261.

was over, he received a general permission to hold benefices, with or without cure, in any diocese in England.[1] He was in Bologna in May, 1410, at the election of Pope John XXIII.[2] On Nov. 9th, 1411,[3] he received the prebend of Leighton-Manor or Leighton-Bromswold, near Kimbolton, in connection with the Cathedral of Lincoln, of which diocese he appears as suffragan bishop in the same year,[4] and on Jan. 19th, 1412,[5] he was granted exemption from dues for his wines and other goods at Bordeaux. He died at Florence in the arms of Pey Berland, Aug. 14th, 1412, and his body was buried in the new Church of Our Lady at Rome.[6]

In the beginning of 1409, it was announced that Cardinal Antonio Corraro[7] would come to England to attempt to counteract the effects of the mission of the Archbishop of Bordeaux. He scored a great success at Frankfort, as we have already seen;[8] but from his subsequent proceedings it is certain that he never reached our shores.

On Dec. 24th, 1408,[9] King Henry announced his intention of despatching a large company to the Council at Pisa. The two Archbishops[10] were to go, and five Bishops, each accompanied by a Doctor.[11] All the other Bishops in England and

[1] PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 6, Sep. 14th, 1409. In PAT., 12 H. IV., 13, Mar. 27th, 1411, there is a similar permit for Cardinal Antonio di Calvi, Bishop of Todi (MART., COLL., VII., 1179); but he died at Rome, Oct. 2nd, 1411.—CIAC., II., 722. [2] MART., COLL., VII., 1179. [3] PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 23; PRIV. SEAL, 7028, 7031; LE NEVE, II., 170; where he is called John Francisco. [4] NOTES AND QUERIES, Ser. 2, II., 1. [5] PRIV. SEAL, 654/7106. [6] For his epitaph written by Pey Berland, see GALL. CHRIST., II., 840; LOPES, II., 287; GASTON DE LABORIE, 6. [7] RTA., VI., 374 (Jan. 17th, 1409); RAYN., XVII., 356; PANVINIO, 271; MILMAN, V., 454. [8] Vol. III., p. 363. For his epitaph at Venice, see CIAC., II., 765; LENFANT, I., 233. [9] RYM., VIII., 567; JURADE, 424; HARL. MS., 431, 57 (28), 58 (28 b), 60 (29 b); RTA., VI., 279, 463; SCHWAB, 215; HEFELE, VI., 925. [10] For letter to Archbishop of York, see HARL. MS., 431, 61 (30). [11] For letter to Bishop Stafford of Exeter, to attend the

Ireland were to send a Doctor each, and each of the Universities two:—one in Theology, and the other in Canon or Civil Law. The Dominicans[1] were to send four of their Abbots, the Cistercians, Augustinians, and Cluniacs two each, the Carthusians a Prior, and the Præmonstratensians an Abbot. Every Cathedral Chapter was to send a Doctor, and the Prior of the Knights Hospitallers was to go himself in person. But it is probable that on reflection the expense was found to be too heavy, and the number of delegates that actually started from England was far smaller than the contemplated list. Before the end of January, 1409, three were chosen to represent the Convocation of the Southern province. These were Bishops Hallum and Chichele, and Thomas Chillenden, Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury.[2] It is said that the outlay[3] of each of the Bishops and Abbots amounted to 1000 marks, and a levy[4] of 4d. in the £ was laid on all benefices and Church property to defray their expenses while away. Contributions were to be payable before the end of March, 1409; but by April 20th, "scarce the seventh penny" had come in,[5] and the Archbishop had to curse[6] for the money before he

Council at his own cost, with at least one doctor to represent the clergy of his diocese and another for the Chapter of his Cathedral, see *ibid.*, 59 (29).

[1] HARL. MS., 431, 62 (80). [2] RAYN., XVII., 369; MART., COLL., VII., 1118; OTT., 265. [3] EUL., III., 414. [4] CONC., III., 312, 313, Jan. 30th, 1409. [5] *Ibid.*, 320. [6] "Ful loth was he to cursen for his tithes."—CHAUC., PROL., 488; cf. ANTIQ. REPERT., III., 370; POOLE, 302, 309, 335. For cursing for tithes, cf.:—Prelatis bi cursinges maken men to gyve goodis that thei wolen have.—WYCL. (M.), 214, 230, 233, 245, 252, 414, 453. To curse a man for sexe pans.—*ibid.*, 36, 145, 146; (A.), III., 310. For foure penyworth good thei curse many thousande soules to helle.—*ibid.* (M.), 132. Thei wolen for foure pens bitake hem bodi and soule to the fend.—*ibid.*, 146. Taken hem by vyolence and stronge curses ayenst mennus goode wille.—*ibid.*, 161. Men of holy chirche have leve by goddis lawe for to curse al tho by name that wyl nought paye ther tythes.—*ibid.* (A.), III., 269.

could get it. The safe-conduct for Bishop Hallum is dated Feb. 15th, 1409,[1] and there is an order dated Feb. 8th,[2] showing that there was already a fardel of harness belonging to him in a cart, ready to be shipped at Southampton. Passports are also extant for Bishop Bubwith (dated Feb. 16th, 1409), Richard Gower, Abbot of Jervaux (Feb. 10th),[3] Thomas Spofforth, Abbot of St. Mary's, York,[4] John, Prior of St. Bartholomew in West Smithfield,[5] whose expenses were paid by the Austin Canons, to which Order he belonged. Sir John Colvil,[6] a Cambridgeshire knight,[7] Doctor Nicholas Rishton,[8] and Master

[1] FR. ROLL, 10 H. IV., 9. [2] CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 23. [3] FR. ROLL, 10 H. IV., 10; MONAST., V., 567; PAT., 11 H. IV., 2. 14 d. [4] MONAST., III., 539; GASC., 161; A. WOOD, I., 204. [5] BLOMFIELD, BICESTER, II., 168. He obtained indulgences from Pope Alexander V., for all who would help his Priory in Smithfield.—WALS., II., 282; OTT., 267; CAPGR., 297. [6] EUL., III., 265; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, LETTRES, II., 327; called "Ochul" in RAYN., XVII., 369. FOR. ACCTS., 10 H. IV., shows that he was at the Roman Court from Dec. 14th, 1408, to Oct. 22nd, 1409. For £212 paid to him for a journey to the Roman curia on secret business, see Iss. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 29th, 1409. In the winter of 1401, he had gone as an envoy to King Rupert in Lombardy, in reference to the marriage of Blanche.—MART., ANEC., I., 1682, 1685; RTA., V., 200-204, 400; HÖFLER, 265; where he is called "Cobula." [7] In PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 3; PRIV. SEAL, 649/6676 (Sep. 12th, 1410), he has permission to found a chantry in the Chapel of St. Mary super costeram maris in the town of Newton-in-the-Isle. In LYSONS, CAMBRIDGESHIRE, 242, is an account of a college founded at the same time. He may have been a grandson of Sir John Colvil, who rebelled in 1405.—Vol. II., p. 220; FOSTER, 200. [8] WALS., II., 280; DEVON, 310; RYM., VIII., 568; Vol. I., p. 471; spelt "Rixston" in KAL. AND INV., II., 66, 67, 68, 80; "Ryxton" in Iss. ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 21st, 1405, where he claims payment for journey with Bishop Bowet to Picardy, May 30th,-Sep. 19th, 1403, also Nov. 14th, 1403, April 6th, 1404, and journey in France, Aug. 16th,-Oct. 29th, 1404.—Iss. ROLL, 6 H. IV., PASCH., July 10th, 1405, has £24 6s. 8d. paid to him for this journey, also from Dec. 2nd, 1404, to Feb. 18th, 1405. He got liberal promises, but very little payment, and was obliged to make large abatements from his claims "of his free will" to the King.—PAT., 8 H. IV., 1, 30 (Nov. 11th, 1406), and 2, 16 shows that he had graces sub expectatione from the Pope, of prebends in York, Salisbury, and Lincoln. He was a canon of Crediton till April 20th, 1410 (STAFF. REG., 161, 311; PRIV. SEAL, 648/6561), and he held the prebend of Nether-Avon (Salisbury) from June 4th, 1408 (PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 32, has July), till his

John Polton[1] had already left for Italy, bearing letters to Gregory and the Cardinals, and among other Englishmen leaving the country about this time, with passports extending over twelve months, are Sir John Bernak, four clerks (viz., John Frome, Robert Crull,[2] John Brokhampton, and John Morehay[3]), and two squires (viz., John Wilcotes and Thomas Rigg).

The Pisan party embarked at Southampton, sailed into the Seine, and travelled to Paris,[4] where they were welcomed by the Chancellor Gerson,[5] in the name of the University, with

death in June, 1413.—W. H. JONES, 404. For his treatise on the Schism see BALE, 554. His letter to the Duchess of Burgundy, dated Coventry, Nov. 2nd, 1404 (ROY. LET., I., 407), has been copied in TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 143, 3, 85, from the Archives at Lille. Richard Rixton (or de Rishton, Lancs.), was entered as a scholar at Winchester in 1402. He became a scholar at New College, Oxford, and Fellow, 1397-1408.—KIRBY, 29; also Nicholas Ryxton (Lancs.), 1407, beneficed in 1411.—*ibid.*, 35.

[1] CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 21. [2] One of this name was Treasurer of Ireland in 1392, 1393, and 1401.—GRAVES, 172, 193; DEVON, 249. Another held a prebend at York from 1377, but he had died before Dec. 14th, 1408.—LE NEVE, III., 187. [3] His safe-conduct is dated Jan. 20th, 1409.—FR. ROLL, 10 H. IV., 10. For his letter to Bishop Bowet from Bordeaux, dated April 30th [1401], see ROY. LET., I., 446. In a passage of it much burned he asks for " . elle de Lincoln," *i.e.*, the Rectory of West Keal, near Spilsby, which he exchanged for Ipplepen in Devonshire, Nov. 21st, 1402 (STAFF. REG., 180, 212, 258, 334). For his account as Keeper of Carmarthen, Aug., 1404, see Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{6}{12}$, APP. G, of which he was appointed Treasurer, Sep. 17th, 1403.—PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, 5; see ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 234, 235. He was sent to Bordeaux in the spring of 1405.—ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 255. He was still Rector of Ipplepen, Sep. 14th, 1408 (JURADE, 375), which he exchanged for the prebend of Warminster (Wells), May 11th, 1410. In ADD. MS., 24062 f., 139 b., is a letter without date, addressed by Henry IV. to King Rupert, asking protection for bearer, dilectus clericus noster, J. M. (? John Morehay), vir utique providus et circumspectus nobisque carus et in oculis nostris generosus, who is proceeding to Rome and the Holy Land. The letter was evidently written before the Council met at Pisa. Yet the same J. M. is commendator preceptoriæ Sancti Antonii civitatis nostræ Londoniarum.—*ibid.*, 146 b. and 162 b. [4] GERSON, II., 123; SPONDE, 708; A. WOOD, I., 204; SCHWAB, 225; HEFELE, VI., 921; CHURCH QUARTERLY REV., XXVII., 430. [5] On Jan. 29th, 1409, he had no expectation of attending the Council, being too busy (GERSON, II., 113), and he never actually went (SCHWAB, 223, 228, 230, 231); though NEANDER (IX., 114), PALACKY (III., I., 242), GIESELER (IV., 278), and CREIGHTON (I., 211), think that he did.

a prolix Latin sermon, in which he warned them not to fall out by the way. They then passed on to the south coast of France, where they took ship and made the rest of their journey by sea.[1] About a month after they had started, a passport was issued (March 20th, 1409[2]) for Bishop Langley to proceed to Tuscany. He was accompanied by a splendid escort,[3] and he seems to have taken advantage of his visit to Pisa to secure general powers[4] to sanction marriages within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity from the new Pope, soon after he was appointed.

[1] MART., COLL., VII., 1052. [2] RYM., VIII., 579; WELFORD, 245. Langley appears as one of the English representatives at Pisa in RAYN., XVII., 369, where "Damiensis" should be Dunelmensis. [3] EUL., III., 414. [4] The permission was to cease after it had been exercised 12 times. One of them is recorded in RAINES' MSS., XVI., 309.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

PISA.

THE city of Pisa was in every way well adapted by its central position[1] to be the meeting-place of a Great Council. It lay in a fertile plain surrounded by cornland,[2] meadows, and vineyards, at a distance of three miles from the sea; but the largest galleys then built could make their way up into the very heart of the town, and either party could occupy a separate half of it, if they were so minded—with the broad flood of the Arno between them to keep them apart.[3] Three years before, it had been starved into submission to the Florentines, after frightful sufferings heroically borne.[4] Almost every house had been smashed or riddled with gun-stones hurled from bombards and catapults;[5] the place had been brought to well-nigh total ruin,[6] and 2000[7] of its principal

[1] Qui locus est ydoneus et nullus valet magis reperiri, divisus flumine, galeis accessibilis, habundans victualibus, capax multitudinis, tutus et accommodus ut ad istam conventionem fabricatus videatur.—HARL. MS., 431, 90 (53), 103 (85); MART., COLL., VII., 989, 998. For the picturesqueness of Pisa see CREIGHTON, I., 206; but there is no evidence that this had any weight with contemporaries in the selection of the city. [2] MONSTR., II., 20; LENFANT (I., 239), has "vins blancs" instead of "vignes, blez." [3] HARL. MS., 431, 103 (85), ART. 23. [4] MURAT., XVIII., 1127-1148; POGGIO, 163; CRIBELLUS, 642; MAILLY, 465 (Oct., 9, 1406); HÖFLER, 328; PERRENS, VI., 155; RTA., VI., 562. The capture was announced to Innocent VII. at the Vatican four days before his death, *i.e.*, Nov. 2nd, 1406.—ARET., EPIST., I., 31. [5] PALMIERI, 184; NIEM, 468. [6] Pene ad ultimum exterminium cives et incolas deduxerunt.—NIEM, 135 (written in 1410). [7] MONSTR., II., 21. In POGGIO, 178, the number is 200. Others say 300.—MORELLI, in PERRENS, VI., 160.

citizens had been deported to Florence, where they had to show themselves in person twice a day in an appointed place under threat of execution. Swarms of Florentine troops were quartered in the town [1] to check disaffection, and the process of rebuilding had gone on apace.

The Council opened on Monday, March 25th, 1409.[2] Crowds of Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Doctors and Masters formed up in the Abbey Church of San Martino,[3] and passed thence across the bridge and through the streets,[4] mitred, coped, and surpliced, in long procession [5] to the Cathedral. Fourteen Cardinals [6] took their seats on a raised platform draped with green cloth [7] in the choir twelve feet from the high altar, and near to them were placed the representatives of the Kings of France, Sicily, and England;[8] the English envoys being a knight, a doctor, and a clerk, who had just come forward from attending the sittings of the Diet at Frankfort.[9] These were probably Colvil, Rishton, and Polton; for we know that most of the English delegates did not arrive till about a month later. To right and left along the nave, extending to the doors, were raised seats for Bishops, Abbots, and certain privileged representatives of convents and Cathedral Chapters, and on the floor of the nave were stools and benches for the envoys of Kings, lords, and cities, together with doctors and other representatives not specially entitled to precedence in the

[1] MART., ANEC., II., 1471, 1475, 1477; PERRENS, VI., 159. [2] ST. DENYS, IV., 208; not 1410, as CHOISY, 247; nor March 20th, as MOLAND, 255. [3] MONSTR., II., 11; not St. Michael, as ZANTFLIET, 394; HEFELE, VI., 993; CREIGHTON, I., 207. [4] HARDT, II., 89; LABBE, XI., 2, 2117; HARDOUIN, VIII., 5. For the ceremony of robing see MURAT., III., II., 826. [5] Propter prolixitatem longæ processionis.—MART., COLL., VII., 1078; DELAYTO, 1085. [6] In NIEM, LIB. CANC., 16 (written in 1380), the full college consists of 53 cardinals, viz., 7 Bishops (including the Pope), 28 Priests and 18 Deacons. [7] MURAT., III., II., 824. [8] BRANDO, 131. [9] NIEM, 221; RTA., VI., 315, 316; ST. DENYS, IV., 210.

more exalted seats. Mass was then said, and a sermon was preached,[1] and arrangements were made for the business meetings to commence on the following day.

No accurate estimate[2] of the number present has been preserved, but a German contemporary chronicle avers that the meeting was so large that the like never was.[3] It certainly varied as the sittings advanced. During the four months that the Council sat, it was calculated that at least 10,000 persons[4] visited Pisa, including attendants. On April 3rd,[5] when Bruni arrived, the bulk of the English contingent had not yet come in, but he found that Pisa was too small for the numbers assembled; and we know that on April 15th,[6] there were 90 Archbishops and Bishops alone. On May 29th,[7] there were 160 Archbishops, Bishops, and mitred Abbots, 120 Doctors in Theology,[8] 300 Doctors in Civil and Canon Law, as well as the lay representatives of the convoking powers;[9] while on June 5th,[10] there were 22 Cardinals,[11] four Patriarchs, 180 Archbishops and Bishops or their deputies, 300 Abbots, and 282 Doctors of Theology, both Oxford and Cambridge[12] being amongst the universities represented. With

[1] ZANTFLIET, 394. [2] MONSTR., II., 19; ALZOG, II., 854. [3] POSILJE, 298. [4] DELAYTO, 1086; PERRENS, VI., 174; RTA., VI., 680. [5] ARET., EP., I., 87; HARDT, II., 103. [6] ST. DENYS, IV., 216. [7] *Ibid.*, 238. [8] BENSHEIM, a few months after the Council closed, had heard the figures placed at 125 Masters in Theology, and about 314 Doctors in Laws.—RTA., VI., 680. His opponent disputed the accuracy of the figures.—*Ibid.*, 695. BRANDO (131) gives 75 bishops (+ 84 by proxy), 75 abbots (+ 82 by proxy) and 70 proctors of chapters and dioceses. [9] *I.e.*, France, England, Hungary, Poland, Portugal, Sicily, and Bohemia.—CORNER, 1195. [10] ANTONINUS, III., CXVIII.; SOZZOMEN., 1195; SPONDE, 711. [11] BRANDO (131) says 23; DELAYTO (1086) 24; cf. CIAC., II., 775; RTA., VI., 681; LENFANT, I., 350; COCHON, 24, 141, 144; SCHWAB, 229; HEFELE, VI., 993; ASCHBACH, I., 277; CHRISTOPHE, III., 302; REUMONT, II., 1141; SILFVERSTOLPE, II., 282, where the number of doctors is over 300. [12] LENFANT, I., 240; CORNER (1195) mentions Oxford but not Cambridge; HUBER (I., 326) wrongly says that

such vast numbers it is clear that exact scrutiny of admission was impossible. A list[1] was drawn up, and censors were appointed to keep unauthorized persons out; but we know of at least one case, where an Englishman[2] who favoured Gregory, and could not hold his tongue when his indignation got the better of him, was pounced upon as an intruder, ejected from the meeting and run into prison.

At daybreak on March 26th,[3] the business work began in the Cathedral. After the whole assembly had kneeled and chanted a litany, they sang the "Veni Creator," and declared their official belief[4] that all heretics and schismatics would burn with the devil in eternal fire. An indictment under 37 heads[5] had been drawn up against both the Popes; and two of the Cardinals walked down to the west door, and asked three times in a loud voice in Latin and Italian, if Gregory and Benedict were present.[6] No reply came, and both the absent Popes were declared to be contumacious.[7] Sitting after sitting was adjourned, and the proceedings were varied from time to time by loud altercations[8] within the church, and noisy quarrelling amongst the servants holding horses about the doors. Then there were disputes for precedence between the representatives of Mayence and Cologne.[9] But, on the whole, the public meetings were decorous and dull; the Cardinals were peaceable and

Cambridge is nowhere mentioned; BRANDO (131) calls it Cantuariensis. In BALE, 569, and WOOD, I., 204, Thomas Netter of Walden is said to have been one of the English representatives at Pisa, but it is evident that Constance is meant.

[1] Matricula.—MURAT., III., II., 825; which cannot refer to the Council of Perpignan. [2] Anglicus Cortisanus.—MART., COLL., VII., 1090; not a bishop, as RTA., VI., 695; cf. LENFANT, I., 347; HEFELE, VI., 1021; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 253. [3] SCHWAB, 233. [4] MART., COLL., VII., 1079. [5] Not 27, as HARL. MS., 431, 103 (73). [6] HARDT, II., 96. CREIGHTON (I., 208) regards this as a "ridiculous imitation of the forms of a law-court." [7] MART., COLL., VII., 1150; HUS, MON., I., CCCXXXI. b. [8] ST. DENYS, IV., 218. [9] MURAT., III., II., 827.

persuasive; all knotty points were put into writing and reserved for discussion at private sittings, and questions of etiquette were arranged "without any difficulty whatever." On April 15th,[1] the Archbishop of Riga and the Bishops of Worms and Verden [2] attended, though not in full dress, to represent King Rupert; but their duty was limited to a protest against the whole proceedings, and they left Pisa on April 21st,[3] and rode back to Gregory at Rimini.[4] As time advanced, there were rumours that Ladislas was coming in Gregory's interest to break up the meetings.[5] On April 24th,[6] a large English contingent, consisting of Bishop Hallum [7] of Salisbury, and another Bishop,[8] together with two Abbots, a knight, two doctors,[9] and a retinue of 200 mounted men, arrived at Pisa, and put new life into the flagging Council. Hallum was accorded the first

[1] RTA., VI., 333; SCHWAB, 234; HEFELE, VI., 997; PASTOR, I., 145. [2] POSILJE, 298; RTA., VI., 472, 493, 565; PALACKY, III., I., 182; HÖFLER, 436, 446; CREIGHTON, I., 212. For MATTHEW OF KROKOW or CHROCHOVE in Pomerania (not Cracow, as GRAES, II., 584), Bishop of Worms, who wrote the LIBER DE SQUALORE ROMANÆ CURIÆ, see POSILJE, 298; RTA., IV., 97; VI., 489; ULLMANN, I., 300; HÖFLER, 296, 461; DENIS, 9, 26, 61; PASTOR, I., 143; CREIGHTON, I., 450; LOSERTH, 57. [3] After a stay of three weeks.—RTA., VI., 331, 474, 476; turpiter ejecti.—DYNTER, III., 76. [4] RTA., VI., 477. [5] ST. DENYS, IV., 226; MONSTR., II., 21; HARDT, II., 114; MART., COLL., VII., 1086; RAYN., XVII., 394. [6] ST. DENYS, IV., 222; D'ACHERY, VI., 248; MONSTR., II., 15; HARDT, II., 89; MART., COLL., VII., 1085; CREIGHTON, I., 214; not May 7th, as SCHWAB, 230, 235; RTA., VI., 330. In HARDT, II., 88, an Englishman named Master Richard preached in St. Martin's Church on April 5th, 1409. [7] Not "Alam," as HEFELE, VI., 1012. The Italians called him "Alun," and derived his name *a luna*.—CIAC., II., 803. [8] Not the "Bishop of York," as SCHWAB, 238; nor the Archbishop of Canterbury, as GESTE, 359. [9] In a confused list of English representatives in RAYN., XVII., 369; LABBE, XI., 2, 2214; HARDOUIN, VIII., 98; D'ACHERY, VI., 346; MANSI, XXVII., 329-356, quoted in ERLER, 186, we can decipher the names of Bishops Bubwith, Langley, and Hallum, the Abbots of York and Jervaux, the Prior of Canterbury, the Earl of Suffolk, Sir John Colvil, and Doctor Richard Coningston. (This is probably the equivalent of "Camascon" or Cangugston.—UGHELLI, III., 557; see LE NEVE, I., 611, 640; II., 123; III., 133, 174, 224.)

seat[1] on the Bishops' bench to the left of the Cardinals, because England had been christianized before the other nations by Joseph of Arimathæa,[2] and he was regarded during his stay at Pisa as a decidedly distinguished man.[3] The Prior of Canterbury also was thought to be a man of mark, both for his high character and his learning; but the chief thing that struck the foreigners was his nice stock of cash, with which he was as well supplied as any of their "big bishops."[4]

Hallum at once harangued the assembly, and secured the rejection of all overtures from Rimini; and it was through his vigorous advice that decisive resolutions were at length taken on May 25th,[5] just two months after the Council had first met. All were required to subtract obedience from both Popes, whom an official preacher called devils from hell, and no more Popes than his old shoes were.[6] This done, events moved faster. The great heat was beginning to tell on the older Cardinals.[7] On Wednesday, June 5th, 1409,[8] all the doors of the Cathedral were flung open; the great Church was packed as full as it could hold by an immense throng; and the Patriarch of Alexandria mounted the pulpit, and pronounced both Popes to be heretics and schismatics, enemies of God, and excommunicate from the Church.[9] The vast assembly then sang "Te Deum;" the bells[10] in the leaning tower pealed

[1] ST. DENYS, IV., 220, 224, 230; MART., COLL., VII., 1085, 1087; HARDT, II., 112. [2] HEFELE, VI., 1012. [3] MART., COLL., VII., 1117. [4] *Ibid.*, 1119. For "fat bishopricks," see WYCL., LAT. SERM., II., 144. [5] ST. DENYS, IV., 236. [6] MONSTR., II., 19. There were sermons every Sunday.—BRANDO, 131. [7] NIEM, 223. [8] HARDT, II., 136; MONSTR., II., 25; SCHWAB, 239; HÖFLER, 442; HEFELE, VI., 1024; CREIGHTON, I., 216; CHRISTOPHE, III., 312; ALZOG, II., 855. [9] HARL. MS., 431, 104 (90 b); BRANDO, 131, 138; BONIFACE FERRER (in 1411) complains that no attested statement of the charges could be obtained. It was like hanging a man first and trying him after.—MART., ANEC., II., 1519. [10] MART., COLL., VII., 1096.

out the news, and every steeple rang it over Pisa. The wind caught up the sound, and the village churches swelled it along, till in four hours it was echoed from the belfries of Florence, 15 leagues away.[1] The next day was the Feast of Corpus Christi, and trumpeters proclaimed a holiday till midday for the great procession of the Sacrament. On June 10th,[2] seven envoys arrived from Benedict, among them being the Carthusian Boniface,[3] brother to Saint Vincent Ferrer.[4] They were introduced at a special Congregation of Cardinals, in the Church of San Martino, on June 14th.[5] But their purpose was already known;[6] they were hissed and called Jews, and were warned by the Marshal of the Court that he would not

[1] MART., COLL., VII., 1117. For salvo of bells in Bologna, see MURAT., XVIII., 597. [2] MART., ANEC., II., 1476; SCHWAB, 241; HEFELE, VI., 1029. [3] SPONDE, 715; LABBE, XI., 2, 2111; CHRISTOPHE, III., 315. [4] MART., ANEC., II., 1485; SCHWAB, 218; LENFANT, 302; HEFELE, I., 67; VI., 990; HELLER, 3; CREIGHTON, I., 218, 434. There appears to be no truth in the story that he was invited to England in 1406 by King Henry, who sent a ship to France to fetch him, that he foretold certain coming events, and preached with much acceptance, scattering the good seed of the word of God among the schismatical English, and then sailed to the "adjacent islands" of Scotland and Ireland, gathering much fruit from his teaching. The story is accepted without hesitation by HELLER (72), who appears to believe all the miraculous stories in RANZANI, about his conversion of the Jews and Waldensians in crowds. In 1406 St. Vincent was at Genoa, where NICHOLAS CLAMENGES heard him preach (SURITA, 271; SPONDE, I., 689; MART., ANEC., II., 1526; AUBERTIN, II., 373), and was struck with his power in being able to preach in Italian. He notes his clever use of gestures and impersonation, so that when he spoke in Italian, a German said that he understood what he meant (CLAMENGES, EP., CXIII., p. 315). His biographer asserts (ACT. SANCT., APRIL 5th, p. 495; HELLER, 60) that he always preached in his native Catalan, and that his hearers were able to understand him, whether Greeks, Teutons, Sardinians or Huns. It is said that he never wrote his sermons (HELLER, 45), but there are still extant two bulky folio volumes of them in Latin. For a list of his works, see TRITHEIM, 107; MOLAND, 260. For his sermon about the end of the world, sent from Alcaniz in Aragon to Benedict XIII., July 27th, 1412, see HELLER, 95. [5] HARDT, II., 142; MART., ANEC., II., 1486; LENFANT, 283. For an examination of their arguments by Cardinal Landulf, see HARL. MS., 431, 107 (95). [6] MONSTR., II., 21; MART., ANEC., II., 1479.

be responsible for their safety. They had to be escorted through the streets by the Podestà and his officers, as they walked to their inn, to save them from being stoned by the crowd, and the next day they were glad to escape secretly,[1] and so got empty away.[2]

Scarcely had they left, when, in the evening of Saturday, June 15th,[3] the Cardinals (now 23 in number[4]) went into conclave in the Archbishop of Pisa's palace, and after 11 days' seclusion announced that one of their number had been elected Pope. This was Cardinal Pietro Filargo,[5] one of those who had early made up their minds for revolt.[6] He had drawn up a list of 16 "conclusions"[7] to prove the validity of proceeding by way of a Council, and when a last effort was made at reconciliation, he was selected to seek an interview with Gregory at Siena, and endeavour to patch the quarrel up.[8] He was a man of humble birth,[9] and used to say that he never knew who his parents were :[10]—which was in itself a recommendation, as there

[1] Secretè et cautelosè.—MART., ANEC., II., 1478. [2] EUL., III., 414. [3] MART., COLL., VII., 1113. Sabbato post Festum S. Viti.—CORNER, 1194. [4] For their names, see MART., COLL., VII., 1103; DELAYTO, 1087; or 24, according to the English representatives.—SILFVERSTOLPE, II., 119; see also CORNER, 1194; MAS-LATRIE, 1313. [5] SPONDE, 715; TIRABOSCHI, VI., 4; HEFELE, VI., 1033; CREIGHTON, I., 219; CHRISTOPHE, III., 320; HIRSCH, II., 298; BRANDO, 132; DELAVILLE LE ROULX, I., 502; PERRENS, VI., 174; REUMONT, II., 1143. Called Petrus Philardi in BRANDO, 96; Petrus Philargi in CHRON. DES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE, III., 343; Peter Philarges in RENIERI, 3; or "Villargi" in NEANDER, IX., 114, 353. The election was known in Rome by June 26th.—PETRI, 1001. [6] MART., COLL., VII., 808. For his letter to Wenzel, written from Bologna in 1408, see *ibid.*, 813; HÖFLER, HUS, 280. [7] These occupy about two pages in HARL. MS., 431, 63 (30 b). There is a copy of them at Emmanuel College, Cambridge (MS., I., 1, 9, called I., 29, in LITTLE, 250), for particulars as to which I am indebted to the librarian, Mr. E. S. Shuckburgh. [8] He reached Siena, Sep. 19th, 1408.—HARL. MS., 431, 101 (71 b). [9] ST. DENYS, IV., 240. In CHOISY, 249, he is said to be a native of Crucivallo in the diocese of Novara, quoting Ex Nov. Sacr. For disquisitions on his birth-place, see WADDING, IX., 271. [10] CIAC., II., 774; NIEM, 241; RAYN., XVII., 384.

would be no needy nephews and grandnephews for the faithful to provide for.[1] He had been nursed in the school of toil,[2] and was picked up by a Franciscan friar as a boy[3] begging from house to house in the island of Crete. The friars brought him up in their monastery at Heracleum, or Tzamia, near Khania.[4] Thence he was sent to Pavia, Norwich, and Oxford, where he graduated Bachelor of Divinity,[5] which would ordinarily imply at least eight years spent as a scholar in the faculty of Arts. In 1381,[6] he finished his course at Paris, where he wrote a commentary[7] on Peter the Lombard, read theology in the University, and was counted one of its most brilliant stars.[8] He next went to Lombardy, where he gained an influence over Gian Galeazzo,[9] became the leading member of his privy coun-

[1] Non haberet aliquos sibi carnis identitate conjunctos, &c.—NIEM, in MEIBOM, I., 12; cf. also CAROLO MALATESTA in MART., COLL., VII., 1138. Cum tales non habeatis attinentes cujus genealogiam ignoravi. —MURAT., III., II., 842.

Cf. Pour acheter bien grans cités,
Grans baronnies ne grans contés,
Aux frères nepveux ou parens
Du Pape ne des adherens.—BONET, APPARITION, 48.

[2] MONTREUIL, in MART., COLL., II., 1369. In TRAHISONS DE FRANCE (54) it is supposed that he was "ung povre frère mineur" when he was elected Pope. This is improved upon in GESTE, 360, where Alexander is chosen "pour sa pauvretet." [3] A puero te cœlestis religio susceptum spiritualiter vivere docuerit.—GERSON, II., 140. [4] RENIERI, 99-101. [5] EUL., III., 415; GASC., 161; A. WOOD, I., 204; BOASE, REGISTER, I., XII.; LITTLE, 249; LYTE, 30 (quoting CLEOP. E., II., 262 b). [6] MAZZUCHELLI, I., 455; TIRABOSCHI, VI., 392. [7] Cf. CORNER, 1194; ECCARD, I., 1535; MURAT., III., II., 842; TRITHEIM, II., 328. [8] ST. DENYS, IV., 322; apprimè literatus.—NIEM, in MEIBOM, I., 12; TRITHEIM, 100. Solempnissimus doctor in theologia.—DYNTER, III., 144. Ung homme de bonne vie et grant théologien.—CABARET, 293; GERSON, II., 436, 446. Sacre theologie doctorem famosissimum.—RTA., VI., 681. Excellent docteur en théologie.—GALITZIN, 32; see also VALORI, in ARCHIVIO STORICO ITAL., IV., 1843, quoted in HÖFLER, HUS, 212. For list of his works, including a tract on the *Immaculate Conception* [printed in PIETRO D'ALVA (? Pedro Alva y Astorgia) SERAPHICA, PRO IMMAC. CONCEPT., Louvain, 1665], and some letters, see MAZZUCHELLI, I., 455; TIRABOSCHI, VI., 395; CIAC., II., 783. [9] Qui olim rexerat ducem Mediolanensem.—MART., COLL., VII., 1115; ANEC., II., 1471; PLATINA, 282.

cil,[1] was employed as a negotiator with King Wenzel at Prague,[2] and on missions for the conversion of the Letts[3] and reunion with the Greeks,[4] and ultimately rose to be Archbishop of Milan. He was made a Cardinal by Innocent VII.,[5] and now at 70 years of age[6] he was crowned Pope on a high scaffold[7] in front of the Cathedral at Pisa on Sunday, July 7th, 1409,[8] with the title of Alexander V. He then rode in procession with his Cardinals through the streets, receiving the roll of the Law in the Jewish quarter, and flinging it behind his back,[9] together with all the other usual ceremonial.

Gregory and Benedict were then burnt in effigy.[10] The Grey Friars were wild with delight that one of their order should have been elected.[11] They ran about for days through the streets and squares of Pisa as if they were mad, determined to get all the good things while the wind blew their way. Those who were keen for reunion with the Eastern Church believed that their dream was coming near fulfilment, as the new Pope was a Greek and had shown much interest in the question,[12] and it was believed that the Greeks themselves were ready to submit.[13]

The great enthusiast for reunion was the French Chancellor, Jean Charlier Gerson. Before the year was out, he preached a

[1] SOZZOMEN., 1195; BILLIUS, 40; RTA., v., 411; VI., 698. [2] May 11th, 1395.—PALACKY, III., 107. [3] DLUGOSZ, X., 207. [4] GALITZIN, 45; RENIERI, 64. [5] TRITHEIM, II., 325; CHRISTOFERI, XLVIII., 104, 328. Not Boniface IX., as BRANDO, 96. [6] COCHON, 144. Fere octogenarium.—ST. DENYS, IV., 320. Ætate maturum.—SILFVERSTOLPE, II., 112. [7] ZANTFLIET, 396. [8] NIEM, 243; PITTI, 80; GRIFFONI, 217; SILFVERSTOLPE, II., 282; WAZSTEN., 127; POSILJE, 298; COCHON, 146; HEFELE, VI., 1035. Not June 29th, as GOBELIN, 328. [9] MART., COLL., VII., 1106. For similar ceremony with Innocent VII. at Rome, see USK, 88, 216; and John XXIII. at Bologna, see MONSTR., II., 70; MURAT., XVIII., 599; LENFANT, 290. [10] JUSTINGER, 211. [11] NIEM, 246; SPONDE, 718; LENFANT, 309, 316; COCHON, 146. [12] MONTREUIL, in MART., COLL., II., 1369; A. THOMAS, 35; BAYE, I., 345; GERSON, II., 136, 435; RTA., VI., 678; SCHWAB, 245. [13] HARL. MS., 431, 4 (10).

weighty sermon in Paris,[1] in the name of the University, in presence of the French King and Council. He knew that the Greeks hated the Latins worse than the Turks, and that it would be asked what right had France to talk of peace with all the world, when she could not even live at peace with England; but the chance was a rare one, and with proper handling the Greeks might be induced to send representatives to the next Council, which would meet in three years' time, and submit to the decision of the Church on the Double Procession,[2] the Marriage of Priests, the date of Easter, and the Leavened Bread.[3] He noted that the Greek Emperor was eager for union, but he forgot to say that when Manuel was lately in Paris,[4] he had spent weeks in writing a theological tract in 157 chapters,[5]

[1] GALITZIN, 25-55; GERSON, II., 142; SCHWAB, 259; AUBERTIN, II., 412; BOURRET, 120; MOLAND, 257, 420; EGGER, I., 105. [2] God wolde that we Lateins amendid Grekis addynge the Sone to the Fadir, &c.—WYCL. (A.), III., 78. [3] GALITZIN, 42. [4] He arrived in Paris from England on Feb. 28th, 1401 (MONSTR., I., 32), though some of his servants and horses were still at Staines and Windsor as late as May, 1401 (Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{3}$, APP. B). He left Paris again on Nov. 21st, 1402.—ST. DENYS, III., 50; SPOND., I., 687; DELAVILLE LE ROULX, I., 396. He was at Genoa on Jan. 22nd, 1403.—DELAYTO, 966; FOGLIETA, 525; DELAVILLE LE ROULX, I., 424. He then visited Pope Boniface IX. at Perugia, stayed awhile again at Milan and Venice, whence he sailed, about Mar. 5th, 1403 (SATHAS, I., 5), to Modon, where he was joined by his wife and children (BOUCICAUT, 269). He did not reach Constantinople till Sep. 13th, 1405 (DUCAS, 849; PHRANTZES, 687, who on p. 725 seems to place his arrival in March, 1406). For letter of Henry IV. to the Pope in favour of Manuel Imperator et Moderator Romeorum Palæologus, see ALL SOULS' MS., CLXXXII., f. 80, in PECKHAM, REG., I., XLVII. For expenses of his envoys in London at the George in Lombard Street, Oct., 1402 (£108 16s. 8d.), and three days at Windsor (£8 18s. 8d.), see Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{4}$, APP. B. In reply to enquiries as to the collecting boxes (Vol. I., p. 164) Bishop Stafford of Exeter acknowledged the receipt of the king's letter on April 21st, 1401, saying that there was one such box in his cathedral, but that the collectors, Robert Northale of the diocese of Norwich, and John Knight of Bridport, had left the district, taking the key and the money with them, and declining to be answerable for their appearance.—STAFF. REG., 358. [5] ALLATIUS, 854; EGGER, I., 103. For his hymn of thanksgiving, see MIGNE, PATROL. GR., CLVI., 582.

against the Double Procession as an article of the faith. Gerson thought, however, that they must arrange their own disputes first, so that there should be no debate or division when the Council did really meet. All that was wanted was to send envoys to secure the submission of the Scots, Henowers, Aragonese, and others who still clung to the two damned disputants for the Papacy, to have public prayers and processions throughout the country, and to preach a reform of morals. Was not Saint Denis, the apostle of France, himself a Greek? and who knew but God might possibly hasten the end of the world, and let all turn to one faith and one religion in unity?[1]

The news of the election of Alexander V. reached Paris in the evening of Sunday, July 7th, 1409,[2] and was announced at six o'clock on the following morning. Bonfires were lighted;[3] processions were arranged to St. Geneviève; everywhere there was feasting and drinking, and the streets rang night and day with shouts of, "Long live *our* Pope Alexander V.!" The election was indeed a triumph for the French. It was through their untiring efforts that the Council had met at all.[4] It was they who had induced the Cardinals to revolt;[5] they had arranged the time and place for the Council;[6] their universities

[1] GALITZIN, 51. [2] BAYE, I., 277; II., 296; D'ARCQ, I., 319; MONSTR., II., 10; COCHON, 144; SCHWAB, 242. On Aug. 6th, 1409, Pope Alexander V. authorized Master Jean Luquet to report the proceedings of the Council officially to the University of Paris.—BEKYNTON, II., 108. [3] JUV., 450; SPONDE, 717; MOLAND, 257. [4] HARDT, II., 74; BOUCICAUT, 312; ST. DENYS, IV., 322; GESTE, 358; SCHWAB, 232, 249. BONIFACE FERRER (in MART., ANEC., II., 1521) and CLEMANGES (EP., 133) attribute the success to Simon de Cramaud. MONTREUIL (1371, 1379) gives all the praise to Gerson.

Cf. France a commencié de faire
Son devoir pour le fait atraire
A la vraye conclusion.—BONET, APPARITION, 51.

[5] MART., COLL., VII., 1073; JANSSEN, I., 146. "Tanquam instrumenta et procuratores Gallicorum," says Gregory, Dec. 13th, 1408.—RTA., VI., 375, 481, 558, 563. [6] RTA., VI., 481, 558; LENFANT, 335-338.

had supplied one-fifth[1] of the total number of skilled divines at the Council, and when the meetings actually took place, it was predicted with confidence that the result would prove a victory for the Gallican over the Roman party.[2] They had been supping the broth for the last 100 years,[3] and they were not going to give in now. They went to Pisa with a pocketful of Popes[4] to bring out as they were wanted; they plied the Cardinals with presents of wine and promises of livings to secure the election of one of themselves;[5] and when the choice fell on a neutral doctor,[6] they accepted him with exultation,[7] as if he had been a Parisian born, and rejoiced that Paris had reared one saint for the Church.[8] At Prague, the new Pope was recognized on Sep. 2nd, 1409,[9] after much opposition on the part of the Archbishop. At Bordeaux, there was great rejoicing, and a solemn procession paraded the streets to the Cathedral on Sunday, Aug. 18th, 1409.[10] In England, the first news was brought by Prior Chillenden,[11] but it was some months before it was officially announced. The order of June 24th, 1408,[12] forbidding the export of Papal dues, was still in force; but previous experience had led observers abroad to make a shrewd guess that it was not meant to be kept "to the nail."[13]

[1] MONSTR., II., 24. [2] MART., COLL., VII., 1009, 1047, 1099; NIEM, 315, 334, 336, 338; ERLER, 174. [3] Quia gustarunt de brodio a centum annis citra.—MART., ANEC., II., 1461. [4] Habent enim bursam plenam de Papis.—MART., ANEC., II., 1464. [5] RTA., VI., 474, 679, 686, 694, 696; LENFANT, 341. [6] EUL., III., 414; RTA., VI., 698. [7] GERSON, II., 433. [8] Gaudeat alma mater Universitas genuisse sanctum unum ecclesiæ.—BRANDO, 136. [9] PALACKY, DOC., 372, 733; HIST., III., I., 245; KRUMMEL, 208; LOSERTH, 114; HÖFLER, HUS, 291; CREIGHTON, I., 319. [10] LOPES, II., 285. For official recognition at Bordeaux see HARL. MS., 431, 73 (38 b); PRIV. SEAL, 645/6294; 646/6316 (Oct. 22nd, 28th, 1409). [11] ADD. MS., 24062 f. 155. For letter announcing the election, dated Pisa, June 26th, 1409, see HARL. MS., 431, 66 (32 b). [12] Vol. III., p. 358. [13] DUCKETT, I., 210.

The new Pope, however, was ready to remit all arrears of dues,[1] and, on this understanding, the Papal Collector was again allowed to resume his duties on August 18th, 1409,[2] provided that the total sum collected did not exceed £866 13s. 4d. It was understood, however, that half of the receipts[3] should be sent to the Cardinals at Pisa to help pay for the costs of the Council, on condition that the Pope would sanction the appropriation. If he should refuse, then ample security was taken, whereby the King could impound the whole and dispose of it at his discretion.

On July 8th,[4] Pope Alexander despatched a letter to the King of England, in which he referred to the pleasant recollection that he had of their meeting in Lombardy, on Henry's return from the Holy Land in 1393. He remembered with satisfaction that he had studied in his youth at the famous University of Oxford.[5] He regretted that war should exist between England and France, and offered to do his best to bring it to an end. The letter was brought to England by Paolo di Arezzo,[6] and presented by Philibert de Naillac,[7] Grand Master of Rhodes, in presence of many lords, temporal and spiritual; and, in his reply, King Henry touched gracefully on the distinction that the Pope had gained at the English University,[8] promised to send envoys to the proposed Council two years hence, but bespoke a fair consideration for the claims of Gregory in the meanwhile. Little was said on the question

[1] HARL. MS., 431, 32 (19 b), 33 (20); ADD. MS., 24062 f. 147 b; BRANDO, 138. [2] PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 6. [3] CLAUS., 10 H. IV., 8 d. [4] HARL. MS., 431, 65 (32). [5] Nos memores quod eciam a juventute in regno Angliæ et in præclaro Oxonieñ studio conversati multosque ibi honores et bona quamplurima suscepimus.—*Ibid.*, 78 (40). [6] Paulinus de Aretio, called magister aulæ scutifer honoris et familiaris vester (*i.e.*, of Alexander V.).—ADD. MS., 24062 f. 155. [7] HARL. MS., 431, 80 (41). [8] Pro eo quod infra regnum nostrum vos olim in studio generali quam plurimum profecisse refertur.—HARL. MS., 431, 68 (34 b); *ibid.*, 21 (13); ADD. MS., 24062 f. 155 b.

of peace, though on both sides of the Channel the best minds were picturing a glorious future for the world, if not only the Church, but the Kings of France and England could again be one in heart.[1] On July 21st, 1409,[2] the new Pope wrote to the French King urging him to make peace with England, and two days later,[3] a letter was written in the same sense to be despatched to King Henry by the hands of Sir John Colvil,

[1] Of Fraunce and Engelond, o cristen princes (*i.e.*, Charles VI. and Henry IV.),
Sithen that your stile of worthynesse is ronge
Thorgheout the world in alle the provynces,
If that of you myght be radde or songe,
That ye were one in hert, there is no tonge
That might expresse how profitable and goode
Unto the peple it were of Cristen bloode.

Yeve hem ensample, ye ben her myrrours,
They folowe you. What sorwe lamentable
Is caused of your werres sharp shours
There wote no wight, it is irreparable.
O noble Cristen princes honorable,
For hym that suffrede for you passioun
Of Cristen bloode have compassioun.

Allas! what peple hathe your werre slayne!
What cornes wastede and doune trode and shent!
How many a wife and maide hathe be forlayne!
Castels doune bete and tymbred houses brent
And drawen doune and alle to-tore and rent!
The harme ne may not rekened be ne tolde,
This werre wexethe all to hore and olde.
—HOCCL., DE REG., 191, written in 1410.

Estre devront bien ou livre de vie
Qui bonne paix final scauront trouver
Entre ces deux (*i.e.*, England and France) faire l'Eglise unie
Par ce pourront le monde reformer
Et trestous biens leurs noms perpetuer
En bon renom, qui par tout le monde erre,
Et s'en pourront la gloire Dieu acquerre
A tousjours, mais feray d'eulx remembrance
En mon livre que j'ay enclos soubz serre,
Pour le debat d'Angleterre et de France.
—DESCHAMPS, VI., 78, 115, 133.

[2] TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 13 (12 KAL. AUG.); REPT. on FŒD. D., 119; BRANDO, 135. [3] HARL. MS., 413, 67 (10 KAL. AUG.); CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, LETTRES, II., 325.

who, however, did not leave for England till Oct. 22nd.[1] The Archbishop of Bordeaux was ready to leave Pisa and visit England again, offering his services as an intermediary;[2] but Henry did not encourage the proposal, as the English clergy had enough to do to contribute to the defence of their own country without the expense of further legations. Besides, there was very faint prospect of success, as the Duke of Burgundy was preparing war for the near future, and it would be well for the Archbishop not to run the risk of failure, and so jeopardize the high reputation that he had acquired in connection with his work in Aquitaine.

It was not till Oct. 17th, 1409,[3] that King Henry officially notified the English clergy that he recognized the decisions of the Council at Pisa. On Oct. 22nd,[4] proclamations were drawn up in London and forwarded to the sheriffs, announcing that England acknowledged Pope Alexander V; and on Oct. 28th,[5] Henry wrote a letter to Gregory, in which, after some trite quotations about Pharaoh's heart and Lucifer being cast into hell, he exhorted him as a friend and well-wisher to go to the new Pope and make his submission even at the eleventh hour. Copies of this letter were forwarded at the same time to Pope Alexander and his college of Cardinals,[6] and urgent despatches were sent to King Rupert[7] and Queen Catherine of Castile,[8] with a view to induce them, if possible, to recognize the Pisan Pope.

On the return of the envoys, there were processions

[1] Vol. III., p. 369, note 6. [2] HARL. MS., 431, 76 (39 b). [3] CONC., III., 321; PRIV. SEAL, 645/6287. For order to Archbishop Arundel to publish the decision to his clergy, see CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 38. [4] RYM., VIII., 604; DEVON, 313. For proclamation in Ireland, see HARL. MS., 431, 71 (36 b). [5] HARL. MS., 431, 72 (37 b); *ibid.*, 69 (35); ADD. MS., 24062 f. 155 b. [6] HARL. MS., 431, 70 (36); ADD. MS. 24062 f. 155. [7] HARL. MS., 431, 69 (35); ADD. MS., 24062 f. 149, 150. [8] HARL. MS., 431, 74 (39).

and a "Te Deum" at Paul's, with an official sermon at the Cross, thanking God for the termination of the Schism. And for the moment the Schism was outwardly appeased.[1] The two walls had met and elected the corner stone which their builders had refused.[2] But beneath the jubilation was heard the stubborn grunt[3] of the two old men of Babylon.[4] To them and to their friends the Pisan Council was an "adulterous conventicle," the "damnedest collection of devils," the "filth and scum of all iniquity";[5] and even in England there were sturdy vixens[6] who made game of it and tried to strangle the lambs of the fold.[7] The feasting was premature; the hydra had only sprouted another head;[8] the Church had only set up one molten calf the more;[9] she had two spouses before, and now she had three,[10] or (as John Hus called them) three beasts fighting for place, pomp, and greed.[11] Instead of *di*-vision they had *tri*-vision,[12] and instead of schism, *tri*-schism,[13] which threatened to become *centi*-schism, so that soon there would be as many shepherds as there were sheep. Before, it was

[1] RYM., VIII., 709. [2] ZANTFLIET, 396. [3] Procaciter obgrunnirent.—WALS., II., 281; OTT., 266; gannientibus Papis.—PARKER, 275; grucchid ful sore.—CAPGR., 297. [4] NIEM, 140. [5] Damnatissimum dæmoniorum conventiculum.—BONIFACE FERRER (in 1411) in MART., ANEC., II., 1462, 1480. Spurcitia fæces et scoria omnis iniquitatis et maliciæ congregatio damnatissima et maculatissima (*ibid.*, 1482); putidissima et fædissima congregatio (1483); damnatissima factio (1519, 1525) &c. In a letter written at Gaeta, Dec. 13th, 1409, Gregory calls it "adulterina congregatio Pisani conciliabuli." [6] "Malicious foxis."—WYCL. (M.), 103, 438; "wolves of raveyn," "wolvys of helle."—*Ibid.* (A.), I., 20; *ibid.* (M.), 104, 149, 151, 246, 456. [7] See the case of William Swan at Cropredy near Banbury, in CONC., III., 332. [8] MART., ANEC., II., 1416. [9] RAYN., XVII., 353. [10] VREE quoted in LENFANT, 305. [11] HUS, MON., I., CCLX., b. [12] MART., COLL., VII., 1012, 1036, 1157, 1158; MONSTR., I., 262; CRIBELLUS, 648; FINKE, I., 281; PASTOR, I., 141; HEFELE, VI., 1042; SCHWAB, 248; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 330. [13] MART., COLL., VII., 1047, 1167, 1187, 1205. Ein trifaltikeit und noch ein grosser zweyunge und schande in der heilgin cristenheit.—JANSSEN, I., 139, 144; Zerteilt in drii.—JUSTINGER, 211; Noch grosser zweytracht und irresal davon ufferstende sij.—RTA., VI., 473; cf. HARDT, II., 299; HUS, MON., I., CCLIV.

nation against nation and kingdom against kingdom; now every kingdom and every city was divided against itself,[1] and the last plague was worse than the first.[2]

The proceedings at Pisa had already spun out to a greater length than had been at first reckoned on.[3] After the election of the Pope, every one had made haste to catch the hour and be gone;[4] and on Aug. 7th, 1409,[5] the Council was formally adjourned. The whole of its 23 sittings had been taken up with the deposition and election of Popes, no time had been found for the pressing question of Church reform,[6] and this great section of its intended work had to be reserved[7] for the consideration of another General Council, which would be called to meet three years afterwards,[8] when the effect of the new Pope's election had had time to mature.

[1] RTA., VI., 698. [2] MART., COLL., VII., 1059, 1133, 1151, 1188; CONC., III., 306; NIEM, 314; EULOG., I., 287; LENFANT, I., 189; REUMONT, II., 1144. [3] Die Cardinale zu Pyse yr concilium vast lenger vertziehent dann sie des ersten furgeben hant.—RTA., VI., 478. [4] Statim quilibet ipsorum captavit horam et modum ad recedendum.—MART., ANEC., II., 1158. [5] BRANDO, 138; SCHWAB, 246; HEFELE, VI., 1040; CREIGHTON, I., 221. [6] See PIERRE D'AILLY in GERSON, II., 899; SCHWAB, 247; REUMONT, II., 1146. [7] PALACKY, HUSSITENTHUM, 121. For modern reasons in defence of delay, see RENIERI, 80. [8] HARL. MS., 431, 105 (94); HARDT, I., 302; MART., COLL., VII., 1119, 1174; RAYN., XVII., 385; FOURNIER, I., 355; BEKYNTON, II., 113, 116; GALITZIN, 32; BRANDO, 138.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

POPE JOHN XXIII.

ALEXANDER V. was a kind-hearted, popular[1] man, a *bon vivant*, fond of his joke[2] and his beaker[3] of strong wine,[4] but he did little to season or lighten the world.[5] Those who knew him in Milan said that he spent half his day at table, that he had 40 waiting-maids in uniform to attend on him, and that he used to send out to the market for any delicacy that he fancied, while his meals were going on.[6] He tried to please every one,[7] and never could refuse a request if well pressed home; and as he had made all sorts of impossible promises to secure the support of the Cardinals at his election,[8] it will be understood that there were many fishing in the troubled waters.[9] His Court was crowded with expectants, jostling

[1] Semper vixistis hucusque cum maximâ laude.—MART., COLL., VII., 1139. [2] EUL., III., 415. [3] For "byker," see DERBY ACCTS., 336. [4] Homo benignus et liberalis libenter bene et laute vivebat bibendo ut frequenter vina fortia et delectabatur in illis.—NIEM, 242. For "hei wyn and spisid ale," see WYCL. (M.), 157, 210. Cf. And for to drink strong wine as red as blood.—CHAUC., PROL., 638. For moderate drinkers wine was mixed with equal parts of water.—

Qu'en ton vin soit egal
L'eaue ou vin pou mainrrent (=moindrement),
Qu'il se sent.—DESCHAMPS, I., 320.

Cf. Que vous trempez fort vostre vin,
Pour mieulx endurer le chemin.—*Ibid.*, VIII., 25.
Et le faictes d'eaue temprer,
De courant riviere ou fontaine.—*Ibid.*, VIII., 339.

[5] HUS, MON., II., 46. [6] BILLIUS, 41; CREIGHTON, I., 232. [7] HÖFLER, HUS, 292. [8] NIEM, 244. [9] LENFANT, 309.

one another for preferment. There were 1000 claimants for every vacancy;[1] business was conducted without method; benefices were tossed about; forgeries were abundant; dispensations were allowed for irregular marriages; and everything was soon in complete confusion. The French had hoped to secure a recognition of their Gallican rights and keep the nomination to bishoprics and benefices in the hands of their own King,[2] and when the Pope refused, they wrote him down an ass.[3] Pisa was unhealthy in October,[4] so he left it for Pistoja,[5] crossed the Apennines in midwinter, and entered Bologna on Jan. 12th, 1410. Ten knights held a baldachin of cloth-of-gold over his head,[6] the bells rang out, the craftsmen met him in their new liveries, and the city showed its joy in jousts and feasting;[7] but they kept him on such chinchy [8] rations, that he used to say that as a Bishop he was rich, as a Cardinal poor, and as Pope a beggar.[9] In the month of March, he was in the neighbourhood of Rome, and there are letters from him to the monks of St. Albans, dated at Segni and Anagni on March 8th and 30th.[10] By mid-Lent he had become very feeble, and was unable to see any one,[11] and

[1] Non expectantium sed obviam euntium ut quatenus aliquid vacaverit a mille caperetur.—ARET., EPIST., I., 46. [2] MART., COLL., II., 1371. [3] *Ibid.*, ANEC., II., 1458. [4] NIEM, 244; SOZZOMEN., 1196; ANTONINUS, III., CXVIII.; SPONDE, 717; PERRENS, VI., 159. For a bull dated Pisa, Oct. 12th, 1409, see ST. DENYS, IV., 307. [5] RAYN., XVII., 395; RTA., VI., 599, Dec. 10th, 1409; PALACKY, Doc., 374, Dec. 20th, 1409. [6] MURAT., XVIII., 597. [7] GRIFFONI, 217; SOZZOMEN., 1197. [8] Satis tenuiter.—NIEM, in MEIBOM, I., 13; HOCCLEVE, 36; CATHOL., 63. [9] PLATINA, 282; ECCART, I., 1536; MURAT., III., II., 842; RENIERI, 83: note to BRANDO, 147. CHOISY (250) thinks that he was "fort aimé des pauvres à qui il donnait tout." See also LENFANT, 287; CIAC., II., 774, 780; CREIGHTON, I., 232; CHRISTOPHE, III., 322. ALZOG (II., 856) attributes this to his "imprudent habits of extravagance after he had become Pope;" J. C. ROBERTSON (VII., 330) to his "profusion in his new dignity." [10] GESTA ABB., III., 508. [11] See letter of Pierre Plaoul, written at Bologna on the day after his death.—BRANDO, 135.

he returned to Bologna, where he died at midnight, May 3rd, 1410,[1] under strong suspicion that his death had been hastened by the injection of a poisoned clyster,[2] administered by order of his successor.[3] On May 14th,[4] 22 Cardinals[5] went into conclave in a large upper room in the palace[6] at Bologna, and on May 17th,[7] elected Cardinal Balthasar Cossa, Archdeacon of Bologna, as Pope, with the title of John XXIII.

The new Pope was an active politician, of good family,[8] and long public experience, a Neapolitan by birth,[9] about 50 years of age, with plenty of life in him yet,[10] but a man of the helmet rather than the tiara.[11] Keen after money, hard, shrewd, unbending, merciless,[12] he had been a pirate in the Mediterranean, had lived in incest with his brother's wife at Rome,[13] had de-

[1] EUL., III., 418; PITTI, 83; NIEM, 246; PETRI, 1016; BAYE, I., 318, 323; BRANDO, 135; GASC., 162; OTTERB., 268; WALS., II., 284: ST. DENYS, IV., 322; MURAT., XVIII., 598; BEKYNTON, II., 109; COCHON, II., 245; SCHWAB, 459; CREIGHTON, I., 230; PASTOR, I., 148. For his tomb in the Franciscan Church at Bologna, see CIAC., II., 775; WADDING, IX., 388; MURAT., III., II., 841; LENFANT, 328; RENIERI, 104. [2] MONSTR., II., 66; ZANTFLIET, 398; GASC., 154. Toxicatus in clysterio ut dicitur. —ANTONINUS, III., CXXVII., CXXVIII. b. [3] Fuit et est de præmissis in civitate Bononiensi et extra per totum mundum publica vox et fama.—HARDT, IV., 197; LENFANT, 327. [4] BEKYNTON, II., 109; PALACKY, Doc., 377. [5] For their names, see ST. DENYS, IV., 324; MART., COLL., VII., 1179; not 18, as GRIFFONI, 218; CREIGHTON, I., 234. [6] MART., COLL., VII., 1171. [7] BEKYNTON, II., 111, 112; PETRI, 1017; POSILJE, 313; RAYN., XVII., 404; not May 10th, as CHRON. GILES, 58. The news reached Rome on May 21st, and the new Pope's standard was hoisted on the Castle of St. Angelo, on June 22nd, 1410. BAYE, I., 324, refers to the election, under date June 19th, 1410, placing the death of Alexander V. about April 24th. [8] ST. DENYS, IV., 324; REUMONT, II., 1142. Issu de noble sang.—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 55. "De grant parentés."—GESTE, 361. [9] MART., COLL., VII., 1206. Not a Roman, as TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 55; GESTE, 361. [10] Nondum senio confractus sed robustus.—FINKE, 302. Et est janez (jeune) homme de l'aage de xl anz ou environ.—COCHON, 147. [11] BILLIUS, 41. Homo armorum et facti, ut dicitur, sub quo infinite symonie commisse sunt.—BAYE, II., 298. [12] NIEM, in MEIBOM, I., 5. [13] *Ibid.*, 9.

bauched 200 women, including married ladies and nuns,[1] and heeded neither Mass nor shrift, but mocked at the thought of a life to come.[2] The very tapsters[3] would not have chosen such a Pope; but he was recommended to the Cardinals by Louis of Anjou,[4] he had stopped the dogs' mouths with sops, and dug his way in under the door with a golden pick.[5] With Ladislas supporting Gregory at Gaeta,[6] and Benedict fulminating under the shield of the King of Aragon at Barcelona,[7] a Pope they must have at once, if only for the name of the thing. It did not matter whether he were an anti-Pope or a devil, they would put him right after the election was done.[8]

Of course there were the usual interested sycophants, who called him the greatest-born of woman, the Light of the world, the Lamb of God that should take away the sin of the world, and so on;[9] but those who knew him well and had no motive for flattery, declared that that age had seen no more iniquitous sight, than this High Priest of the faith of Christ, who knew neither faith nor religion.[10] He had been created a Cardinal

[1] NIEM, in MEIBOM, I., 6. [2] FINKE, I. [3] Non erat ad hoc etiam judicio vetularum de tabernis.—MART., ANEC., II., 1461. For "typlinge tapsters," see CHESTER PLAYS, II., 82. In a court-roll of 1328, "typelers" means ale-house keepers.—CHANDLER, 12; see also NOTT., REC., I., 450; II., 298; DAVIES, 277; COLLIER, II., 146. [4] NIEM, 246; ST. DENYS, IV., 392; MEIBOM, I., 13. [5] HARDT, II., 304. [6] RAYN., XVII., 394; NIEM, 244. [7] RAYN., XVII., 385, Oct. 21st, 1409. For his letter dated from Torre de Plano, outside the walls of Barcelona, dated June 18th, 1410, in which he does not seem to know that Pope Alexander was dead, see MART., ANEC., II., 1532. For a long time his headquarters were at Peniscola.—Vol. III., p. 342; MURAT., III., II., 841; ECCARD, I., 1535; SPONDE, 717; HARDT, III., 1124. For documents dated Tarragona, Sep. 26th, 1410, and Benifaça near Tortosa, May 9th, 1411, see MART., ANEC., II., 1533, 1534. [8] MART., ANEC., II., 1458. [9] SCHWAB, 248. [10] POGGIO, DE VARIET. FORT., 59, quoted in GREGOROVIUS, VI., 601; see also SCHROLLER, 12; NEANDER, IX., 120; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 333. "Et Deum et homines videtur contemnere," says Gregory, Dec. 13th, 1408.—RTA., VI., 375. Hus called him pessimus, crudelissimus, vindicatissimus, superbissimus, mundo ditissimus, accidiosissimus, impatient-

by Boniface IX.,[1] who sent him to Bologna as Papal Legate and Governor in Sep., 1403.[2] Here he ruled like a Nero with a rod of iron.[3] He had been a ringleader in resisting Gregory, and within a month of the revolt at Lucca he burnt 400 of his Bulls in one of the public squares in Bologna.[4] It was he who managed the election of Alexander V., as an old man[5] who would do as a stop-gap till his own time should come. He then governed him during his short ten months of office,[6] and got him over to Bologna to die.

At the time of his election, Pope John XXIII. was only in deacon's orders, but he was priested by Cardinal Brogny[7] with much solemnity on May 23rd, 1410,[8] and two days afterwards he was crowned in the new Basilica of San Petronio at Bologna,[9] where all the Cardinals kissed his hands and his feet.[10] The first ten months of his papacy were spent at

issimus, immundissimus.—PALACKY, Doc., 60. Cf. Cum ipse sit homo notorie infamatus de homicidio et aliis criminibus etiam cum omni die scandalosa operatur.—MART., COLL., VII., 1200. Vir in temporalibus quidem magnus, in spiritualibus vero nullus omnino atque ineptus.—ARET., 257; ANTONINUS, III., CXXVIII. b. Den bösten verlümdosten man den man vinden kond.—JUSTINGER, 210. "Eidem imponendo enormia" in CONC., III., 333, dated July 23rd, 1410, shows that his true character was known in England as soon as he was elected. A recent writer in CHURCH QUARTERLY REV., XXVII., 423, calls him "a man steeped in such foul and almost superhuman vice as to be an absolute portent and enigma in Church History."

[1] Note on BRANDO, 147. Not in the Council at Pisa, as *ibid.*, 154. [2] MURAT., XVIII., 582. [3] NIEM, in MEIBOM, I., 10; GOBELIN, 330; HARDT, II., 307; tyrannus Bononiensis.—RTA., VI., 375, 696; HUS, MON., I., 332; durus valde.—CORNER, 1196; crudelissimus ultra et supra Neronem.—MART., COLL., VII., 1201. Ad solum anhelitum vel gestum trucidat et devorat homines.—MART., ANEC., II., 1469, 1479; PERRENS, VI., 126; SCHWAB, 466. [4] NIEM, 529. [5] Ætate grandævus.—NIEM, in MEIBOM, I., 12. [6] NIEM, 242. [7] GONTHIER, 19: whom he afterwards made Archbishop of Arles, Nov. 24th, 1410; not 1409, as SENEBIER, I., 110; nor before 1385, as CROSET-MOUCHET, 26. [8] MONSTR., II., 69. [9] May 25th, 1410.—GRIFFONI, 218. He notified his election to the University of Prague on June 1st, 1410.—PALACKY, Doc., 376. [10] MURAT., XVIII., 599.

Bologna, which he did not leave till Mar. 31st, 1411.[1] On Easter Eve (April 14th, 1411), he made his entry into Rome, accompanied by all his Cardinals, by King Louis, and a long train of French and Italian nobles. All Rome was gathered in St. Peter's Church as he prostrated himself devoutly before the high altar.[2] The players were in the streets, the church bells rang, the banners flung, there were torch-light processions, and the city was in fête for eight days. On the 19th,[3] the forces of Ladislas were defeated and Gregory's legate was captured. On June 5th, 1411,[4] the Pope held a Consistory, and appointed 13 new Cardinals, among them being the learned Paduan canonist and humanist Francesco Zabarella, Bishop of Florence,[5] the French scholar Pierre D'Ailly, Bishop of Cambrai,[6] Robert Hallum, Bishop of Salisbury, and Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham,[7] though neither of the two latter were in Rome at the time. There was thus the unwonted phenomenon of three English Cardinals in the College at the same time; but as Repingdon was appointed by "Bishop Rory,"[8] whom no one in England believed in, and Langley and Hallum were so little considered that they are barely recognized in the authorized Italian lists,[9] the appointments may be taken as complimentary only, and King Henry, indeed, at once wrote asking that the two latter might be allowed to decline the honour, on the ground of their great value to him as counsellors at home.[10]

[1] MURAT., XVIII., 600. [2] PETRI, 1024. [3] *Ibid.*, 1025; POGGIO, 193; NIEM, in MEIBOM, I., 16; CREIGHTON, I., 239; not April 24th, as ST. DENYS, IV., 392. [4] Not June 6th, as CHRISTOFERI, 268. For bulls dated at Rome, June 1st, 1411, see SILFVERSTOLPE, II., 381. [5] ARET., EPIST., I., 92, 95; UGHELLI, III., 215. [6] ST. DENYS, II., 733; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 54; GESTE, 359; BRUCKER, III., 858. [7] PETRI, 1026; NIEM, in MEIBOM, I., 17; CIAC., II., 803; PARKER, 252. [8] PETRI, 1018, 1025. [9] CIAC., II., 803; WILLIAMS, II., 62. In a letter written in 1416, Langley signs himself "Your humble priest of Durham."—ELLIS, ORIG. LET., Ser. II., I., 52. [10] HARL. MS., 431, 1 (1).

On Sep. 9th,[1] 1411, Pope John excommunicated Ladislas as a heretic, and on Nov. 6th,[2] preached a crusade against him. On March 25th, 1412,[3] Antonio di Pireto, Master General of the Franciscans, arrived in London to collect money for the proposed crusade, with a special request that a body of English troops might be sent over under the command of the King's second son, Thomas. Pireto remained in England for five months, but failed to talk over the King, who had enough to do to fit out his expedition for the raid upon France, and was not inclined to impoverish his kingdom for the sake of any Pope whatever.

But the time was fast drawing near for the re-assembling of the Council, which had been adjourned at Pisa. Bologna[4] had been at first suggested as the new meeting place, then Verona, Padua, and various places in France, Germany, and Savoy;[5] but now that the Pope had returned to the Holy City, it was decided to meet at Rome.[6] By April 13th, 1412,[7] the benches were made and the seats fixed in the nave of St. Peter's, and on the following day, the Pope was considering about fixing a date.[8] Invitations were sent out to the Archbishops and Bishops of Spain, Sweden, Germany, and France, as well as to the Archbishops of York, Canterbury, Dublin, Tuam, and Armagh.[9] But the roads were dangerous,[10] there was a fogginess [11] about the terms of meeting, and a general lukewarmness as to meeting at all. King Henry wrote that news had reached

[1] PETRI, 1027; ST. DENYS, IV., 605; HUS, MON., I., CLXXI. [2] SILFVERSTOLPE, II., 435. [3] EUL., III., 420; WADDING, IX., 350. [4] MART., COLL., VII., 1178. [5] *Ibid.*, 1201. [6] GOBELIN, 331; RATISBON, 2137; A. PETRI, 1029. [7] PETRI, 1030. [8] According to ST. DENYS, IV., 590, the date had been fixed for April 1st, 1412. [9] FINKE, 309. [10] Peregrinis et clericis curiam visitare volentibus ob guerrarum pericula via clausa est. —BRANDO, 157. [11] Sub nube animum suum aliis involutum habens.—MART., COLL., VII., 1178.

England from different parts of the world that some powerful Kings and Christian Princes refused to be bound by the decisions of the Council at Pisa.[1] Pope John wept about it, and said that he was ready to become a common clerk[2] again, but he did not see how the one Undoubted Pope could be expected to have any communication with two heretics condemned by God and the whole Church. Moreover, with such a shepherd it was not likely that much zeal would be shown in reforming abuses in the flock. It was urged that the Pope, who set the rule to the whole world, should be a man of clean life and free from the stain of blood, no simoniac, adulterer, hazarder, drinker, hunter, bordeler, or public barrator,[3] and here was a Pope who was a very compendium of all these in one.

In spite of the unpromising outlook, however, a Council actually met in St. Peter's at Rome in the beginning of Dec., 1412.[4] The Pope was there, and the Cardinals, and such dignitaries as happened to be in Rome. There was plenty of ceremony, but a very thin attendance,[5] and scoffers at a distance laughed at it as a hole-and-corner Council,[6] attended only by a few monks and simoniacs who were hanging about at Rome. An owl that had been fluttering about the Church sat eyeing the Pope from a balk[7] in the roof, and would not be scared away by sticks or shouts.[8]

[1] HARL. MS., 431, 83 (42 b and 42 a); not to Alexander V., as in B.M. Catalogue. [2] Vilis clericus.—MART., COLL., VII., 1190. [3] Mundus, non symoniacus, sanguinolentus, adulter, vel lubricus aleator, ebriosus, venator seu venereus vel aliter publicus baratrator.—NIEM, 159. [4] Universalis Ecclesiæ congregatio.—BRANDO, 161; FOURNIER, I., 356; FINKE, 2; not April, as ALZOG, II., 858; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 336. [5] BEKYNTON, II., 114, 117; SILFVERSTOLPE, II., 598. Debilem aut nullum processum habuit.—BRANDO, 157. [6] "Angulari concilio."—JESENIC, in PALACKY, DOC., 470. [7] CHAUC. (S.), III., 159. [8] HARDT, I., II., 67; CLAMENGES, 75; ART DE VER., I., 209; CREIGHTON, I., 247. For a similar story, see HARDT, II., 375; NEANDER, IX., 123.

Some laughed at this comic version of the Holy Ghost; but others saw danger in the omen, and they were right, for on June 10th, 1413, King Ladislas was again in Rome, the Pope was in headlong flight,[1] and the abortive Council of St. Peter's was absolutely swept away.[2] Pope John found no safety till he reached Florence,[3] whence he passed to his old quarters at Bologna (Nov. 12th, 1413). One step, however, the Council had taken, which marked the close of a chapter in the struggle for religious liberty in England. On Feb. 2nd, 1413, it solemnly condemned some of Wycliffe's books, and a week afterwards, Feb. 10th, had them publicly burnt on the steps of St. Peter's Church.[4]

The turmoil in the Church was but a reflex of the divisions in the Empire. Rupert refused all recognition of the Pisan Council[5] because it had acknowledged the deposed[6] Wenzel

[1] NIEM, who was with him, graphically describes the confusion.—MEIBOM, I., 21; cf. TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 55; BRANDO, 161; CREIGHTON, I., 250; PERRENS, VI., 188; PASTOR, I., 150. [2] Devastatum totaliter.—PETRI, 1036. [3] POGGIO, 195. [4] FINKE, 310; PALACKY, Doc., 467, 725, &c.; GESCH., III., I., 305; PETRI, 1033; LABBE, XI., 2, 2323; ART DE VER., I., 209; LOSERTH, 307; MAS-LATRIE, 1313. [5] RTA., VI., 483; BRANDO, 127. [6] For his deposition, Aug. 20th, 1400, see RTA., III., 227-605; DUMONT, II., I, 273; ROUSSET, SUPPLEMENT, I., 287; PITTI, 60; EC. DES CHARTES, XLVII., 505; HAEUSSER, I., 218; PELZEL, II., CLXIX.; PALACKY, III., 124; HÖFLER, 166; DETMAR, I., 393. The sentence was pronounced by the Archbishop of Mayence at Rhens (called Rayn in EC. DES CH., XLVII., 497, or Rense in WINDECK, 1082; JANSSEN, I., 65; CHMEL, I.), opposite to Oberlahnstein (called Lanstein in TRITHEIM, II., 308). English envoys were despatched to Rome to press upon the Pope the advisability of recognizing the accession of Rupert (RTA., V., 163, 383); but it was not till October, 1403, that Pope Boniface IX. finally gave his approval (*ibid.*, 253). In Italy it was believed in 1402 that King Henry had promised Rupert 4000 men-at-arms and 4000 archers, to be used either in Italy against Galeazzo, or in Germany against Wenzel.—*Ibid.*, 163. In a subsequent letter the offer appears as 500 men-at-arms and 1500 archers (*ibid.*, 333); see Vol. I., p. 203, with Corrigenda *in loco;* also CHMEL, 65, 67; RTA., V., 204; HÖFLER, RUPRECHT, 266. For official instructions in German see RTA., V., 202, where "Colle" = Cologne, not Qwolle, as MART., ANEC., II., 1687.

as King of the Romans. Wenzel, on his side, backed by Pope Alexander, was beginning to claim his dues against Rupert,[1] and Germany was threatened with civil war.[2] The Archbishop of Mayence (John of Nassau)[3] supported Wenzel, trusting to the help of France; and the French were just preparing to enter the fray,[4] when death opportunely stepped in and carried off both Rupert and Alexander within a few days of one another. Rupert died suddenly at Oppenheim in his fifty-ninth year[5] on Trinity Sunday, May 18th, 1410,[6] and was buried in the choir of the Church of the Holy Ghost in the market-place at Heidelberg.[7] Amongst his latest official acts

[1] JANSSEN, I., 150; WENCKER, 301. [2] One party referred to "Babest Gregorio an den unser Herre der Konig heldet," and the other to "Babest Alexandro an den unser Herre von Mencze (*i.e.*, the Archbishop of Mayence), heldet."—JANSSEN, I., 138; RTA., VI., 730; HÖFLER, 445. No wonder that the Rath at Frankfort was puzzled and protested that such matters were too high for them. Wir uns solicher sache nit versten.—JANSSEN, I., 143. [3] For an attack on him in 1409, see RTA., VI., 701. [4] For letter of Charles VI., dated May 21st, 1410, see JANSSEN, I., 151; RTA., VI., 746; OHLENSCHLAGER, 146. [5] He was born May 5th, 1352.—HAEUSSER, I., 212; HÖFLER, 151. [6] DYNTER, III., 143; RTA., VI., 749, 755, 758; JANSSEN, I., 152; GOBELIN, 330; SCHROLLER, I.; CHMEL, 180; ZANTFLIET, 397; NEUSS, 596; JUSTINGER, 187, 209; POSILJE, 327; ASCHBACH, I., 153; III., 280; CARO, III., 357; HÖFLER, 466; REUMONT, II., 1154; BLORE, HY. IV.; CREIGHTON, I., 237; not May 19th, as KRUMMEL, 226; nor May 21st, as TRITHEIM, II., 331. For Gregory's letter of condolence, dated Gaeta, July 7th, 1410, see FINKE, 4, 308. For view of Oppenheim see MERIAN, TOPOGR. RHENI, 40. [7] RATISBON, 2131; WEISSER, 98, 19; PANTALEON, II., 361. In 1886 his tomb was painted and gilded to commemorate the quincentenary of the University of Heidelberg. M. A. E. GREEN (III., 330) refers to PAVENS D. HIST. BAVAR. PALAT., p. 216, for inscription in the church recording the interest of the Lady Blanche in the foundation. For Rupert's will, dated May 16th, 1410, see RTA., VI., 668. For his epitaph, see TRITHEIM, II., 331. For his portrait in the throne room at Munich, see HÖFLER, V. For his register at Vienna, see LINDNER, 171-176. In official documents he is called Herzog Clem.—RTA., III., 184, 202; IV., 303; see HÖFLER, 289; not Clement, as POSILJE, 327, 239, 245, 247. Cf. ONSORG, 368; ASCHBACH, I., 153. RATISBON (2125) calls him orthodoxus, mansuetus, in rebus bellicis strenuus, in defensione oppressorum sollicitus. Cf. Ecclesiam dilexit et omnem scientiam liberalem.—HÖFLER, 176.

are protests against the Pisan Council,[1] the election of Alexander V., and the recognition of Wenzel, and commissions to some of his bishops to take part in any council that should be summoned by Gregory. But his death had greatly weakened Gregory's cause; and within a month afterwards, Pope John was boasting that he had hopes of securing the obedience of all Germany.[2]

And indeed the time had well-nigh come for patching up the disunited Empire. Wenzel was not yet fifty years of age,[3] but all kingly dignity had left him, and he lived as a common drunkard.[4] God's judgment had smitten him; his health was wrecked; and at times he could not stand on his feet or move his hands, but was wheeled or carried about like a log from room to room.[5] In spite therefore of his recognition by Pope Alexander, the Electors still considered him as deposed; and, on Sep. 20th, 1410,[6] they met at Frankfort and chose his half-brother, King Sigismund of Hungary, to fill the vacancy as King of the Romans. The election was disputed, and ten days later,[7] the malcontents proceeded to elect his cousin Jobst, Margrave

[1] CHMEL, 170, 171, 174, 177; LENFANT, 339. [2] MART., COLL., VII., 1176, 1178. [3] He was born in 1361.—ASCHBACH, I., 5. He is called Wenzelaw or Wenzlaws in WINDECK, 1076, &c. In CHMEL, 146, he is Kunig Wenclaw von Beheim = Wentzlaw von Behem, in JUSTINGER, 148. [4] Erlebte alz ein ander trunken man.—CORNER, 1134; Künglicher eren wielt er nüt.—JUSTINGER, 148. Cf. ST. DENYS, II., 568; SALUZZO, in NOTICES DES MSS., V., 567; DYNTER, III., 76; RATISBON, 2121; ÆN. SYLV., 102; TRITHEIM, II., 309; ASCHBACH, I., 267; LINDNER, II., 174, 470; LENFANT, 92; DENIS, 54; PALACKY, III., 112. For his character see *ibid.*, 68. For legend of Susanne, see PELZEL, I., 291; EC. DES CH., XLI., 59. [5] Divino judicio affligitur.—NIEM, 489; RTA., III., 275, 277. [6] RTA., VII., 7, 44; GOBELIN, 331; ZANTFLIET, 398; DYNTER, III., 75; PALACKY, III., I., 260; ASCHBACH, I., 290; CARO, III., 360; HÖFLER, 470; SCHROLLER, 41; CREIGHTON, I., 238. Henry IV. in a letter sent to Sigismund in the following year refers to this as "de honore per concordem eleccionem excellentis personæ vestræ *ad sacrum imperium* tunc assumpte (? assumpto)."—ADD. MS., 24062 f., 148. [7] *I.c.*, Oct. 1st, 1410. —RTA., VII., 69; HÖFLER, 471; SCHROLLER, 44.

of Moravia, to the same office. Wenzel, moreover, would by no means admit that his claim to the title had ever been abandoned; so that for a time there were three contending Popes and three contending Kings of the Romans. But after a few months, Jobst died and Wenzel compromised, leaving Sigismund to be elected King of the Romans in the Church of St. Bartholomew at Frankfort, on July 21st, 1411,[1] by an unanimous vote. After "much talk" he secured the support of Pope John XXIII.,[2] and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, on Nov. 8th, 1414.[3]

Sigismund [4] was now forty-two years of age,[5] tall, handsome, and well set up,[6] a paragon of learning,[7] a voluptuary with the women,[8] and a power in the lists. Besides his native German and Bohemian, he could speak French, Hungarian, and Latin; and he was playing his cards with caution in hopes some day to secure the Imperial Crown.[9] He had been all but annihilated with his army by the Turks at Nicopolis, in 1396,[10] had been

[1] RTA., VII., 96, 111-118; DYNTER, III., 189, 201; BRANDO, 161; ASCHBACH, I., 306; PALACKY, III., I., 268; SCHROLLER, 60. [2] Nach vil rede.—JUSTINGER, 211; TRITHEIM, II., 331. [3] DYNTER, III., 201, 203; ASCHBACH, II., 463. [4] Called Sigmund in WINDECK, 1076, and *passim;* Sygemunde.—TWINGER, II., 913. For account of WINDECK, see ASCHBACH, IV., 448. [5] He was born Feb. 14th, 1366.—ASCHBACH, I., 5; PALACKY, III., 37; HÖFLER, 150; Iss. ROLL, 41 ED. III., MICH., shows £10 paid to messenger for bringing news of this birth.—HOLT, 17. [6] Corpore et membris elegantem.—ASCHBACH, I., 5, 11, 119; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 338. [7] Eruditione et sapientiâ clarissimus.—NEUSS, 597. Expertus plurium linguarum.—ONSORG, 368. [8] ASCHBACH, I., 34. [9] ITINÉRAIRES (372) shows that ambassadors from Bohemia were in Paris on Sep. 8th, 1409. [10] Vol. III., p. 261, note 14; ASCHBACH, I., 108. Those who were present said that there were 150,000 combatants on each side (FROIS., XVI., 452). Half of Sigismund's army were "Catholics," *i.e.*, Hungarians, Germans, English, Italians, and French, the latter with the Flemish and Burgundians numbering 3000 (BOUCICAUT, chap. XXII.; OUDEGHERST, II., 610; TREMOILLE in EC. DES CHARTES, XLVIII., 453), the rest were "Schismatics" from Albania, Servia, Bosnia or Bulgaria, and the defeat was afterwards explained by their presence, for "every one knows that one rotten apple put in the midst of 40 will make the others rot."

Cf. En Turquie est ses vengements
Pour noz pechiez plains de venin.—DESCHAMPS, VIII., 86.

deposed and imprisoned by his Slav subjects at Ofen in 1401,[1] had well-nigh died of a fever in 1404, but had recovered after being hung by the heels for twenty-four hours to let the poison trickle out of his mouth,[2] and was now on the point of stepping forward as the Defender of the Church and the secular Head of Christendom. Henry had visited him at Vienna when Earl of Derby, in Nov., 1392,[3] and wore hose of his livery worked with wounds and arrows;[4] and a correspondence was kept up by means of heralds and pursuivants who passed with messages between them from time to time.[5] When the slaughter of the Teutonic knights at Tannenberg in July, 1410, had made it necessary for him to strengthen his precarious position by every alliance that he could make, Sigismund sent a letter[6] to King Henry, asking for English aid to drive back the Poles. Henry replied that he had not had time for the deliberation requisite in so serious a matter, but he promised to send two envoys to Hungary to ascertain how matters stood on the spot.[7]

Accordingly, about May, 1411,[8] Hertonk Van Clux[9] and

[1] ASCHBACH, I., 123; CARO, III., 224. [2] ASCHBACH, I., 203. [3] CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR. HENR., 100; PAULI, RECHNUNGSBUCH, 14, 351, with entry (Nov. 6th), pro batillagio ultra aquam juxta mansionem regis Hungarie. Cf. DERBY ACCTS., LVIII., LXXIV., 195. [4] DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 3, APP. A; DERBY ACCTS., LIX., 280, 285. [5] *E.g.*, 1393 and 1394 (Nov. 9th). —DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, 5, b, c, APP. A. [6] The bearer is called "heer Micheco."—HARL. MS., 431, 115 (102); ADD. MS., 24062, 146 b. [7] Quia nec deliberationem habuimus in tam arduo negocio requisitam.—ADD. MS., 24062, 147 b. There appears to be no ground for LENZ' surmise that there was any question of an alliance against France.—LENZ, SIGISMUND, 34. [8] RYM., VIII., 674; PRIV. SEAL, 650/6776, Feb. 26th, 1411; HARL. MS., 431, 113 (101). For their instructions, dated Mar. 2nd, and Apr. 29th, 1411, see VESP. F., I., 1, 2; HARL. MS., 431, 113, 114, 115; LOSERTH, 134. For £100 paid to Sir Hertonk van Clux, and £15 to Master John Stokes going to the King of Hungary, see ISS. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 16th, 1411, and 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 18th, 23rd, 1412. [9] Called Hortonk von Cluix in PRIV. SEAL, 646/6353, Nov. 13th, 1409, where he has £40 per annum; Hartungo Glux in HUS, MON., I., CVIII., b. He signs himself Heretong Clux.—RYM., X., 209; ELLIS, ORIG. LET., II., I., 82. For account of him, see BEKYNTON, II., 408;

Master John Stokes started from England to visit Sigismund at Ofen.[1] They carried with them a letter[2] asking favourable consideration for the Master of the Teutonic knights, who had made peace[3] with the King of Poland without Sigismund's consent. On their return they spent some time at Prague, where Stokes received the memorable challenge from John Hus, which may lead us to a short retrospect of the spread of Wycliffry from Oxford to Bohemia.

LENZ, SIGISMUND, 32. He had been knighted when with Henry IV. in Scotland in 1400 (Iss. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 23rd, 1412), and had seen service in Wales and elsewhere.—RYM., IX., 44. On Jan. 27th, 1413, the King granted to him the alien priory of Llangennith in Glamorganshire.—PAT., 14 H. IV., 8.

[1] Some English knights were present at the great jousts at Ofen (Buda) in May, 1412.—RTA., VII., 173, 188; ASCHBACH, I., 325; CARO, III., 388. Sigismund was still there on June 21st, 1412.—HR., VI., 97. [2] ADD. MS., 24062 f. 148. [3] *I.e.*, the peace of Thorn (Feb. 1st, 1411).—CARO, III., 351.

CHAPTER LXXXIV

OXFORD.

THE intellectual life of England, such as it was, was focussed at this time at Oxford, where the members of what had once been but a struggling Fraternity of unlicensed teachers,[1] had long ago been incorporated into a "university,"[2] "multitude,"[3] or "study general,"[4] and had fought their way by pitched battles[5] into a commanding position over the burgesses of the town. Large privileges had been secured from Popes and Kings; wealth had poured in from the sale[6] of graces, degrees, dispensations and offices, as well as from the bequests

[1] RASHDALL'S theory (CHURCH QUARTERLY REV., XXIII., 443) that they originated in a secession from Paris lacks positive proof, so far. [2] Cf. Universitatis pastor or rector (*i.e.*, God); universitatis rex or magister (*i.e.*, Christ), &c.—DOLEIN, 155, 234, 271, 395; in universitatis detrimentum (=to the ruin of the whole).—*Ibid.*, 385; solus contra universitatem fidelium (=the whole of the faithful).—*Ibid.*, 421; regni universitas (the whole of the realm).—SHARPE, LONDON, I., 40; WYCL., DE ECCLES., 92; HUS, MON., I., CXCVI., b; DENIFLE, CHART., IX.; ENG. HIST. REV., I., 643; MONAST., VI., 1386; LEROUX DE LINCY, IX.; JESSOPP, 264; ALZOG, II., 726. For "universitee," see CHAUCER (S.), I., 244, 249, 250; II., 140; WYCL. (M.), 157; (A.), II., 310; III., 326; LYDGATE, TEMP., LXXXVIII.; HOCCL., MIN. PO., 220. Nulla communitas vel universitas hominum mortalium simul congregata.—GERSON, II., 213; "universite of thingis."—WYCL. (A.), I., 320.

Al université de tout le monde
Johan Gower ceste balade envoye.—GOWER, BALLADS.
A l'université de tous princes.—DESCHAMPS, VIII., 127.

[3] PURVEY, PROL., 48, 51. [4] He wente unto the studie general.—HOCCL., MIN. PO., 221. For the studium generale Pragense, cf. DENIFLE, PROC., 498, 500. [5] MUN. ACAD., I., 46, 68, 190, 224, 461; HUBER, I., 134; MURIMUTH, 184. [6] MUN. ACAD., 737, &c; GASC., 3, 20, 49, 208; LYTE, 172.

of pious benefactors. A century before, Salisbury had been much frequented by scholars for the sake of its studies,[1] and it is probable that other cathedral cities had been centres of learning likewise; but now that all these had declined, and the Stamford schism had been crushed,[2] a monopoly of academic studies for all England had been practically established in Oxford and Cambridge.

Oxford was now no longer a resort for "dirty scholars,"[3] pages, naifs,[4] villains, and other "miserable persons,"[5] who would swear to poverty[6] or need a begging-license[7] from the Chancellor to eke out their scanty exhibition[8] provided by some gild or charity connected with their native place. She knew that good apples never grow on sour stock,[9] and she gathered crowds of "profitable students"[10] who could pay their purses[11]—the sons of kings,[12] dukes, earls, barons, lords in Parliament and rich London citizens,[13] their dues increasing according to the amount of money they spent on their maintenance per week.[14] All

[1] SARUM STAT., 23, 72. [2] MULLINGER, HIST., 18; RYM., IV., 621, 638. [3] MUN. ACAD., 2, 4, 88, 89, 99, 259, 468. Cf. Scolares pauperes; omnino pauper.—DENIFLE, PROC., I., 225, 652; CHAUC., MILLER'S TALE, 3190; LANG, 61. Cf. "escoliers crottés."—AUBERTIN, II., 357; MOLAND, 238, 417. [4] ROT. PARL., III., 294. [5] MUN. ACAD., 260. [6] Paupertatem jurare.—DENIFLE, PROC., I., XLVII., 228, 653, 918. [7] STAT., II., 58; IV., I., 592; JUSSERAND, 271. Cf. querendi viaticum pro studio suo continuando.—DENIFLE, I., XLVI., 608. [8] MUN. ACAD., 516, 656, 661, 700, 707; LITTLE, 53. The word is the equivalent of victus in the English translation of HIGDEN, II., 231; III., 199; IV., 89; V., 53; VI., 361, 373; VII., 153, 209, &c. [9] P. PLO., XI., 206. [10] ROT. PARL., IV., 81. [11] At Paris they were usually five in number, viz.:—fees for the master, the schools, the beadle, the sub-beadle, and the altar light, and sometimes additional ones for expenses of messengers to and from Rome, litter, &c.—DENIFLE, PROC., I., XLVII., XLVIII., LI., 55; CHARTUL., II., 674. [12] MUN. ACAD., 129, 226, 301, 354, 360, 428; HUBER, I., 83; ROGERS, I., 121. For Richard II., see FROIS., IV., 184. [13] LYTE, 201. Cf. divites et bursas suas solvere potentes.—DENIFLE, PROC., I., XLV., XLVII., 174, 488; impotens satisfacere de bursis suis pro presenti.—*Ibid.*, 66, 177. [14] *E.g.*, if a man spent three sous a week on his keep he paid a fee of twenty sous, while a man who spent fourteen sous a week paid eighty, and so on.—DENIFLE, PROC., I., L.

Christendom was represented in her schools :—[1] Scots,[2] Welsh,[3] Irish,[4] French, Lombards, Greeks, Huns, Czechs,[5] Gascons, Spaniards and Portuguese, forming not a nation, but a little world ;[6] and so polyglot was the throng that statutes had to be promulgated in Latin to be understood by all these outlandish scholars from beyond the seas.[7] All classes and all ages mixed together in "Oxenford school"[8] :—yellow-beaks[9] of ten,[10] and grey-beards over seventy,[11] clerks and laymen, monks[12] and friars,[13] priests,[14] curates, rectors, vicars and parish chaplains[15] holding benefices[16] from five to ten marks up to 100 marks a year, with special permits[17] to absent themselves

[1] MUN. ACAD., 20, 23, 111, 236, 283, 305, 446, 587, 685, 755 ; ROT. PARL., III., 457; ORIG. LET., II., I., 8 ; GASC., 161; AYLIFFE, I., 32. [2] RYM., VI., 514; ROT. PARL., IV., 358. [3] OXF. CITY DOC., 153, 156, 160. [4] *Ibid.*, 153, 155; ROT. PARL., IV., 190; CAL. ROT. HIB., 170, 187 ; BELLESHEIM, I., 542. For "Irishman Street" at Oxford, see A. WOOD, HIST., I., 114. [5] LOSERTH, 41. [6] L'Université c'est plus qu'un peuple c'est un monde.—GERSON, IV., 583-590; AUBERTIN, II., 408; GALITZIN, 33. In Paris the natio Anglicana included Germans, Huns, Bohemians, Poles, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Scots, English and Irish (DENIFLE, PROC., I., XVI.), though only eight Englishmen appear to have graduated there between 1333 and 1406.—*Ibid.*, XVII. [7] C. H. COOPER, ANN., I., 42; MULLINGER, HIST., 17 ; RYM., II., 43. [8] WYCL. (A.), III., 484. [9] Cf. DU CANGE, s. v. Bejaunius = Bec jaune. Cf. Qui ne soient bejaunes ne enfens.—DESCHAMPS, VIII., 180. [10] CHAUC. (S.), III., 174, 223; ASTROLABE, 2; GUTCH, I., 139; BRODRICK, MERTON, 12, 339; VAUGHAN, I., 229; LITTLE, 43. For "pueri" at Queen's College, see A. CLARK, 129. Cf. "a puerili etate concurrunt," of foreigners in Paris.—DENIFLE, PROC., I., XVI. In Statutes of King's Hall, Cambridge, dated March 5th, 1380, a scholar before admission must be at least 14 years of age, and sufficiently instructed in the rules of Grammar.—RYM., VII., 241; see also DENIFLE, PROC., I., XX. [11] DENIFLE, PROC., I., XXI. [12] MUN. ACAD., 126, 220, 450 ; CONC., II., 595. [13] MUN. ACAD., 205, 208, 353. [14] PURVEY, PROL., 52. [15] MUN. ACAD., 150. Herdes that studien in scole.—WYCL. (M.), 454. [16] MUN. ACAD., 9, 40, 89, 315. For pouert ot benefis he (the vicar) may not go to scole.—WYCL. (M.), 116. [17] STAFF. REG., 3, 4, 7, 8, 22, 26, 37, 47, 56, 61, 66, 79, 84, 87, 88, 91, 94, 98, 221, &c. ; GASC., 198; BOASE, EXON., XXXVIII. For permit to Peter Petit, parson of St. Patrick's at Trim, to be absent from Ireland for three years for study at Oxford or Cambridge, see PAT., 6 H. IV., I., 32 (Oct. 17th, 1404) ; see also CAL. ROT. HIB., 187, 195, &c.

for a year or two to crack a little Latin[1] and gather lore to teach their flocks the way to heaven.[2] Many came up merely as wasters, for no better purpose than to riot among fools[3] with wine and bordel,[4] to take shots by day from their windows at passers-by in the lanes and venells below,[5] or to roam the streets after curfew with sticks, swords, polehatchets[6] and misericordes,[7] or shout abusive epithets[8] and break heads in a North and South row,[9] or give running kicks at the townspeople's doors,[10] or rescue their mates from Bocardo,[11] or sneak out[12] as drag-latches[13] and raveners[14] about the farms and country-houses to supply themselves with victuals. Thus the student and the rioter, the rakehell and the pietist, all rubbed shoulders together;[15] even married men brought their wives and children and menials,[16] and mediæval Oxford had as much as she could do to cram[17] her geese and keep her apes and ants in line.

Every scholar was required to attach himself to a Master and live in a Hall, of which there were at one time as many as 300[18] in the town and suburbs, one of them claiming to date

[1] WYCL. (M.), 156. [2] WYCL. (A.), I., 284. Cf. "to lerne philosophris lore."—*Ibid.*, 310. [3] GOWER, CONF., 280. [4] OXF. CITY DOC., 185, 207; GOWER, CONF., 229. [5] OXF. CITY DOC., 169. [6] *Ibid.*, 153. [7] *Ibid.*, 169, 174. [8] Verba contumeliosa.—*Ibid.*, 163, 172; DENIFLE, PROC., I., LXIII. [9] For fights in Paris between Gallicans, Picards and English, see DENIFLE, PROC., I., LX. [10] OXF. CITY DOC., 177. [11] *Ibid.*, 180; MUN. ACAD., 681; SHARPE, II., 114. [12] ROT. PARL., IV., 190, 358. [13] STAT., I., 268. Cf. "lacchedrawers."—P. PLO., IX., 288; X., 192; "nightcomers."—*Ibid.*, XXII., 144; "pickers."—ABERDEEN REC., I., 4. For "pilours and pykeherneys," see P. PLO., XXIII., 263; T. SMITH, 389. [14] GOWER, CONF., 283, 284, 288. [15] MUN. ACAD., 718. For the clerk who took a harlot into King's Hall, stabbed her in the left breast rather than pay her price, and got off by Churchman's rights (1299), see OXF. CITY DOC., 155. [16] MUN. ACAD., 279, 346, 347; CONC., III., 264. [17] Reading "sufferctos" for "sufferatos," in GERSON, II., 143; GALITZIN, 28, 29; SCHWAB, 256. [18] MUN. ACAD., XXI., 174; BRODRICK, MERTON, 3; OXF. CITY DOC., 5, 24, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 49, 52, 150, 156, 169, 172, 173, 385; BUDDENSIEG, 58.

back to the days of Alfred the Great.[1] Of most of these the names only are preserved; but we have fairly full particulars of the King's Hall,[2] which was given by Edward III. to his charity scholars at Cambridge in 1337. It was a wooden house, built in two storeys round a cloistered court, and contained 16 chambers, with room for 36 scholars, each receiving 2d. per day. In the time of Henry IV., the number of its scholars was 32,[3] viz., an Inceptor in Law, 12 Masters in Philosophy, and 19 undergraduates. All of them wore coloured cloth copes,[4] furred with lamb's wool or popul,[5] the graduates having also hoods of miniver wombs.[6] They had an oratory, a parlour, a refectory, a brewhouse with leaden boiler, mashvat and coolers, a granary, bakehouse, pigsty, stable, kitchen, promptuary, and dovecote,[7] a library with 87 chained books,[8] and a garden[9] planted with saffron,[10] parsley,[11] fennel,[12] leeks, chibbals,[13] garlic, vetches, and cole, with vines trellised on splints, rails, forks,[14] and crutches.[15]

[1] ROT. PARL., III., 69; PURVEY, PROL., 59; WOOD, II., 55, 57; CAPGRAVE, 113; HALLAM, III., 524. For the evidence see PARKER, EARLY HISTORY OF OXFORD, p. 54; ELIZABETHAN OXFORD, 10, 13; A. CLARK, 10. Cf. the claim of Paris that Julius Cæsar brought the University from Athens to Rome and that Charlemagne brought it from Rome to Paris.—AUBERTIN, II., 359; HEFELE, VI., 883; SCHWAB, 57, 187. [2] WILLIS AND CLARK, II., 431, 681; III., 248, 254; HIST. MSS., 1ST REPT., APP., 83; T. BAKER, I., 36; RYM., VII., 240. [3] Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{45}{11}$, $\frac{45}{13}$, $\frac{45}{15}$, APP. B. In 1409, there were one Licentiate in Laws, three Masters in Philosophy, 14 Bachelors and 14 Scholars. [4] Cf. "With thredbare cope as is a poure scolere."—CHAUC., PROL., 262. [5] ROGERS, I., 122, 582. [6] For a doctor in green tabard and hood, see COOKRY, 7. [7] WILLIS AND CLARK, III., 592; PROMPT. PARV., 135. [8] WILLIS AND CLARK, II., 442. [9] BESANT, 73. For a 15th century garden, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIV., 158. [10] *Ibid.*, LIV., 166. [11] *Ibid.*, 164.

Use souvent pour ta nature
De persil bettes et bourraches.—DESCHAMPS, VIII., 344.

[12] For lists of garden stuff, including mint and fenoil, see DESCHAMPS, VII., 344; CHAUC. (S.), I., 124; ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIV., 165. [13] HIST. MSS., 2nd REPT., 139. For "chiboles and chiruylles," see P. PLO., IX., 311. [14] ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIV., 162. [15] WILLIS AND CLARK, III., 578, 582.

But this was an establishment on a royal scale. The average hall, inn,[1] or hostel was a much more unpretentious place,[2] with a few little solars fit up with bed, board, chair, and candlestick,[3] let out on lease[4] to a Warden and his wife,[5] and changing hands with the fortunes of any speculative Principal.

Such smaller tenements were now being fast absorbed by the rise of endowed collegiate buildings.[6] Merton, University, Balliol, Exeter, Oriel, and Queen's, all of them still known indifferently as Colleges or Halls,[7] had swallowed up many

[1] For "inne," see WYCL. (A.), II., 132. [2] SKELTON, PL. 126, 137, 140, 147, 154, 157. [3] WYCL. (M.), 380. [4] A. CLARK, 15. [5] For Thomas Spencer, Warden of Spencermartynhall, and his wife (1380), see OXF. CITY DOC., 43. [6] BOASE, EXON., XIII. [7] Cf. Aula de Merton.—MUN. ACAD., 136, 520, 562, 584; CONC., III., 264; "Merton Halle."—PIPE ROLL, 7 H. IV., OXON.; GIBBONS (LINC.), 94, 130, 138; SHARPE, II., 380; "Domus Scholarium de Merton."—GIBBONS, 104; WOOD, II., 85; A. CLARKE, 59; "Collegium de Mertonhalle."—WYCL., DE DOM. DIVIN., 263; OXF. CITY DOC., 206; ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XLIV., 58; for Aula Magna or Collegium Majoris Aulæ, *i.e.*, Micklehall, see TEST. EBOR., I., 311, 324; "Mokel Universite Halle."—ROT. PARL., III., 69; LYTE, 153; "The Myghell Hall."—ORIG. LET., II., I., 8; ARCHÆOL. ÆL., II., 99; "Baillolhalle."—BRODRICK, MERTON, 309, 314; HIST. MSS., 5th REPT., 450; SHARPE, II., 37, 115, 205; "House of the Scholars of Balliol."—A. CLARK, 26; "Domus Scholarium de Balliolo."—OXF. CITY DOC., 221; "Aula de Bayloyol."—GIBBONS, 27; WOOD, II., 70; LIB. CUST., 237; HIST. MSS., 4th REPT., 443, 447, 448; WILLIS AND CLARK, I., XXXIV.; "Exeter Hall," or "Stapledon Hall."—*Ibid.*, I., XXXVI.; PAT., 1 H. IV., I., 20; PIPE ROLL, 7 H. IV., OXON.; BOASE, EXON., IV., XL.-LIII., 190; A. CLARK, 76; "Excestrehall."—OXF. CITY DOC., 303; "Aula Stapulina."—MUN. ACAD., 240; WOOD, II., 98; "College of Excestre."—ORIG. LET., II., I., 8. (For list of Bishop Stapleton's books at Exeter in 1326, see OLIVER, BISHOPS, 439.) For "La Quenhalle," see RYM., VIII., 675; ROT. PARL., III., 652; WOOD, II., 113; OXF. CITY DOC., 44; "The Quenes College."—ANTIQ. REP., I., 126. For "the House of St. Mary, Oxon. Collegii de Oriel, alias Aulæ regalis vulgariter nuncupati," see PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, April 17th, 1409; AYLIFFE, II., LXXX.; A. CLARK, 88, 95; "Oriolehall."—OXF. CITY DOC., 50. For "aulæ regiæ," see PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 22; FLETCHER, COLLECT., I., 64. For "Bresenosys," see OXF. CITY DOC., 41. For distinction between hall and college, see WILLIS AND CLARK, I., XV., though the distinction is imaginary at this time, *e.g.*,

> Ther was a gret College
> Men clepe the Soler Hall at Cantebrege.—REEVE'S TALE, 3988.

lesser halls[1] that lay about their doors, and quite a nest of them had been just swept away by Bishop Wickham, when he built his new St. Mary College of Winchester in Oxford,[2] on a piece of ground adjoining the Slipe,[3] under the north-east corner of the city wall, which had been the haunt of thieves and harlots, and a common rubbish-heap for all the filth and garbage of the town.[4] The Benedictines of Canterbury,[5] Durham,[6] Gloucester,[7] Malmesbury,[8] Norwich, Winchcombe,[9] St. Albans,[10] and Westminster[11] had each a scholars'-house or mansion-place[12] at Oxford for their monks. The Cistercians had their "studying-place" amongst the elms at Rewley[13] on the river bank; and the Black, White, Grey, and Austin Friars,[14] all had their convents without the walls crowded with so many eager students that it was believed that if these Orders were dissolved, as Wycliffe urged, degrees would cease, and the University be utterly ruined.[15]

Poor scholars were helped to live in various ways. Sometimes

[1] For list of 96 halls belonging to Exeter College alone, see PAT., 7 H. V., 2, 20, quoted in BOASE, EXON., LXVII. [2] PIPE ROLL, 7 H. IV., OXON.; CAL. ROT. PAT., 211, 218; YEAR BOOK, 11 H. IV., HIL., 53 a; PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 28 (where John Bouk is Warden); MUN. ACAD., 637; LOWTH, 181, 366; WILLIS AND CLARK, I., pp. XVII., LII.; III., 256; A. CLARK, 152; LOCKWELL, PROC. OF ARCHÆOL. INST. (1845), p. 24. For account (£200 9s. 11d.) for building part of tower and walls. (dated Mar. 12th, 1397), see OXF. CITY DOC., 306. For picture of New College buildings in the 15th century, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 230. [3] WALCOTT, WICKHAM, 280. [4] WOOD, II., 129; OXF. CITY DOC., 4. [5] OXF. CITY DOC., 42. [6] CONC., II., 614. [7] OXF. CITY DOC., 24; BRITTON, V., 25; AMUNDESHAM, II., 264; A. CLARK, 428. [8] BOASE, 69. [9] MONAST., VI., 404. [10] GESTA ABB., III., 496. [11] ARCHÆOLOGIA, LII., 276. [12] WILLIS AND CLARK, I., XXXV. [13] MONAST., V., 697; LET., ITIN., II., 71; LYTE, 102; BOASE, 53; SKELTON, PL. 113, 117; OXF. CITY DOC., 206. [14] LITTLE, 54; A. W. WARD, 34; REEVES, II., 491. For statute of Cambridge, 1336 (rescinded 1366), forbidding Friars to receive youths under 18 years of age, see COOPER, ANNALS, I., 109; MULLINGER, I., 263. For fratrifactores, see WYCL. (M.), 9, 10, 68, 133, 223, 269, 278, 500; *ibid.*, (A.), I., 299; II., 380; III., 348, 373, 392, 397, 416; DE APOSTAS., 28; DE BLASPH., 212; BUDDENSIEG, II., 468; LEWIS, 135; VAUGHAN, TRACTS, 226. [15] WYCL., DE BLASPH., 242.

the faculty or nation would remit all dues to those who took an oath of poverty and promised to pay when they grew rich;[1] or some charitable soul would found a bursary,[2] or leave money to be kept in a hutch,[3] with his name on it, and loaned out to needy students who had a book[4] or anything of value to deposit as a pledge for repayment. Others would build and endow houses[5] where scholars could be clothed and shod, live together under discipline, talk in Latin,[6] rise at four in the morning,[7] and rabble[8] out prayers for those that gave them wherewith to scholaie.[9]

Oxford in her best days had brought out theologians of world-wide repute; the works of Hales,[10] Grostest,[11] Marsh, Peckham,[12] Kilwardby,[13] Bradwardine,[14] Harclay,[15] Shirwood,

[1] Cum ad pinguiorem fortunam pervenerit.—DENIFLE, PROC., I., x., 547, 897. [2] In 1359 Adam Jedworth gave £12, the interest on which was to be used for the maintenance of a Scotch student in Paris.—*Ibid.*, I., XIX., 240. [3] MUN. ACAD., 102, 105, 130, 133, 213, 496; FULLER, UNIV. CAMB., 93; HIST. MSS., 9th REPT., I., 47; LANG, 42; BURROWS, WORTHIES, 7; A. CLARK, 77. For John Barnes' chest with loans to London apprentices, see BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 140, 186. For the cista nacionis Anglicanæ in Paris, from which money was advanced to students on pledge, see DENIFLE, PROC., I., XV., 205, 339, 400. [4] OXF. CITY DOC., 172; COXE, I., 53, 60; KIRCHOFF, 133; DENIFLE, PROC., I., 907, 912; quils ont mis leurs livres en gage.—DESCHAMPS, VIII., 96, 188. [5] MUN. ACAD., 56, 87, 490. For the domus Almannorum pauperum scholarium in Paris, see DENIFLE, PROC., I., XVIII., 82, 118, &c. [6] BRODRICK, MERTON, 26, 322; WALCOTT, WYK., 315; WILLIS AND CLARK, III., 364; RYM., VII., 240; MULLINGER, I., 371; LYTE, 84, 86, 141; A. CLARK, 26, 32, 68, 140. [7] HUBER, I., 395. [8] MYROURE, 53, 54. Cf. "no rabul of wordis ne curiouse florischynge in ryme."—WYCL. (A.), III., 466; "blabren out matins and mass."—WYCL. (M.), 168, 420; KNYGHTON, 2658. [9] CHAUC., PROL., 304; MULLINGER, I., 644; BOASE, EXON., XIII., 7, 237; ROCK, III., 46. [10] DENTON, 58; ALZOG, II., 766. [11] LOSERTH, XLII. In GOWER, CONF., 179, "Grostêst" rhymes with "honèst;" called "Grosted" in WYCL. (M.), 56, 61, 123, 145, 224, 385; (A.), III., 216, 226, 278, 288, 400, 519; or "Grosthed," *ibid.* (A.), I., 171; III., 459, 467, 469, 470, 489; "Groosthead," *ibid.*, II., 418. For examination of his body at Lincoln in 1782, see BLOXAM, 71. [12] LITTLE, 154. "Holcote seith on the book also of Sapience."—HOCCL., 44. For copies at Rome and Avignon, see EHRLE, 146, 354, 500. [13] EHRLE, 146, 305, 505; KIRCHOFF, 147. [14] MURIMUTH, 180; = Doctor Profundus.—WYCL., DE DOM. DIV., 115, 167; DE ECCLES., XXIX.; (A.), I., 324; LECHLER, I., 89; BUDDENSIEG, 55; ALZOG, II., 990; CHAUCER, NUN'S PRIEST, 15248. [15] WOOD, II., 394; ANGL. SACR., II., 524; LE NEVE, III., 464; called Henricus de Archilago or Archilay in the Avignon catalogue.—FAUCON, I., 161; EHRLE, 347, 498.

Gaddesden, Duns,[1] Ockham,[2] Angerville, Baconthorpe, Barley,[3] Holcot,[4] Kilmington,[5] and Fitzralph[6] had carried the fame of her learning as far as God had ground,[7] and thousands flocked to her from distant parts "to clothe their souls with the garment of philosophy."[8] A maxim of the time commended study in a foreign land,[9] and students passed about from country to country, believing that "sundry schools make subtle clerks."[10] In 1264, 15,000 students were enrolled at Oxford,[11] and in the days of the Scotist[12] ferment, when "Minerva crossed from Paris to Britain,"[13] as many as 30,000 were believed to have thronged her schools;[14] but the Black Death had scattered them down,[15]

[1] LITTLE, 219; ALZOG, II., 779. [2] EHRLE, 352, 487; LITTLE, 224; ALZOG, II., 989. [3] TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 158, 16; ELIZABETHAN OXFORD, 25. [4] HOCCLEVE, MIN. PO., 33; called Elcot or Encot in EHRLE, 545, 555; KIRCHOFF, 146. [5] WYCL., DE DOM. DIV., 262. [6] MURIMUTH, 193; EHRLE, 559; HÖFLER, ANNA, 143; BELLESHEIM, I., 520-528. [7] WOOD, I., 209; GOWER, CONF., 376. [8] RYM., II., 43. [9] SCOTICHRON., II., 447. [10] CHAUC., MERCHANT, 9301. For a scholar who had been robbed of his money and books in travelling from Lübeck to Paris in 1370, see DENIFLE, PROC., I., XLVI., 373. [11] WALS., HYPODIG., 514. [12] ALZOG, II., 780. [13] PHILOBIBL., C. IX., p. 249; FASCIC. ZIZAN., LI.; BUDDENSIEG, 53; A. W. WARD, 61. [14] A. WOOD, I., 80; GASC., 202; GRAES, II., 473; HARL. MS., II., 318; HALLAM, III., 526; VAUGHAN, 33; LYTE, 94, 116; FURNIVALL, MANNERS AND MEALS, XXVII.; BUDDENSIEG, I., 272; LOSERTH, 70; GREEN, 132; BOASE, 81; LECHLER, I., 130; GASQUET, PEST., 126: HIST. MSS. 2nd REPT., 141. It has become the fashion with modern writers to reject these figures as "one of the exaggerations to which the Middle Ages were prone" (SCHWAB, 78; BOASE, EXON., XXXIX.; OXF. CITY DOC., 146; LITTLE, 60, 80); but the statements of Fitzralph, who was Chancellor of Oxford in 1333 (A. WOOD, II., 395), and Gascoigne, who had seen the Chancellor's Rolls, are too precise to be "dismissed without serious comment" (MULLINGER, I., 241, 363). In WYCL., DE ECCL., 374, the number is 60,000, where BUDDENSIEG (WYCLIF, 58) thinks there is an o too many. The same number is given for Paris in G. METZ (circ. 1407).—LEROUX DE LINCY, 232, 485. In 1409 Simon Cramaud and Jean Petit said there were 1000 Masters in the Arts Faculty in Paris, and a voice behind called out, "2000!"—MOLAND, 221, 237, 416. In 1409 more than 20,000 Germans (though not all of them students) left Prague (HEFELE, VI., 929); and in the following year the assertion is made that the number of students at Oxford exceeded the number who condemned Wycliffe's books at Prague.—LOSERTH, 329. [15] HIST. MSS., 5th REPT., 450; GASQUET, PEST., 210.

till in 1357 there were scarce 6000, in 1379[1] less than 3000, and the numbers were dwindling still. In 1360,[2] the Peace of Bretigny had provided that Frenchmen might study in England, and Englishmen in France; but the foreigners found the air of Oxford too "windy, dense, and damp,"[3] the numbers never recovered, and there was a growing dearth of clerks.

The time had been when folks believed that a lettered clergy was the fair portion of a realm,[4] and that "degree taken in school made God's word more welcome;"[5] and so long as the Pope could provide,[6] there was hope for those who had the stamp of an Oxford degree. But the Statute of Provisors, though often disregarded,[7] had told in the main against the Rome-runners.[8] English patrons kept their best livings for their own kin,[9] or sold them for "gold in great quantity,"[10] or put in a dancer

[1] WYCL., DE ECCLES., XXIV., 374. In 1378 the number of English students in Paris had so fallen that it was proposed to alter the title Natio Anglicana to Nacio Almanie.—DENIFLE, I., XIV., XVII., 310, 529, 816, 835. In 1392 it was divided into three provinces, viz., Scotland and Germany, Upper and Lower.—*Ibid.*, XVII., 662. For the mortality amongst the students in Paris in 1399, see DENIFLE, PROC., I., XXXIII., 803, 819. Rogers estimates only 1500 students at Oxford in 1380 (OXF. CITY DOC., 7), in which year the townsmen over 15 years of age amounted to 2035. In 1568 the numbers are 1842, and in 1602 over 3000.—ELIZABETHAN OXFORD, 15, 205. For estimated population of York (10,500) and London (35,000) temp. Ed. III., see RAINE, YORK, 202. In 1378 the population of London is estimated at 46,076, see SUBSIDY ROLL in ARCHÆOL., Vol. V., quoted in DENTON, 131. In the same year the population of Norfolk and Suffolk=213,828. [2] CHRON. ANGLIÆ, 48; WALS., I., 293; HALLAM, III., 528. [3] BOASE, 102. [4] Clerus literatus est pulchra portio regni.—HARL. MS., 431, 142 (114 b), addressed to Henry V. ("invictissime triumphator")—not Henry IV., as in Catalogue. [5] WYCL. (M.), 427. Freris wanten rizt devocioun for thei taken not her degres neither in scole ne in office for rizt devocioun to renne the weie that Crist hath tauzt.—*Ibid.* (A.), I., 292. [6] Though the Pope's nominees were often quite unsuitable men. Cf. "Popis chesyn for moneie or for preier of princis many men that ben unable to bere haly water in chirchis."—*Ibid.* (A.), I., 304. [7] PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 36, and *passim*. [8] WOOD, I., 202; HUBER, I., 359; LINGARD, III., 538; MULLINGER, I., 285; RAMSAY, I., 16. [9] WYCL. (M.), 65; (A.), III., 277; DE OFF. REG., 75. [10] WYCL. (M.), 246; (A.), III., 280; LAT. SERM., II., 141; VAUGHAN, II., 165.

or tripper on tapits, hunter, hawker, archer, wild player of summer games, or other such Vicar of Satan to please some lady friend.[1] School learning thus became a closed channel for promotion; scholars fell away to worldly pursuits; the Universities were in "high lamentation," and looked only for "utter destruction speedily."[2] A century before, Oxford could boast a royal residence; but the Palace at Beaumont,[3] which the children used to call Rome,[4] on the north-west side of the walls, had been turned into a convent for White Friars; and Cambridge, which had before been chiefly in repute for eels,[5] could now boast of eight endowed houses, all built and maintained on Merton's model,[6] besides a crowd of smaller inns and hostels.[7]

But even at the lowest ebb of her fortunes, Oxford still had her 1000 scholars,[8] who spent their time in studying and disputing in the Seven Liberal Arts[9] of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic

[1] WYCL. (M.), 64, 65. [2] CONC., III., 173, 242, 275, 381; ROT. PARL., III., 301; IV., 81; RYM., VIII., 81, 339; WALS., II., 338; HIST. MSS., 12th REPT., IX., 395; COOPER, ANN., I., 141, 144, 145; LYTE, 287; WYCL., DE OFF. REG., 74, 77, 163, 181.

Cf. Allas! so many a worthy clerk famous
In Oxenforde and in Cambrigge also
Stonde unavauncede, whereas the vicious
Favelle hathe chirches and prebendes mo
Than God is plesede withe. Allas! of tho
That wernen vertu so to be promotede
And they helples in whom vertu is notede.
—HOCCL., DE REG., 189.

[3] WOOD, I., 101; MONAST., VI., 1577; BOASE, 28, 84; EXON., IV.; ROUSE, 140, 192; SKELTON, Plate 116. [4] WYCL., DE ECCL., 15. [5] FULLER, 17; HIST. MSS., 1st REPT., 83; LIB. ELIENS., p. 3. [6] FULLER, 117. For aula de Valence Marie (afterwards Pembroke College), see PRIV. SEAL, 651/6822, Mar. 27th, 1411. In Paris 29 colleges were founded in the 14th century.—SCHWAB, 66. [7] FULLER, 41; PARKER, SKELETOS, 188; WILLIS AND CLARK, I., XXV. [8] Viz., in 1438.— A. WOOD, HIST., I., 217. [9] So called because originally only free or high-born men could learn them, see DESCHAMPS, I., 143; II., 52, 161; V., 145, 148, 150, 152, 189, 221; VI., 20, 252, 254; VII., 22, 266; CAPGR., KATH., 38; P. PLO., XII., 98; XIII., 93; XVIII., 114; MUN. ACAD., 273, 285, 327, 454, 746; LIB. ALB., III., 460; LECHLER, I., 136; A. S. GREEN, II., 17; A. CLARK,

(which formed the Trivium [1]), Arithmetic, Music, Geometry,[2] and Astronomy [3] (the Quadrivium) and the Three Philosophies, viz., Natural,[4] Moral, and Metaphysical. Their Grammar they learnt from Priscian and Donet, their Rhetoric from Cicero,[5] their Logic from Porphyry.[6] They reckoned their Arsmetric [7] by the craft of augrim,[8] *i.e.*, with modern cyphers on the denary basis of the Arabian mathematician, Al-Kharizmi.[9] Their Geometry they got from Euclid translated into Latin by Boece, and their Astronomy from Ptolemy's Almegist,[10] through the medium of Latin translations from the Arabic version,[11] according to which the earth was in the centre of the universe, hanging upon nothing and resting upon

161. In 1406, the natio Anglicana in Paris adopted as their escutcheon an eagle and seven virgins with the inscription "hee sunt scole septem artium liberalium."—DENIFLE, PROC., I., XXVI., 703, 930.

[1] HUBER, I., 4; HALLAM, III.; ENCYCL. BRIT., XXIII., 833; MULLINGER, I., 24, 341; VAUGHAN, I., 214; LABORDE, I., 73; BUDDENSIEG, 100; ALZOG, II., 1000; BESANT, 189. [2] GOWER, CONF., 345. [3] *Ibid.*, 349; WYCL. (M.), 225. See the passage in WYCL. (A.), II., 408, where "the calkelators in astronomye and othir sciencis ben left to helle." [4] Cf. "kyndely skill."—WYCL. (A.), II., 222; "science of kynde."—*Ibid.*, III., 406. [5] GOWER, 205, 358, 359, 445. [6] MUN. ACAD., 242; WYCL. (M.), 447; (A.), III., 407; DE APOSTAS., 55; P. PLO., XIII., 173; XV., 190; ALZOG, II., 730. [7] For ars metrica, see MUN. ACAD., 413, 415. Cf. arsmetrike.—CHAUC., KNIGHT, 1900; HALLIWELL, 88; arsmetica.—FLETCHER, COLLECT., I., 67; Arsmetique.—GOWER, CONF., 345; Arismetique.—DESCHAMPS, V., 150, 221; VII., 267. [8] Or algorism.—MUN. ACAD., 243, 413, 415; GOWER, CONF., 345; PROMPT. PARV., 18; CATHOL., 7; CAMB. ANTIQ. SOC., II., XIV., 18; DESCHAMPS, VII., 268; RICHARD REDELES, 502, with note in WRIGHT'S EDITION, p. 57. For algerista (=arithmetician) see WAZSTEN., 139. For litteræ de awegrym, see TEST. EBOR., I., 334.

Cf. That thogh Argus (*i.e.*, Algus) the noble countour
Rekened with his figures ten.—CHAUC. (S.), I., 292.

For noumbres of augrim, see CHAUC. (S.), III., 179, 375. [9] ENCYCL. BRIT., XVII., 626; or al-Kowarazmi.—CHAUC. (S.), I., 475. [10] Or Almagest. — BACON, 537; GOWER, CONF., 330, 349, 352; CHAUCER, WIF OF BATH, 5765; "Amageste."—DESCHAMPS, VIII., 286. For "wise Tholomeus," see GOWER, CONF., 353, 355; "Tholomee."—CHAUC. (S.), II., 46; DESCHAMPS, VIII., 281. [11] DENIFLE, CHART., XXIX.

nothing.[1] The firmament with the fixed stars was worked out to be 109,375 miles away,[2] and it was calculated that if Adam had started on the day of his death and had travelled twenty-five miles a day, he would not have got there yet.[3] God was just above it, but Hell was much nearer to us,[4] being a sorrowful and straight lodging 3300 miles down in the middle of the earth.[5] Modern knowledge was represented by treatises on "perspective"[6] (or optics) by Al-Haze and Vitello,[7] but of the Greek or classic literature that was engrossing the humanists of Italy and France, there is scarcely a trace.[8] The rest was all a selection from Aristotle's lore[9] in Latin transla-

[1] MYROURE, 303. Cf. Fixus in æternum mobilitate suâ.—GOWER in POL. SONGS, II., 1. For a curious gravitation argument to prove that the earth is at the centre of the universe, see WYCL., LAT. SERM., I., 387; II., 191. For the antipodes,

Cf. Car ainsis que dessoubz la pomme
L'en voit une mouche asseoir
Arrebours, puet chascun veoir
Que soubz noz piez a autres gens.
Ainsis li soulaulx diligens
A ses gens va, tourne et leur luit
Lors qu'il nous semble qu'il soit nuit.
—DESCHAMPS, VIII., 278.

[2] MYROURE, 304, 305. [3] *Ibid.*, 356. [4] For the theory that Hell was in the North and Heaven in the East, see P. PLO., II., 121-133. [5] WYCL. (A.), I., 42. [6] *Ibid.*, II., 299. [7] POOLE, 237; WYCL., LAT. SERM., III., 244. [8] HUBER, I., 323; LECHLER, I., 135; A. W. WARD, 40. BRUNI was interested in a young Englishman at Florence, named Thomas, studiorum nostrorum *quantum illa natio cupit* ardentissimus affectator.—ARET., EPIST., I., 55. [9] GOWER, CONF., 385; MULLINGER, I., 92. A list of lectures which a rich student at Vienna attended, before determining bachelor in arts, at the end of the 14th century, includes Parva Logicalia, Logica Vetus, Phisica Aristotelis, Euclides et Insolubilia, Spera (*i.e.*, Sphæra), Prior and Posterior Analytics, Grecismus (*i.e.*, Eberhard Bethunensis), Obligatoria et Exercitium Priorum, Confredus (*i.e.*, Godofredus de Vino-salvo, or Vinsauf Poetica Nova.—Edition, LEYSER, HIST. POEM. MED. ÆVI., p. 862, containing 2114 hexameter lines on versification), Tertia Pars Alexandri (*i.e.*, *Doctrinalis*, Alexandri de Villa-Dei.—See REICHLING, MONUMENTA GERMANIÆ PÆDAGOGICA.—TOM, XII., Berlin, 1893), Peter Hispanus, Computus Cyrometricalis and Donatus, from 16 different masters, all of whom had to be paid.—DENIFLE, PROC., XXIX.

tions. These, with the glosses, yielded endless sophisms and problems for arguing, disputing, questioning, responding,[1] and opposing[2]—all carried on in Latin;[3] and the scholar whose time and purse[4] would stretch to seven years[5] of this systematic round, having ate and drunk[6] his way through the successive stages of sophister,[7] poser,[8] bachelor, and determiner,[9] had "done his form in art,"[10] and might commence Master and take up the emoluments of a Don;[11] though at times the cap[12] of masterdom could be secured by the "prayer of lords and great gifts,"[13] or through the mediation of great ladies,[14] and money could always help a man to jump the faculties at a bound like a mountain-goat.[15] In any case, however, he had to go through the beard-

[1] For respondit questioni, responsionem, see DENIFLE, PROC., 169. [2] A. WOOD, HIST., II., 70. [3] MUN. ACAD., 60. [4] For the enormous cost of inception in Theology, *e.g.*, £118 3s. 8d. for two monks, see LYTE, 225. Cf. "man mut have worldli spencis that wole craftli lerne thes sciencis."—WYCL. (A.), II., 71; DENIFLE, PROC., I., XLIX. [5] MUN. ACAD., 264, 286; DENIFLE, CHART., 78; PROC., I., XX., XXXI.; PURVEY, PROL., 51; LITTLE, 44. At Paris it was sometimes six years, VI. ans a en phillosophie.—DESCHAMPS, V., 316. For Orleans, see P. MEYER, 377, 399. [6] MUN. ACAD., 247, 410, 455. For pecunias perpotabiles, see DENIFLE, PROC., I., LII., LVII.; "jocundus introitus."—*Ibid.*, I., 446; et fuit ille francus perpotatus in taberna ad malleos pluribus magistris presentibus.—*Ibid.*, 606. [7] "A short abidance there will give them the name of sophisters."—LOND. AND MID. ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 235. [8] MUN. ACAD., LXXIX., 156; MULLINGER, I., 352; WALCOTT, WYK., 251; P. PLO., XVII., 163. For "temptator" (*i.e.*, examiner), see DENIFLE, PROC., I., XXIV., XXIX., 488, 915. [9] For determinantes and subdeterminantes, see DENIFLE, CHART., II., 673, 674; PROC., I., IX., XXIV., XLVIII., 264, 491, 538, 606, where a determiner is supposed to be the same as a bachelor. [10] PURVEY, PROL., 51; BOASE, EXON., I., IX. [11] Cf. Dan Lydgate, Dan John.—CHAUC., SHIPMAN, 12973. Danz Aristoteles.—GOWER, CONF., 343. Daun Cupido, Daun Phebus.—CHAUC. (S.), I., 160; II., 154, 301, 304, 308, 404; IV., 5. Damp Vulcanus.—DESCHAMPS, VIII., 271. Damp Noble le lyon.—*Ibid.*, VIII., 334. [12] For "le bonnet sur la teste," see JEAN PETIT in DENIFLE, PROC., I., XX. It is figured on the seal of the English nation in Paris, see *ibid.*, Frontispiece. For petition of some poor students to be allowed to commence sine novâ cappâ, see *ibid.*, XXXII., 271. [13] Cf. "Lordes senden lettris for soche avaunsementis."—WYCL. (A.), III., 152, 376, 396; LYTE, 172. [14] WYCL., DE BLASPH., 244. [15] PHILOBIBL., 247.

shaving,[1] and other such customary horse-play on the night before Inception,[2] when he feasted[3] his Regents[4] at a cost ranging from 10 marks to £20, gave suits of clothes to them and to the stationers,[5] and a pair of honest buckskin gloves, with 20s. in money, to each of the two bedels in his faculty.[6]

In Feb., 1395,[7] Richard Holland, brother to the Earls of Kent, who perished at Cirencester and Bréhat, determined at Oxford, and we have still a note of the reckoning paid for the festivities at a cost of £67. Twenty-five Masters, 29 Determiners, and 7 Bachelors got a livery of coloured cloth each, together with gloves and miniver or swansdown supplied from John Hende, the London draper. Beef, mutton, pork, lamb, and coneys were provided for the two days' feast, together with bread and beer at discretion. Three boars were brought from Aylesbury; swans, peacocks, ducks, and geese had been fatted upon barley, oats, and peas; hens and capons were sent down by the dozen and the gross, and mallard, teal, partridge, plover, ousels, thrushes, fieldfares, whoops, gulls, snipe, and other small birds in heaped abundance. Casks of wine were fetched from Southampton. A carpenter was paid for four days to put up barriers. The birds had to be plucked, the subtleties painted,

[1] WALCOTT, WYK., 315; A. CLARK, 158. [2] For Incipientes, inceptio, &c., see DENIFLE, PROC., XXXI., XLIX., 702; CHART., II., 680, 681. [3] MUN. ACAD., 247, 308, 353, 431, 455, 565; MULLINGER, I., 357; BOASE, EXON., LXVIII., 6; WYCL. (M.), 428; HIST. MSS., 9th REPT., I., 205; LITTLE, 50. Cf. non solvit propinam quam debuit nacioni.—DENIFLE, PROC., 257. For festum inceptionis in theologia, see *ibid.*, 485. Cf. faire leur feste.—DESCHAMPS, VIII., 188. [4] *I.e.*, those engaged in teaching in his faculty.—MUN. ACAD., 420; OTT., 265; MULLINGER, I., 140, 358, 362; THUROT, 90; SCHWAB, 72; LECHLER, I., 129; ENG. HIST. REV., I., 660; DENIFLE, PROC., I., XXXII. [5] MUN. ACAD., 233, 247, 253, 324, 434. [6] OXF. CITY DOC., 5. For bedelli, bediaux, see DENIFLE, PROC., I., XXV., XLV., XLVII.; DESCHAMPS, VIII., 97. Cf. paier fault bediaux et sergens.—*Ibid.*, 188. [7] ROGERS, II., 643; BOASE, EXON., IX.

tables and tressels erected, and the account is swelled beyond all limit by such items as 3000 eggs at 5d. the 100,[1] a pound of pins, jars of honey and vinegar, and pounds of candles.

Junketing on such a scale was, of course, confined to great occasions, to suit some scholar of rank; but our evidence for the bejans[2] of the humbler class[3] all points to the prevalence of vulgar and gluttonous excess. Thus the sins of wealth and power had captured the schoolman's camp.[4] Oxford's scholars had once been clean and devout,[5] her masters and doctors busy on their learning, rising at midnight and taking full little rest a-bed;[6] but now all alike—artisters,[7] canonisters, civilians, and divines—were full of pride, lechery, and idleness, nice in array, delicate[8] of mouth and womb, and as covetous as common worldlings. They held that those who sweat for the Church should get the Church's fattest things,[9] and they betook themselves to those schools, where they saw the largest gains.[10] So Solomon[11] studied with his cup[12] and his strumpets,[13] and ramped[14] with hawks and

[1] In BOASE, 78, the long hundred (*i.e.*, 120) costs 4½d. In DERBY ACCTS., 25, 3400 eggs cost 22s. preserved in salt. In 1374 20 eggs cost 1d. in London.—BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 121. [2] For bejania, jocundus introitus, see DENIFLE, PROC., I., XLIX., LII.; CHART., II., 1032, 1057. DU CANGE, s. v. Beanus (=novus studens), Bejaunius; COTGRAVE, s. v. Bejaune; JAMIESON, s. v. Bejan, I., 148. [3] For breakfast (HIST. MSS., 12th REPT., IX., 423) given by scholars at entrance at King's Hall, Cambridge, costing about 20s. each, see WILLIS AND CLARK, II., 440; III., 613; HIST. MSS., 1st REPT., 83, 85. In DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 14, 20, Henry Spicer, scholar and student, receives 100s. for half a year's expenses at Cambridge, Jan. 24th, 1379. [4] WYCL., DE OFF. REG., 131. [5] WYCL. (M.), 6; PURVEY, PROL., 51. [6] WYCL. (M.), 6, 133, 181, 317, 318; (A.), I., 217, 292; II., 421. A sureccione ad matutinas in medio noctis.—DE BLASPHEMIA, 245. [7] DENIFLE, PROC., I., 181. [8] For "delicacy," *i.e.*, luxury, see GOWER, CONF., 321, 326; "festen delicatly."—WYCL. (M.), 210. [9] MUN. ACAD., 221. [10] SCOTICHRON., II., 446. [11] TRYVYTHAM, in EVESH., 348. See LITTLE, 253; STAT., II., 207; HUBER, I., 328. [12] WYCL. (M.), 156, 249. For the enormous consumption of wine at Oxford, see OXF. CITY DOC., 185. [13] For "lepynge strumpet," see WYCL. (A.), I., 389; cf. to drynke heiz wynes and base fisik with strumpetis.—*Ibid.* (M.), 157. [14] GOWER, CONF., 340, 371, 383.

hounds,[1] and revel;[2] and Oxford, which had shown such promise in her youth, was now sinking into idleness and womb-joy,[3] and doddering in a dishonoured dotage of stagnation and decay.

But Arts and Medicine[4] were only the bottom steps;[5] they formed merely the general study,[6] the source and beginning,[7] the door to the higher knowledge;[8] and if a Master wished to shape for a Clerk of Divinity[9] or a Doctor of Laws or Theology,[10] he must study Civil Law[11] as a legister[12] or jurist[13] for three years more, the Bible[14] both in text and glose[15] for other two years, and the Decretals as a Decretist[16] for other three again. But Decrees, though lucrative[17] as a profession, were only the handmaid[18] to

[1] WYCL. (M.), 68, 119, 122. [2] GOWER, CONF., 254. [3] WYCL. (M.), 151, 161, 166, 171, 182, 212, 220, 223, 237, 259, 270, 434; (A.), III., 296, 320, 493. [4] For the smallness of the faculty of medicine and law at Oxford, see LYTE, 220. [5] CONC., III., 228. [6] MUN. ACAD., 242; HUBER, I., 34. [7] MUN. ACAD., 142. [8] *Ibid.*, 211. [9] GOWER, CONF., 344; WYCL. (M.), 46. For "scolis of dyvynite," see WYCL. (M.), 265; "maistres of divinitee."—CHAUC. (S.), I., 241. [10] "Some 14 or 19 years at the most will give them the name of Doctors."—LOND. AND MID. ARCHÆOL. SOC., V., 235; or 11 years, as A. CLARK, 162. [11] MUN. ACAD., 399; CONC., III., 228. For "lawe cyvyle," see WYCL. (A.), II., 126; III., 326; "lawe of lond," *v.* "lawe of the Pope," or "the lawe canoun."—*Ibid.*, III., 153, 278; cf. "in utroque."—DESCHAMPS, V., 317; "double mannis lawes, the pope's and the emperour's."—WYCL. (A.), I., 96. [12] WYCL. (A.), I., 31; MUN. ACAD., 469. [13] *Ibid.*, 25. [14] PURVEY, PROL., 51; SCHWAB, 75. [15] GOWER, CONF., 53; WYCL. (M.), 12, 368, 375, 376; CHAUC. (S.), II., 25. [16] MUN. ACAD., 398, 457; APOLOGY, 73, 75. For "canonistres," "decretistres of canon," or "Doctors of decree," see P. PLO., X., 303; XVI., 85; XVIII., 113; WYCL. (A.), I., 32. For "consistorie law and chapitre law," see *ibid.*, I., 15; II., 76, 186, 400. Cf. Vol. III., p. 298, note 3. [17] BUDDENSIEG, I., 221. "In chapiters and consistories liggith wynnynge."—WYCL. (A.), II., 419.

Je ne scay en ce monde cas
N'estat si seur com' d'avocas.
On les quiert, ilz ne quierent pas,
Et si vivent d'autrui debas.—DESCHAMPS, VIII., 144.

For complaint of decay of lawyers cf.:—

Science est en vieulté
Car on ne het fors les gens de Justice.—*Ibid.*, V., 278.

[18] MUN. ACAD., 238.

Theology, which to the Schoolmen was the Most Perfect Stuff, the Only Art, the Queen of Science,[1] compared with which all other science was only hogs-meat.[2] A knowledge of it would wreck all heresies,[3] which only thrive when men keep too literally to the bare text of Scripture[4] and neglect the mystic dogmas of the Fathers. All mysteries were faced by pelting texts from Austin, Gregory, Clement, and the like; and curious posers were put as to whether God could have produced the world without creating it, or could have created it earlier than He did;[5] whether Heaven was made of matter and form, and how high up the saints are;[6] whether men in bliss wear any clothes;[7] whether anybody was saved when Pharaoh's army was drowned in the Red Sea;[8] what was the name of Toby's dog;[9] what Christ wrote on the ground when the woman was charged with adultery;[10] why He chose fishers, and not hunters;[11] how His stomach could take broiled fish[12] and void its meat after His resurrection; whether the last trumpet would be a horn or a brass or silver one; and whether it would be left on the earth.[13] These and other such strifes of school[14] that "want good chewing"[15] were harmless dialectic play; but when among the themes officially propounded we find divines disputing as to whether purgatory is a real fire, where it is, when

[1] Wycl., De Civ. Dom., 124; De Off. Reg., 191; Lat. Serm., iv., 267; Lechler, 140; Gower, Conf., 344. [2] "Science of God fedith men wel; but other science is mete for hoggis, and it makith men fat here, but not after domesdai."—Wycl. (A.), ii., 71. [3] Gerson, v., 623. [4] Conc., iii., 339. Gascoigne (117), on the other hand, thinks that all heresies are due to a neglect of the scriptures, quia non scripturarum auctoritatem sed humanæ rationis sensum sequuntur. [5] Wycl., De Ente Prædic., 223, 256, 272. [6] Wycl. (A.), i., 331. [7] *Ibid.*, ii., 58. [8] Wycl., De Eucharist., lxv. [9] Wycl. (A.), i., 13; cf. Tobit, v., 16; xi., 4. [10] Wycl. (A.), ii., 88. [11] *Ibid.*, i., 307. [12] *Ibid.*, ii., 137. [13] *Ibid.*, ii., 406. [14] *Ibid.*, iii., 128; cf. "doubts of scole."—*Ibid.*, i., 338; ii., 373; "scole tretynge."—*Ibid.*, i., 105. [15] Quia bonâ indigent masticatione.—Dolein, 398.

it begins, how long it lasts, or whether there is a purgatory at all; whether God does the punishing Himself, or leaves it to His ministers; whether these are good angels or bad,[1] and such-like blabbering and glavering,[2] it is clear that it needed but a little thrust to push every Article of the Faith into the melting-pot.

Apart from the cooks, spencers, manciples, and others who catered for the body, the mental wants of such a quick-wit throng employed a privileged[3] host of scriveners,[4] limners, parchmeners,[5] haberdashers,[6] bookbinders, illuminators, and stationers, who had settled on the town. Oxford thus became a general mart for the pawn, purchase or exchange of books,[7] which were held to be "more needful to man's good life than gold and silver."[8]

In such a mental stir, where schoolmen prevailed vainly to get new subtleties,[9] had Wycliffe cast his seed of discontent. No wonder that the plant had flourished and rooted deep in a congenial soil.

[1] MUN. ACAD., 716; MULLINGER, I., 363. [2] WYCL. (A.), I., 127, 181, 376; II., 8, 96, 109, 306, 355, 389. [3] MUN. ACAD., 52, 174, 176, 346; ROT. PARL., III., 336. [4] GOWER, CONF., 153. For scribes in Paris, see LEROUX DE LINCY, 447; DELISLE, I., 35; BULLETIN DU BIBLIOPHILE (1858), p. 672. [5] CATHOL., 269; OXF. CITY DOC., 41, 47, 52; "parchemynere."—PROMPT. PARV., II., 382; pergamenarii.—EHRLE, 178; WATTENBACH, 93-107; KIRCHOFF, 69; LACROIX, 20. For "beestis skynnes," see WYCL. (A.), II., 2; "dede skynnes."—*Ibid.*, 341. For paper *v.* parchment, see A. S. GREEN, II., 259. [6] Who sold parchment, paper, ink, red wax, &c. Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{4}{11}$, APP. B; DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 14, 27. In 1390, 3 quires of parchment cost 11s. 7d., and 3 quires of paper 1s. 6d. —DERBY ACCTS., 5. In 1414, 220 skins of parchment cost 27s. 5d.; 1 pint of ink and a bottle, 20d.; 4 lbs. 3 dwts. of green wax, 3s. 11d.—GENT. MAG., N. S., XLIII., 39. In 1360 King John of France paid 27d. for 3 quires of paper, and 38d. for 4 quires at Lincoln.—KIRCHOFF, 135. [7] MUN. ACAD., 233. For eagerness of the Friars to buy up books, see HARL. MISC., II., 319; WYCL. (M.), 49, 128, 221. For the book trade in the Middle Ages, see WATTENBACH, 457-465; KIRCHOFF, 132, 145-149; LEROUX DE LINCY, 450, 463. The University of Paris kept control over the sale of books by means of caution money.—LACROIX, 26. [8] WYCL. (M.), 128. [9] *Ibid.*, 428.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

Arundel's Constitutions.

It was while the Lollard tide was at its height that two Bohemians, studying at Oxford, obtained a copy of a document, purporting to be signed by the Chancellor and Masters assembled in their cellar[1] in St. Mary's Church, on Oct. 5th, 1406,[2] and sealed with the University seal. In this they vindicate the character of Wycliffe against the slanderous insults[3] then circulating against his memory. With heart, and voice, and pen they vouch his honest life, his deep learning, the sweetness of his fame, the ripeness of his words, the cunning of his works, all tending to the praise of God, the good of his fellowmen and the profit of the Church. In arguing, reading, preaching, and disputing, he had borne him worthily as a stout champion of the Faith, fighting with Scripture texts against those who defamed

[1] *I.e.*, ground-floor room, see Mun. Acad., xl., 153, 227, 248, 330; Macray, Bodl., 3. For Solar and Celar, see Willis and Clark, ii., 431; iii., 608; Hist. MSS., 4th Rept., 450; Boase, Exon., 177; Cunningham, i., 273. For "seler," see Derby Accts., 72. For a three storey building ("superterram," "mediæ," "supremæ"), see Denifle, Proc., I., xxviii. [2] The only copy of this document now known in England is in MS. Cott., Faustina, C., vii., 19 (125), which is itself a transcript in a late 16th-century hand without any indication as to its origin. It has been often printed; see A. Wood, Hist., i., 203; Fox, iii., 57; Conc., iii., 302; Hus, Mon., I., cix.; II., cccLxvi.; Lewis, 92, 183, 305; Wordsworth, i., 246; Pauli, iv., 689; v., 55; Brougham, 38, 354; J. C. Robertson, vii., 310. For a copy of it in the University Library at Prague (Codex xi., E, 3), see Buddensieg, Polemical Works, I., liv. [3] Blasphemantes insultus.

Christ's religion with their wilful beggary. They certify that he was never convicted of heresy in his life; nor had his bones been burnt by any bishop now that he was dead; and "God grant," they say, "that our Bishops never may condemn a man so honest, so peerless in logic, philosophy, divinity, morality, and speculation[1] in our University!" And well they might be proud of such a name. For while the fame of Oxford, which once had rivalled Paris as the Church's second school,[2] was falling into contempt, and her halls were standing empty and unused, [3] Wycliffe[4] had set all heads a-wiggle;[5] he had cracked

[1] Cf. "In theologia et speculativa."—ANTONINUS, III., CXXVII. "This cunnyng was not speculatif as gemetrie ne other sciences."—WYCL. (A.), I., 241. "The speculation or lokinge of the devyne thought."—CHAUC. (S.), II., 130. It was reported of Wycliffe in Germany that he was so acute in puffed-up knowledge that he could prove or disprove anything.—DOLEIN, 218. Cf. Doctor in Theologia eminentissimus, in Philosophia nulli reputabatur secundus, in scolasticis disciplinis incomparabilis.—KNIGHTON, 2644. [2] MATT. PAR., V., 353, 618; MON. FRANCISC., I., LXXXI.; GERSON, II., 127; PALACKY, III., 9; CONC., III., 350; ROCK, III., 50. In GERSON, V., 640, the University of Paris is the Trumpet of Truth (buccina veritatis). It claimed to be the University not of France only, but of England, Germany, Italy, and the whole world, cum de omnibus partibus ibidem conveniant studentes.—MART., COLL., VII., 1094. It had 44 professors of theology.—MONTREUIL, 1379. In ST. DENYS, IV., 370, it is "regis filia, sapientiæ veritatisque alumpna," "that kepeth the key of Cristendome."—CHAUC. (S.), I., 249. See also RASHDALL in ENG. HIST. REV., I., 639; MILMAN, IV., 403; SCHWAB, 62. Paris was "la maistresse cité du royaume" (LA MARCHE, I., 200); "Paradysus mundi" (BURY, 239; LEROUX DE LINCY, 22, 542; HÖFLER, HUS, 93).

Cf. C'est la cité sur toutes couronnée,
Fontaine et puis de sens et de clergie,
Fille de Dieu et par lui gouvernée,
Mère de foi, marrastre d'eresie,
Le vraie estre de la theologie
A qui tuit Chrestien vont.—DESCHAMPS, I., 301; V., 51.

[3] A. WOOD, I., 202; AYLIFFE, I., 154; ROT. PARL., IV., 81. [4] KRUMMEL, 116, 169; HÖFLER, HUS, 150. For 31 different ways of spelling the name, see BUDDENSIEG, 92. He is called both "Wicliff" and "Wiclif" in BAYE, I., 91 (June, 1404); "Wyclif" in GIBBONS, LINC., 26. In HIST. MSS., 4th REPT., he signs himself "John de Wykcliffe." In TONGE'S VISITATION, 1530 (SURTEES SOC., XLI., 1863), the name is Wyclyff. The punsters called him "Wicked life" (iniqua vita).—RATISBON, 2127. [5] O Wikleff, Wikleff nejednomu ty hlawu *zwickles* an jiz mnohymi *wikle!*—PALACKY, DOC., 168; DENIS, 72; CREIGHTON,

the shell of knowledge and laid bare the nut,[1] and his name was sounding through Europe as a rallying-cry for the forces of intellectual progress against the dead-weight of a retrograde official Church.

The purpose of the letter was, doubtless, to prove that Wycliffe was no heretic, and to smite the lies that circulated of his life. For even though Archbishop Arundel himself allowed[2] that he was a great clerk, and that many men held him for a perfect liver, yet it was an axiom that "Heretics loveth lechery;"[3] and while the orthodox abroad called him a mad dog, a snake, a croaking frog, a puffed-up toad, a hell-crow, a hog in a wallow of mire, and a worse than Judas because he betrayed his Master, not for money, but for the pride of intellect,[4] here was Oxford's own testimony to the worth of "Oxford's bloom"[5] to aid his friends in Prague in view of the coming persecution. Nine years afterwards, the English envoys who confronted Hus at Constance, asserted that the letter had been falsified and not duly issued,[6] and they quoted the subsequent official testimony

I., 314; cf. PROMPT. PARV., 408, s. v. Polwygle, Waggon; P. PLO., notes, p. 210; JAMIESON, s. v. Waigle, IV., 710.

[1] NEANDER, IX., 334. [2] ENGL. GARN., VI., 64; FOX, III., 258. [3] GASC., 117. Cf. "Bougre et mauvais Chrestyen."—FROIS., VII., 84; XIV., 68. [4] DOLEIN, 190, 194, 196, 244, 295, 444. He draws a curious picture of a Catholic who has been reading Wycliffe's TRIALOGUS (or, as he calls it, the "TRADILOGUS," p. 193), and after many sighs, and tears, and wakeful nights, at length falls asleep. Wycliffe enters, rushes upon him and beats him; but the Catholic catches up a dung-fork, drives it into his brain, and kills him.—*Ibid.*, 246. [5] "Flos Oxoniæ."—EUL., III., 345. [6] Illam literam fuisse falsificatam et non debite emanasse.—PALACKY, Doc., 313. For later variations of the story, including the reported death-bed confession of Faulfiss to Sigismund of Gistebnitz (*Ibid.*, 342, called Gysteburg in HÖFLER, HUS, 178; KRUMMEL, 172), see LOSERTH, 72. But nothing at all was known of this at Constance, though Faulfiss had then been dead some time. The story of the forgery by Peter Payne [otherwise known as Peter Clark, Peter Freyng (*i.e.*, the Frenchman), or Peter Inglys (*i.e.*, the Englishman), GASCOIGNE, 186; BALE, I., 572, 578; ÆN. SYLV., 117] cannot refer to this letter, for his document is quite of a different character.—GASC., 5, 10, 20, 186, 187; PALACKY, HUSSITENTHUM, 117; J. BAKER, 127, 141, 143.

of the University, condemning Wycliffe's errors. But this was not uttered till five years later,[1] when Oxford had submitted to the Archbishop. Modern writers have generally rejected the letter as a forgery,[2] and it may have been in some way proved to be informal;[3] but there can be no doubt that its substance reflects the prevailing temper of the University at the time that it claimed to have been published. Oxford, the "Mother of the Christian Faith,"[4] which had once been a fruitful vine, putting forth her shoots to the honour of God and the protection of His Church, was now running rank and growing wild grapes, and it was speedful[5] for the very life of orthodoxy that she should be ruled with an iron hand.

Accordingly, while the Parliament was sitting at Gloucester, Archbishop Arundel summoned the Convocation of his Province to meet in the Priory Church of St. Frideswide's, at Oxford, on Nov. 28th, 1407,[6] and used the meeting as a means for aiming another blow at the hardy Lollards, who were still sowing their popple,[7] and blowing it in men's

[1] Not in 1408, as HÖFLER, HUS, 197. [2] POOLE calls it "*almost* certainly a forgery."—DE CIV. DOM., I., IX. COLLIER'S reasons (I., 624) for rejecting it are altogether inconclusive. [3] In 1411 a synod held at St. Paul's complained that letters in defence of heresy were sent to foreign kingdoms, signed with the University seal, inconsultis Doctoribus et Magistris.—CONC., III., 336; A. WOOD, HIST., I., 205; and a rule was subsequently made that no document should be sealed with the University seal, except in full Congregation in term time, or in Convocation, if it was in vacation. This order was not made till 1426, and appears to have no connection with any "snatch-victory," such as is supposed by LEWIS (186) and LYTE (280) in 1406. [4] ROT. PARL., IV., 190. [5] WYCL. (M.), 43, 61; (A.), III., 466; CHAUC. (S.), II., 107, 137. [6] Vol. III., p. 122. [7] ENG. GARN., VI., 103; CATHOL., s. v. "Popylle"; JAMIESON, III., 527. For this definition, see Vol. I., pp. 175, 302; GOWER, CONF., 239; CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR. HENR., 113; ELMHAM, LIB. METR., 156; HIST. MON. AUG., 209; KNIGHTON, 2634; POL. SONGS, I., 232; PURVEY, PROL., 33; SHARPE, LONDON, 249; DESCHAMPS, VI., 281; HÖFLER, RUPR., 394.

Cf. Nor no darnel growe ne multeplye,
Nor no fals cokkyl be medlyd with good corn.—LYDGATE, 149.

ear,[1] in spite of stake and statute. For this purpose the Convocation became a Synod or Provincial Council,[2] at which the Archbishop produced a series of 13 "Constitutions,"[3] which were to be binding on all clerks within the Province of Canterbury.[4] It was hereby ordered that no one might preach either in Latin or English in a church or churchyard,[5] without special authority from the bishop of the diocese in which it stood.[6] No speculations were allowed on the subject of the Mass, Marriage, Confession, or any Sacrament or Article of Faith. Teachers in Arts or Grammar were not to let their boys or scholars discuss theology, or expound texts of Scripture, "except as they had been expounded of old"; no tract or treatise written either by Wycliffe, or any of his contemporaries, or since his time, was to circulate in schools, halls, hostels or elsewhere, unless sanctioned by 12 Doctors and Masters,[7] to be appointed by each of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. If it passed this censure, the book might be handed to the stationers[8] to be copied, and then sold at a fair price; but

In the COMPLAINT OF THE PLOUGHMAN (circ. 1392), Lollard means vagabond or tramp, "ycleped lollers and londlesse."—POL. SONGS, I., 305. Cf. "Now am I (*i.e.*, Tutivillus) master Lollar."—TOWNELEY, 310; P. PLO., VI., 2, 4, 31; X., 213; VAUGHAN, II., 411; KNIGHT, I., 141.

[1] GOWER, CONF., 238; cf. Vol. III., p. 205, note 1. [2] WAKE, 346. A reference to CONC., III., 314, 315, 318, 320, 330, will show that these are identical terms. Cf. STUBBS, III., 321; HEFELE, VI., 984. [3] Cf. Vol. II., p. 159; WYCL. (M.), 89, 221; (A.), III., 460. [4] CONC., III., 315-319, 320; LABBE, XI., II., 2089-3002; HARDOUIN, VII., 1936-1948; LYNDWOOD, APP., 64-68; SPELMAN, II., 662-668; GIBSON, I., 333-336; FOX, III., 242; COLLIER, I., 625; AYLIFFE, II., APP., LXXVII.; GASC., 34, 61, 180, 181; COOPER, ANN., I., 152; LEWIS, 105; VAUGHAN (II., 358), seems to date them in 1401, but in MONOGRAPH, 490, he gives 1408; so also ROGERS (GASC., LXXI.); LYNDWOOD, Bk. V.; FOX, III., 239, 822. [5] WYCL. (M.), 69. [6] Cf. "Who zaf thee leeve to preche? y suspende thee withouten my leeve to preche in my diocese."—WYCL. (A.), II., 172. [7] CONC., III., 350; COLLIER, I., 630. [8] ROT. PARL., III., 326; MUN. ACAD., 174, 234, 253, 346; PROMPT. PARV., 471; FULLER, UNIV. CAMB., 39; WATTENBACH, 472; KIRCHOFF, 133, 136; LACROIX, 22-28.

the original must be kept locked in one of the University chests for ever. No one should henceforth translate[1] the whole or any portion[2] of the Scriptures into English, or read such translation until an authorized version should be made by a Provincial Council. Disputations about the Worship of the Cross, Adoration of Saints and Images, Oaths, Pilgrimages, Relics, and so forth, were henceforward forbidden; and every Warden or Provost of a college, or Principal of any hall, hostel,[3] inn or entry[4] at Oxford, must hold an inquiry once a month, to see whether any scholar in residence, bachelor, master or doctor, had broken any of the above rules:—with power to suspend the offender and put "a Catholic" in his place. If any Heads should prove recalcitrant, and refuse to act, they would be put out, and others put in to do the work for them:—the penalty being loss of prospect of benefice or preferment; and, in case of obstinate refusal, the burning death. For a whole year the Constitutions remained inoperative; but they were finally promulgated in a Convocation which met in St. Paul's, on Jan. 14th, 1409;[5] and, on April 13th[6] following, copies of them were forwarded to the bishops, to be published in every diocese in England, before the coming Midsummer Day.

[1] This was the age of translations.—Vol. II., p. 34, note 3. In France the Duke of Orleans had employed Friar Jean de Chambli, Master Nicolas Vales, and 7 others at Rouen, Poissy, and Orleans, to translate the Bible from Latin into French. The work was ordered in 1398, but was still unfinished at the Duke's death, Nov. 23rd, 1407. On Jan. 6th, 1409, each of the translators received 20 crowns.—LABORDE, III., 244; DELISLE, I., 101. [2] MYROURE, 3, 71. [3] LEVER, 121. [4] "Introitus"; cf. "St. Marie Entra" in Cat Street.—ORIG. LET., II., I., 8; PROMPT. PARV., 140. "Seynt Mary Entre" in School Street.—MUN. ACAD., 675, 676; BOASE, 72. "Le Longe Entrye."—WILLIS AND CLARK, I., 244; SHARPE, II., 29. "Nevile's Entry."—LYTE, 308. "In the entree or in the celere."—CHAUC. (S.), II., 28. [5] CONC. III., 314; HEFELE, VI., 984; not 1408, as MOULTON, 32; EDGAR, 8. [6] CONC., III., 320.

At first there was an attempt to apply the new rules to suppress lewd limiters,[1] and vicious friars;[2] but, on Mar. 10th, 1410,[3] the Archbishop issued an express order that the preacher-beggars[4] were not to be disturbed. They might come and go just as they had been used. The real object of attack was the "new teaching"[5] of Wycliffe's "poor priests,"[6] who never bound themselves, like a tie-dog,[7] to one place, but roamed from town to town, or even far across the border into Scotland,[8] in threadbare bluett or russet gowns,[9] with tippets bound about their heads, casting the gospel pearls to be trodden by swine,[10] and helping men heavenward[11] by telling them that bishops' courts were dens of thieves and larders of hell, that penitencers[12] and confessors were idolatrous leprous

[1] EUL., III., 412; WYCL. (A.), III., 376; LAT. SERM., III., 320; P PLO., X., 154; XXIII., 346. For the limiter who begged within a "limitation" (WYCL., A., II., 182), see LITTLE, 91; CHAUC., PROL., 209; WIF OF BATH, 6448; FRERE, 6847; A. W. WARD, 36; BESANT, 123; WYCLIFFE (A., III., 384), calculates that "thei robben the kyng's lege men by fals beggynge of 60000 mark by zeere as men doubten resonably." Cf. "Wifis geven here husbondis goodis to stronge beggeris and othere curleris to geten hem swete morselis."—WYCL. (A.), 199. "Thei don to gete goodus of hem as corn, monce, chese or somewhat that nedith hem more then the freris."—WYCL. (M.), 304, 443. "And yet these bilderes wiln beggen a bag ful of whete of a hure poor mon that may onethe paye half his rent in a year and be half time behynde."—P. PLO. CREDE, in LEWIS, 310. "Thei (the disciples), snokiden not fro hous to hous, and beggiden mete as freris doon."—WYCL. (A.), II., 83. [2] Ut fertur, mulierculas ducunt per patrias in forma fratrum.—WYCL., DE BLASPH., 213, 236; DE APOST., 25, 32; LAT. SERM., II., pp. XIII., XIV., 129; (M.), 12, 68. [3] CONC., III., 324; not a "statute," as EUL., III., 417; STUBBS, III., 63. [4] WYCL. (M.), 443. [5] CONC., III., 318; WYCL. (M.), 27. [6] WYCL. (M.), 27, 29, 34, 69, 70, 79, 85, 88, 92, 103, 104, 175, 211, 229, 237, 245, 255, 276, 448; WYCL. (A.), I., 175; II., 411; III., 231, 272, 287, 293, 332, 341, 391, 495; LAT. SERM., I., XIX., 289; LECHLER, I., 305; BUDDENSIEG, 169; JUSSERAND, 280; A. W. WARD, 16, 37; WRONG, 40. [7] WYCL. (M.), 252. Cf. "bandogge."—POLLARD, MIRACLES, 129. [8] For the case of James Resby celeberrimus prædicatione, who was burnt at Perth in 1407, see SCOTICHRON., II., 441; EDGAR, 48; LAING, 103; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 301. [9] ENG. GARN., VI., 89, 103; MURIMUTH, 222; HÖFLER, ANNA, 21. [10] KNIGHT, 2644. [11] WYCL. (M.), 251. [12] WYCL. (A.), III., 329.

simoniacal heretics,[1] that friars were tattered clouts[2] and rotten botches,[3] that the clergy were blind moles rooting about for earthly muck,[4] and that whatever they took of the people,[5] be it tithe,[6] or offering,[7] or any other duty or service, they ought not to have thereof more than food and hilling,[8]

[1] WYCL., DE BLASPH., 144. [2] WYCL. (A.), I., 400; III., 353. [3] For postum or "boch," see CHAUC. (S.), II., 59. For "boces," see DESCHAMPS, VIII., 271, 291. [4] WYCL. (A.), I., 375; III., 315, 478, 485. Thei taken the ordre of presthod to seie massis for money.—WYCL. (M.), 116. Thei seyn more the masse for love of the peny than for devocion or charite to Criste.—*Ibid.*, 167. Prestes crien her masse for money.—*Ibid.*, (A.), III., 286. Preestis taken her ordris for devocioun to tene mark.—WYCL. (A.), I., 291. Thei wil not dwelle with hem in honeste place to cumpayne and seie here messe, but goo where thei may most gete for here song.—*Ibid.*, III., 287. [5] PURVEY, REM., 153. "Whatever thou haldest to the of tythis and offryngis over symple liflode and streit clothing it is not thin, it is thefte, raveyne and sacrelegie."—WYCL. (M.), 116, 132, 149, quoting ST. BERNARD. "Al that thei han ouer here owen symple liflode is pore mannus good as goddis lawe and mannus techen opynly."—*Ibid.*, 139. [6] For tithes (or dymes), and offerings, see WYCL. (M.), 118, 119, 151, 152, 157, 160, 186, 196, 214, 222, 229, 233, 236, 249, 252, 284, 285, 367, 392, 415, 418, 422, 430, 435, 455; WYCL. (A.), I., 147, 166, 199, 311, 398; III., 150, 258. Cf. The puple shulde not be artid to zyve hem dymes ne other almes.—*Ibid.*, III., 360. Shulde not be axed by strengthe or violence or cursinge, but be zoven frely withouten exaccion or constreynynge.—*Ibid.*, 517. [7] In 1412, one year's offerings at Hythe yielded £1 14s. 7½d.—ARCHÆOL., CANT., X., 342. For "perquisitings," see WYCL. (M.), 393. "Many coveitouse prestis axen gredely money for thes doyngis or ellis thei schullen not be cristened ne oyntid ne biried withouten mortuarie."—WYCL. (A.), III., 285. "No man schal be weddid but zif he paie sixe pens on the bok and a ryng for his wif, and sumtyme a peny for the clerk, and covenaunt makyng what he schal paie for a morewe masse."—*Ibid.*, 284. In 1381, the fee for a baptism in London was not to exceed 3s. 4d., and for a wedding 6s. 8d.; no mass for the dead must exceed ¼d.—SHARPE, LONDON, I., 222; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 123, 154. [8] WYCL. (M.), 248, 410, 412, 413, 423, 432, 436, 440, 445, 450, 456; *Ibid.* (A.), I., 37, 200, 203, 247, 283, 384; II., 3, 129; III., 126, 151, 176, 396, 427, 473, 518; LAT. SERM., II., XI., XVI., 40; IV., 110; APOLOGY, 42, 43, 76; GERSON, II., 441; SCHWAB, 463; GOWER, CONF., 37; P. PLO., II., 23; XVII., 236. For "liflode and coverynge," see WYCL. (M.), 131, 387. "Housing and clothing."—*Ibid.* (A.), III., 347. Cf. "Clothes to wryen him and his mete."—CHAUC. (S.), I., 243. "Vivre et vesture."—PASTORALET, II., 645.

but to depart[1] the residue with the poor men and women of the parish of whom they take their temporal living.

When the new Constitutions were published, some of the faculties refused to nominate the required censors,[2] and when at length four Doctors, four Bachelors, and four Students in Theology[3] were appointed, the progress was but slow, as they urged that, if they acted in haste, the good corn might be pulled up with the tares. All Wycliffe's books were probed, and 267 passages[4] were picked out for condemnation. They found that he had called the Pope the Head Vicar of the Fiend,[5] the Anti-Christ,[6] the Abomination of Discomfort,[7] a rotten postum in the Devil's nest,[8] and a sinful idiot, who might become a damned devil in hell;[9] the cardinals he called carnal sodomites, and incarnate devils,[10] and the religion of the four sects (*i.e.*, clerks, monks, canons, and friars) a religion of muck.[11] They proved

[1] WYCL. (M.), 14, 82, 161, 316; *Ibid.* (A.), II., 304; III., 45; P. PLO., XII., 65; XVI., 116; XVII., 257; XVIII., 68; GOWER, CONF., 139, 224, 237, 347, 395. For a departer (=divisor), see WYCL. (M.), 371; (A.), II., 190.

Cf. Et departir pour Dieu du sien
Aux povres.—DESCHAMPS, VIII., 150.

[2] LYTE, 282, quoting FAUSTINA, C., VII., f. 135. [3] STATE TRIALS, I., 22; FOX, III., 321; A. WOOD, HIST., I., 206; HARDT, IV., 328; HARL. MISCELL., II., 256; LENFANT, CONSTANCE, I., 228; LEWIS, 387, who dates it 1396. The list given in CONC., III., 172, seems clearly out of place in 1382.—LYTE, 283. [4] Called 260 by the English envoys at Constance.—PALACKY, DOC., 313; HÖFLER, GESCHICHTSCHREIBER, I., 279. [5] WYCL. (A.), II., 281. [6] PASTOR, I., 125; LECHLER, II., 139; CREIGHTON, I., 106, 108; BUDDENSIEG, 162; POLEM. WORKS, I., XXI.; CHRISTOPHE, II., 451. [7] PURVEY, PROL., 32; REMONSTR., 60; MATT., XXIV., 15. [8] CONC., III., 348. Apostema, putredinem in nido isto diabolico congregatam.—WYCL., LAT. SERM., I., 138. [9] WYCL. (M.), 48. [10] APOLOGY, 55; WYCL., DIALOGUS, 22. [11] Merdosam religionem.—WYCL., LAT. SERM., I., 138. For "worldly muck," "stinking drit of wordly goods," "roten muk of this world," &c., see page 430, note 4; WYCL. (M.), 5, 10, 15, 17, 20, 97, 133, 147, 150, 166, 247, 253; LAT. SERM., II., 109; III., 17, 208; "stercora."—WYCL., DE CIV. DOM., 158; GOWER, CONF., 275; LEWIS, 29; VAUGHAN, TRACTS, 254.

Cf. In mukke is alle this worldes frendlyhede.—HOCCL., DE REG., 35.
Renne and desiren after mukke so sore.—*Ibid.*, 41.
Onely for mukke thow lernest soules cure.—*Ibid.*, 51.
And of this worldés muk be fulle unglade.—*Ibid.*, 146.
For that the love of muk sitte so nye the.—*Ibid.*, 163, 188, &c.

that he had denounced ear-rowning,[1] or confession, as a wooing-time;[2] had attacked endowments, patronage, and a paid clergy; had called upon all to withhold tithes, alms, and offerings from unworthy priests, and to laugh their curses to scorn; that he had urged that there were only two orders in the Church, the deacon and the priest, and that Bishops only hold their posts by gabbing and faking;[3] that the prayer of the religious can reach Heaven more freely in the open air than in a cloister;[4] that he prayeth best who liveth best;[5] that the simple Pater Noster of a ploughman that is in charity is better than a thousand Masses of covetous prelates and vain religious;[6] that the layman's prayer is better than all their crying and knacking,[7] and that he who is in most charity is best heard of God, be he shepherd or lewd-man, whether in a church or in the field;[8] that all chantries, abbeys, and parish churches should be pulled down,[9] though he admits that churches are good in rainy weather;[10] that nothing should be required by the Church to be believed except it can be proved from Holy Scripture; that indulgences and privileges are fancies, founded neither in

[1] For "rowning in the priest's ear," see PURVEY, REM., 22; ANGLIA, v., 26; WYCL. (M.), 100, 328, 336; (A.), I., 196, 224; II., 3, 87, 121, 206; P. PLO., v., 14; PROMPT. PARV., 438; CATHOL., 312; GOWER, CONF., 96, 122, 246, 249, 281; CHAUC. (S.), IV., 60; FOX, III., I, 297. [2] WYCL., DE BLASPH., 121; CONC., III., 222. Cf. "two hedes in one hood at ones."—CHAUC. (S)., I., 254. "Of hem that geten false eires of mennus wifes bi privy schryvyng and othere homly daliaunce, avyse eche man who ben siche."—WYCL. (A.), III., 304. "Thus freres and religious wymmen mai soone assente to leccherie."—*Ibid.*, 358. [3] "Fagyngis."—WYCL. (M.), 307; "gabbings."—*Ibid.*, 463; (A.), II., 105, 123. [4] WYCL., DE ECCL., 42; (A.), III., 486. [5] *Ibid.* (A.), III., 219. Werkes preien ofte betir to God than mannis preier made by mouth.—*Ibid.*, II., 303. [6] *Ibid.*, 274, 321. For the doctrine that every holy man is a priest, from CHRYSOSTOM, 40th HOMILY, see PURVEY, REM., 140; APOLOGY, 58; SCOTICHRON., II., 442; ANGLIA, v., 33. He is Petris viker alzif neither fendis ne cardinalis putten him on his throne.—WYCL. (A.), I., 241. [7] WYCL. (M.), 77, 118; (A.), III., 425. [8] *Ibid.* (M.), 238. [9] WYCL., LAT. SERM., IV., 32, 489. [10] WYCL. (A.), I., 234.

Scripture nor reason; that Bulls and charters can make no man just and able, unless he have the law of charity within; that the Church should be left to its original liberty, and that Masses, prayers, Hours, and such-like blabbering with the lips should cease;[1] that confirmation[2] of children, ordination of priests, and consecration of places are a hindrance to the Church; and that the walls of every building which a Bishop had been paid to consecrate, are stricken with a leprosy. They marked his statements that God is everything, and everything is God; that two bodies cannot fill the same space; that time past, present, and to come, is made up of immediate (*i.e.*, continuous) parts;[3] that God can annihilate nothing; that He cannot enlarge or diminish the universe; that He can create souls up to a certain number and no more; and much else to vex soft ears,[4] though it is, of course, to be remembered that these extracts are culled from a vast mass of heated polemics, and, if presented with their context, might be open to many varieties of explanation.

But even the censors were not all of one mind; and we know that at least two of them stood out against pronouncing at all,[5] and when their decision was out, they found that it carried no sort of weight.[6] The very cooks who sod the students' pottage made good their claim to read the Bible in Wycliffe's English,[7] and many of the younger Masters lampooned the censors with scurrilous rhymes,[8] refused to submit

[1] KNIGHTON, 2658. [2] Elizabeth Mortimer, wife of Hotspur, was baptized and confirmed by the Bishop of Hereford when she was only four days old, also her brother Roger.—MONAST., VI., 354. [3] These were considered as errors of philosophy.—CONC., III., 346. [4] BALE, 556. [5] CONC., III., 323. [6] Apud plurimos nostra satis parva censeatur auctoritas.—CONC., III., 339; repeating verbatim the words used in 1382.—*Ibid.*, 171. [7] PALACKY, Doc., 721, 729; WYCL., DE ECCL., XVIII.; KRUMMEL, 129. [8] LYTE, 188, from FAUSTINA, C., VII., 160 b.

to the new rules, and appealed to the Congregation of the University against them.[1]

At the head of these incorrigibles was one of the censors themselves, Master Richard Fleming, an elegant young Yorkshire[2] graduate of the Muckle Hall,[3] who had just served as Northern Proctor, and had a fair copy made of the Proctor's Book,[4] on which much of our present knowledge of mediæval Oxford is based. He was at this time a student in Theology, having lately determined in Arts, chartering "the school with the bench in the middle"[5] from Exeter College for the purpose. He lived to become afterwards Bishop of Lincoln,[6] and to found a collegeling of divines[7] at Oxford to help to baffle heresy,[8] and it was by his order that Wycliffe's bones were finally dug up and desecrated.[9] Four other names of young Masters of Arts, or, as Arundel preferred to call them, "Learners of Error,"[10] stand out as maintaining and

[1] A. WOOD, HIST., I., 206. [2] GASC., 179, 183; BALE, 575; A. CLARK, 171; GODWIN, I., 297. Formâ speciosus.—A. WOOD, II., 159. He came from Wath, near Ripon.—TEST. EBOR., II., 230; not Croston, as A. WOOD, II., 159. For the connection of his family with Croston in Lancashire, see BAINES, II., 115; FOSTER, VISITATIONS, 358. [3] Now University College.—MUN. ACAD., 509, 518, 720. See p. 409, note 7. [4] MUN. ACAD., 237, 253, where he calls himself Canon of York Cathedral. He had succeeded Langley in the prebend of South Newbald, Aug. 22nd, 1406.—LE NEVE, III., 205; A. WOOD, II., 402. For the Proctor's book of the natio Anglicana (1333-1406), the oldest extant of the University of Paris, see DENIFLE, PROCT., I., XII. [5] For payment (6s. 8d.) in 1408, a M. Ricardo Flymyng in finalem solutionem pencionis scolarum ubi scamnum situatur in medio, see BOASE, EXON., pp. IX., 14, 176, 177. For bench on the seal of St. Andrews University, see LANG, 64. [6] For his banquet, see TWO COOKERY BOOKS, 60. For his tomb on the north side of the Angel Choir at Lincoln, see BLOXAM, 184. [7] Collegiolum quoddam theologorum.—WILLIS AND CLARK, I., LIV.; LYTE, 344; A. CLARK, 172. [8] BOASE, 95. [9] LYNDEWODE, 284. For Wycliffe's excommunication after death by Archbishop Arundel, see LEL., COLL., II., 409, quoting THOMAS GASCOIGNE on authority of John Horn (b. 1361), parish priest of Lutterworth; see also QUARTERLY REV., Apr., 1889, and JAMES' APOLOGY FOR JOHN WYCKLIFFE. [10] "Errorum discipuli."—CONC., III., 323. Cf. "As ben clepid maistris of diuynyte but

defending the condemned opinions in the Oxford schools, viz., John Luke,[1] of Merton Hall (another of the censors who had been a Proctor in 1396),[2] John Keyby,[3] Roland Bevys,[4] and Robert Burton. The Archbishop[5] stormed against them as beardless, blabbering boys, who thrust their faces into heaven, wanting to read before they could spell, and to fly before they could crawl. He would show them that he was no Arundel shaken with the wind.[6] He was not going to turn Jerusalem into an applegarth.[7] They ought to be swapped[8] with rod[9] and palmer,[10] and if they did not give in in 10 days, he would cite them before him after Hilary, and they should answer in person for their disobedience and contempt.

verreily maistris of errour."—WYCL. (M.), 50; "mastris of lesyngis." —*Ibid.*, 302, translating magistri mendaces in 2 PETER, II., 1. For "scholars," see WYCL. (A.), II., 164; III., 135, 231; CHAUC. (S.), I., 237; "studiers," WYCL. (M.), 380; "disciples," *ibid.*, 319.

[1] For list of his writings, see BALE, 555. He was a Bachelor in Theology.—CONC., III., 172; BRODRICK, MERTON, 223. For his canonries at Salisbury, see JONES, 376, 395, 418; SARUM STATUTES (1428), p. 92. In 1458, Master Richard Luke is Principal of Burnell Inn. He was Proctor in 1452.—MUN. ACAD., 677, 734. [2] A. WOOD, II., 401. [3] Or Kerby.—*Ibid.*, I., 207. [4] Or Byrysius.—*Ibid.*, I., 207. [5] BALE (542) calls him the "Archantichrist of Canterbury." From the other point of view he is a "wall of defence."—HIST. MSS. COM., 9th REPT. (1883), III. [6] Arundinem flamine agitatam (not flammis, as CONC., III., 322), punning on his own name. For other specimens of his rhetoric, see Vol. I., 107; also his letter to the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, dated Jan. 10th, 1400, in HIST. MSS., 9th REPT., 1883, p. 111. [7] CATHOL., s. v. "In pomorum custodiam," a variant reading in PS. LXXVIII., 1, where the LXX. has *ὀπωροφυλακίον*. Cf. "Thei putte Jerusalem into the keping of applis."—WYCLIFFE. "Swe, swe eappultun gehaeld." —VESPASIAN PSALTER. "Jerusalem set tha In yheminge of apples ma." —METRICAL VERSION temp. Ed. II.; SURTEES SOC., XVI., 264, 265; SWEET, OLDEST ENGLISH TEXTS, 301. "Jerusalem as appillis lay in heep."—JAMIESON, I., 54. "Suffrede not Goddis vynezerde passe to a wortzerd."—WYCL. (A.), I., 331. For "le close called Appulyerde," see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 71; GOWER, CONF., 186. [8] PROMPT. PARV., 482; CHAUC., CLERKE, 8462; SECOND NUN, 15834; CHAUC. (S.), II., 310. For "bewhapped," see GOWER, CONF., 314, 433, 444. [9] *Ibid.*, 391. [10] PROMPT. PARV., 387; CATHOL., 267; HIGDEN, VIII., 221; MULLINGER, I., 345; PHILOBIBL., p. 207.

But it was no easy matter to entrap an Oxford clerk-of-school.[1] The logical acuteness for which his university was renowned[2] would always stand him in good stead. He could draw nice distinctions, sub-distinctions,[3] and semi-distinctions,[4] between words and the things signified by words,[5] which would puzzle any court and incline all wavering judges towards clemency. With a lay heretic the chances were all the other way. The bluntness of direct conviction[6] made little stand against the skill and school-matter of great-lettered clerks;[7] the net was swiftly drawn and the victim hurried to the flames.

In the afternoon of Saturday, March 1st, 1410,[8] an adjourned meeting of the Southern Convocation was held in a hall in the outer precinct of the Black Friars House,[9] between Ludgate and the Thames. St. Paul's Cathedral had been polluted on the previous Wednesday by bloodshed in one of the frequent brawls of those desecrating days.[10] The sittings of the Convocation had therefore been transferred to the Black Friars, until the blood-stain had been purged away. The Parliament had not yet risen for Easter,[11] and London was thronged with notables, who flocked to the Friary to watch the curious proceedings. Archbishops Arundel and Bowet were there, as well as Bishops Clifford, Beaufort, Stafford, Hallum, Tottington, Bubwith, Chichele, and Nichole. Beside them

[1] PURVEY, PROL., 30, 49, 155; WYCL. (M.), 276. [2] MUN. ACAD., 241, 246. Quæ quondam inextricabilia atque dubia toti mundo declarare consuesti.—WALS., I., 345. "Siche doutes we shulden sende to the scole of Oxenforde."—WYCL. (A.), I., 93. [3] For sub-distinctions, corollaries, incidents, &c., see MART., ANEC., II., 1468. [4] MONTREUIL, 1385. [5] PURVEY, PROL., 52, from LYRA. [6] For "kynde-witte" *v.* "clergie," see P. PLO., XV., 43. [7] ENGL. GARN., VI., 108; P. PLO., X., 326; XII., 236; cf. viris magnæ litteraturæ —MART., ANEC., II., 1494. [8] CONC., III., 325; FOX, III., 235; not 1409, as MILMAN, V., 528; VAUGHAN, MONOGRAPH, 494. [9] BESANT, 97, 148. [10] Vol. II., p. 162. [11] Vol. III., p. 303.

sat the Duke of York, the Chancellor (Thomas Beaufort), Lord de Roos, the Clerk of the Rolls, and other spiritual and temporal lords in plenteous multitude,[1] all gathered to hear the examination of an obscure craftsman charged with heresy.

The accused was John Badby of Evesham,[2] a shearman,[3] or tailor, of whose previous life or habits not the slightest fact is now known.[4] He had publicly said that the priest's words could not change bread into the Body of Christ; that he would never believe that a priest had more power to do so than any jack-raker[5] in Bristol; and that when Jesus ate His Last Supper with His disciples, it could not have been His own body that He took in His hands and broke. For this he had been put up before the Bishop of Worcester, on Jan. 2nd, 1409;[6] but he was allowed the usual year's[7] grace for reflection, and no instant steps had been taken to have him burned. Now, after 14 months' imprisonment, he was brought before the Convocation in London, to secure his submission, if possible. The details of his examination at Worcester were read over in English; and Archbishop Arundel repeatedly instructed, informed, and exhorted him as to the true teaching of the Church, offering to

[1] WYCL. (A.), I., 12. [2] RYM., VIII., 627; CHRON. GILES, 60; not of London, as FAB., 386; not Bradby, as BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 168. [3] CONC., III., 325. Quidam laicus arte faber.—WALS., II., 282; OTT., 267; sutor vestiarius.—PARKER, 275; not a "smith," as CAPGR., CHRON., 297; COLLIER, I., 629; PAULI, V., 80. In BROUGHAM, 41, he is called "John Bradbie, a blacksmith." [4] In DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 13, pp. 73 a, 162 b, 169 a, Friar William Baddeby is confessor to John of Gaunt, July 4th, 46 Ed. III. [5] HALLIWELL, DICT., II., 665. Not "John Bates," as MILMAN, V., 528.

> He said a preestes power was as smalle
> As a rakyer's, or such another wight,
> And to make it hadde no gretter myght.
> —HOCCL., DE REG., II.

[6] ENGL. GARN., VI., 56; Vol. II., p. 238, note 5. [7] Antequam condemnetur ut hæreticus, expectatur per annum.—BONIFACE FERRER (1411) in MART., ANEC., II., 1483.

put[1] his own soul for him at the Judgment Day, if he would only recant. He answered that the bread remains after consecration as it was before, though it is then the emblem of the living God. To believe that it was made God each time would be to deny the Incarnation. If every time the host was consecrated on the altar it became the Lord's Body, then there would be 20,000 gods in England at this day; whereas he believed in One God Almighty, and he knew that the Archbishop himself believed the same. He believed, too, that a jack-raker would have as much power as any priest if he were of good life, and loved God perfectly. As to the Last Supper, he asked how could you have one loaf, and break it, and give a bit to the disciples, and still the same loaf remain whole. Asked what he would have said if he had been present at the Supper, and heard Christ say: "This is My Body," he told them plat[2] that he should say Christ spoke amiss.[3] Again and again they begged him to recant; but he would not retract one word; so they locked him up in a room in the monastery till the Wednesday following, the Archbishop taking possession of the key.

On Wednesday, March 5th, the Convocation was held at St. Paul's, and there was an even larger gathering than before. Badby was brought in; but to all arguments, reasons, and prayers, he only answered that while life was in him he

[1] WYCL. (A.), II., 254, 319, 397; III., 81, 141, 363. "And for the leste of hem alle answere at domes day."—*Ibid.*, III., 289. [2] GOWER, CONF., 123, 391, 409; CHAUC., KNIGHT, 1847; MAN OF LAW, 5306; MONK, 14675; (S.), I., 165, 256; II., 174, 207, 268, 271, 332; HALLIWELL, s. v. "platly," II., 630. Cf. Que mort ne face mourir plat.—DESCHAMPS, VIII., 309. [3] EUL., III., 417; CHAUCER (S.), I., 351, 377; II., 183, 221, 276; IV., 9; WYCL. (M.), 281, 297, 352, 388, 461, 474; (A.), I., 11, 23, 36, 56, 73, 117; GOWER, CONF., 77, 81, 93, 103, 109, 123, 143, 145, 147, 156, 167, 172, 174, 215, 228, 253, 289, 301, 317, 335, 370, 373; LYDGATE, TEMPLE OF GLAS, 37, 63, 66, 67; HOCCLEVE, in URRY'S CHAUCER, 535; COV. MYST., 163.

would not retract.[1] Pointing to the Duke of York, who was present in the church, he said that he or any other living man was worth more than the sacramental bread, however consecrated by any priest. As he spoke, a spider crossed his face,[2] and he cried out promptly that the bread was worth less than even a spider or a toad, for they, at least, had life, but the bread was only dead matter.[3] Then his judges gave him up for lost. They saw who taught him now. The poison of asps was on his lips, and the grace of the Holy Spirit was not in him. The Archbishop pronounced him a heretic, and delivered him to the secular arm, with an urgent prayer to the Chancellor and the members of the Council that he might be spared the sting of death.[4] But the prayer fell on deaf ears. A warrant to the sheriff was immediately drawn up,[5] and the martyr was taken to Smithfield that very afternoon. The stake, the chain, and the faggots were all placed, and the victim was about to stand in the tun, when the Prince of Wales, who was present at the sight,[6] stepped up to him, and urged him warmly to recant.[7] But Badby's heart was staunch. For bonchief or

[1] For proceedings at a recantation, the sermon, the stool, the ravening wolf, &c., in presence of mayor, bishop, sheriffs, and notaries, see CONC., III., 282. [2] CONC., III., 327; EUL., III., 417; WALS., II., 282. TYLER (II., 342) considers the spider incident "an absurd statement." [3] Cf. Wycliffe's declaration that it would be worth less than rats' bread, or asses' bread (CH. QUART. REV., XIX., 63; BROUGHAM, 359), or than a log.—WYCL., LAT. SERM., III., 286; DE APOSTAS., 172, 205, 206. He calls the spider animal ex putredine procreatum, multipes, venenosum, quod ex interioribus suis orditur telas, &c.--WYCL., DE CIV. DOM., 183. [4] STUBBS (III., 361) thinks this was a "piece of mockery." [5] RYM., VIII., 627.

[6] My Lord the Prince (God him save and blesse !)
Was at his dedely castigacioune.
—HOCCL., DE REG., 12; MORLEY, VI., 125.

[7] Or any stikke kindelede were or light,
The sacrament our blissed Saviour
He (the Prince) lete fette this wrecche to converte.
—HOCCL., DE REG., 12.

mischief,[1] he thrust back all appeals, and "stood stiff[2] to the truth of Christ."

They tied him to the stake, halsed[3] his throat with the iron hoop,[4] slipped the barrel over him, and lit the faggots; and, as the blistering fire swept about him, he "cried horribly" for pain,[5] and his agony was heard amidst the crackling of the flames. The Prince was horror-struck. He had the hot billets brushed aside, and Badby was lifted from the tun. The Prior of St. Bartholomew's[6] was ready with the Host, backed with 12 lighted candles, while Dean Courtenay and some Bishops pressed round for his expected surrender. As he lay half-dead, the Prince bent over him, promised him life and pardon, and a maintenance of 3d. per day,[7] if he would yet recant; but, as sense returned, he stubbornly refused. They chained him again to the stake, restacked and relit the wood, and Prince, Bishops, and people, stood and watched him die.[8]

The chroniclers who report the horrid scene have no words too hard for the cursed shrew, the lecherous lurdan,[9] and false losel,[10] who spurned so great a Prince's favours. They doubt not that he was hardened[11] by an evil spirit that he

[1] ENGL. GARN., VI., 58; HIGDEN, I., 87; IV., 387; HOCCL., DE REG., 2; GOWER, CONF., 227. [2] ENGL. GARN., VI., 108; CHAUC. (BELL), VIII., 191; P. PLO., XI., 35; WYCL. (M.), 71, 119, 270, 296, 349; (A.), I., 97, 286, 322, 412; II., 178; III., 361, 429. [3] For "hals," see CHAUC. (S.), IV., 12, 89; MAN OF LAW, 4493; POLLARD, MIRACLES, 69; HALLIWELL, I., 430. [4] For the "haterel," see FROIS., XIV., 70; HALLIWELL, s. v.; I., 437. [5] CAPGR., 297; GOWER, CONF., 155. [6] CHRON., LOND., 92; FOX, III., 238.

[7] And sufficient livelode eke shulde he have
Unto that day he dadde were in his grave.
—HOCCL., DE REG., 12.

[8] Convict and brent was unto ashen drye.—*Ibid.* [9] Perditus nebulo.—WALS., II., 282. Ardelio.—EUL., III., 417; WYCL. (M.), 191, 192; P. PLO., VI., 163; XIX., 48; XXIII., 189; POLLARD, MIRACLES, 5, 108. [10] COV. MYST., 81, where Cain calls Abel a "stinking Losel;" MONAST., VI., 1540; POLLARD, MIR., 107, 108. [11] Ignem audacter ingrediuntur.—NIEM, CONTR. WICL., 193,

might die in his sin, and burn in everlasting fire. And even the kindly Hoccleve, though he has a word of lofty pity for the surquedry[1] of "the wretch who mused further than his wit could stretch," and "would not blin[2] of the stinking error he was in," yet reserves all his praise for the Prince whose "great tenderness thirsted sore for his salvation."[3] Certain it is that no one wanted Badby to die; but, having set their hands to the hateful work, they durst not look back without disaster to their cause. Many of the knights in Parliament were petitioning that the statute against heretics should be modified or repealed;[4] the University of Oxford was in revolt, and plans were out for confiscating the Church's property. Appealers, summoners, and spies had been at work[5] for the last nine years, and men and women had been published, examined and imprisoned for Lollardry;[6] but no one since Sawtre had stood the death, and the sight of another martyrdom might quicken the threatening storm. But the Commons were submissive;[7] the Londoners looked on in apathy; and five days after Badby's burning, the Statute of Heretics was re-enacted and confirmed.[8]

[1] GOWER, CONF., 74. Cf. "outrecuidance."—HOCCL., DE REG., 13. [2] POLLARD, MIRACLES, 8, 12, 73, 75; PROMPT. PARV., 40. [3] HOCCL., DE REG., 7; PAULI, V., 81; MORLEY, VI., 125. [4] Vol. III., p. 309. [5] ENGL. GARN., VI., 57, 99; WORDSWORTH, I., 245, 273. [6] For the priest William Thorpe at Shrewsbury and Saltwood (1407), see Vol. I., p. 302; FOX, III., 249, 285; STATE TRIALS, I., 1-21; ENGL. GARN., VI., 43-118; WORDSWORTH, I., 263-350; CONC., III., 739; BALE, 538; GESTA HENRICI V., p. 3. For account of Saltwood, see ANTIQUARY, Sep., 1885, p. 125. On April 28th, 1407, Commissioners had been appointed for towns to hear by juries cases of men or women preaching or publishing anything against the Catholic Faith, and the possessions of the Church, contrary to the statute passed in the last Parliament (? 1406.—ROT. PARL., III., 583), to be imprisoned, and to give bail till the next Parliament.—PAT., 8 H. IV., 2, 20 d; R. L. POOLE, WYCLIFFE AND MOVEMENTS OF REFORM, EPOCHS OF CHURCH HISTORY; RYM., IX., 61. See also RICART, 73; T. SMITH, 417; COV. MYST., 376. [7] RAPIN (III., 408), thinks that they regarded Badby's death as an insult. [8] CONC., III., 328.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

ARUNDEL'S VISITATION.

BUT nothing could be done by catching skinners, bakers, and weavers in the Vintry,[1] or burning a tailor in Smithfield, so long as the "Fountain of Clergy"[2] was tainted at the source. Archbishop Arundel therefore resolved upon a visitation to enforce discipline in Oxford itself.[3] But there were difficulties in his way. The University of Oxford, though locally in the diocese of Lincoln, had obtained a bull from Boniface IX. in 1395,[4] rendering it independent of the jurisdiction of any Bishop or Archbishop in England, and subject only to the King in civil matters, and in matters spiritual to the Court of Rome.[5] The claim was called in question in the following year,[6] and the Chancellor of the University was warned that the King would refuse to acknowledge its validity. He had even renounced his own right of control, and vested the whole authority over the University in the Archbishop. Cambridge,

[1] GREG. CHRON., 106; SHORT CHRON., 55. [2] ROT. PARL., III., 459. [3] CHRON. GILES, 58. For expenses in connection with his visitation to Bicester Priory, 1412, see BLOMFIELD, II., 168, 171. [4] CONC., III., 329; MUN. ACAD., 78; AYLIFFE, APP., XII.; A. WOOD, HIST., I., 146; CH. QUART. REV., XXIII., 448; GRIFFITHS, IX.; LYTE, 292, where it is wrongly assigned to Boniface VIII. (1300). BEKYNTON, I., 277, proves beyond doubt that the name of Boniface VIII. is a mistake, even though it is incorporated in the bull of Sixtus IV., in 1479.—A. WOOD, HIST., I., 230. [5] MUN. ACAD., 232, 461. In loco exempto.—WYCL., DE BLASPHEMIA, 74. [6] CONC., III., 227; A. WOOD, I., 146, 197; FLETCHER, COLLECT., I., 55; COTTON MS., FAUSTINA, C., VII., 20.

which "of heresy bare never blame," [1] though she had claimed a like exemption, had tamely submitted to a visitation in 1401;[2] but in Oxford the battle had yet to be fought.

Accordingly, when the Archbishop, accompanied by his nephew, the Earl of Arundel,[3] and a large retinue, arrived there, and presented himself at St. Mary's Church, to begin his inquiry, instead of being worshipfully received with ringing bells,[4] he found himself barred out by main force,[5] by order of the Chancellor (Richard Courtenay),[6] and the Proctors (John Birch and Benet Brent[7]). He put the church under interdict; but two Oriel Fellows, ringleaders in every row, who had called their Provost a liar and dared him to fight, had smashed in the Chancellor's oak, and killed a fellow-student, got the keys in the night, opened the church, rang the bell as usual, and celebrated Mass in defiance.[8] "Why should we be punished for other people's sins?" said the Dean of Oriel. "Devil take the Archbishop and break his neck!"

Arundel, indeed, though Oxford had "nursed him with her milk from tender years," [9] was, after all, only a Bachelor in Arts,[10] and had never even graduated Master, still

[1] LYDGATE, in MULLINGER, I., 637. [2] FULLER, 91; R. PARKER, 274; T. BAKER, I., 41; J. COLLIER, I., 622; MULLINGER, I., 258; C. H. COOPER, I., 147. [3] A. WOOD, I., 205. [4] SARUM STAT., 89; AUNGIER, 277. [5] Manu forti.—ROT. PARL., III., 651; WALS., II., 285. [6] PAT., 12 H. IV., 17 (April 24th, 1411), has a commission to the Chancellor of Oxford University, and Masters Roger Cotingham (GUTCH, I., 151, 157, 159, 160), and Richard Courtenay, to inquire into some rioting that had taken place at Oxford.—AYLIFFE, II., LXXXVII. [7] He was a Devonshire man, from Dartmoor (STAFF., REG., 37), a fellow of Exeter College, 1403-1415, and Rector, 1413-1414.—BOASE, EXON., 13. On Sep. 10th, 1409, he was a subdeacon.—STAFF., REG., 444. [8] HIST. MSS., 2nd REPT., 137; BOASE, OXFORD, 94, 98; A. CLARK, 103. [9] BEKYNTON, I., 277. [10] GASC., 34, 61, 180, 181. Though in GOWER (POL. SONGS, I., 435) he is "doctor de jure creatus" and "legibus ornatus."

less proceeded to the higher faculties of Law or Divinity; and this exposed him to further contempt. They laughed at his talk about submission and obedience; for they remembered how he had jeered at the notion of "the Bishop over the water" disposing of his benefices when he was himself in exile. The Chancellor said he would excommunicate him,[1] and some heedless harebrains amongst the scholars went about threatening secession and riot, with swords and bows. To avoid the scandal of a lengthened conflict, it was agreed, after the Archbishop had spent two days in Oxford, to refer the matter to the King.[2] The Archbishop withdrew, and the Congregation, led by Proctor Birch,[3] resolved to suspend the powers of the 12 censors. To this the Chancellor demurred, and dissolved the meeting; but Birch convened them again the next day, when they declared the Chancellor guilty of perjury, and called upon him to resign. This was the state of the case when the Chancellor, the Proctors, and the Archbishop appeared before King Henry in person at Lambeth, on Sep. 9th, 1411.

In appealing to the King, Courtenay may have had some cause to hope for a decision in his favour. Henry had already granted valuable privileges[4] to the University of Oxford, extending the jurisdiction of the Chancellor to the suburbs at the expense of the mayor and burgesses of the town. Six years before, he had presented a large gilt cross to the University at Courtenay's request,[5] in return for which favour a Mass of the Holy Spirit was said for him every year in St. Mary's Church,

[1] LYTE, 293; from FAUSTINA, C., VII., 137. [2] Not "appeal to the king for protection," as HOOK, IV., 495. [3] A. CLARK, 102. [4] MUN. ACAD., 345, 457; BOASE, OXFORD, 91; AYLIFFE, I., 155; II., APP., CLXXXI. [5] MUN. ACAD., 250; A. WOOD., II., 402.

the Doctors and Masters attending in full academicals. Moreover, Courtenay had just secured his help in bettering the Common University Library. Books, as we have seen, were in great demand, and many rectors from Ireland and elsewhere, who had come up to study in Theology, were forced to return to their country for want of Bibles and other suitable texts. The Friars were using their growing wealth in forming libraries for their great houses up and down the country;[1] the larger halls and colleges had each a library for the use of its inmates;[2] but the condition of the Common Library of the University as a whole was a reproach.

Nearly a hundred years before,[3] Thomas Cobham, Bishop of Worcester, had built an upper and a lower room on the north side of St. Mary's Church at Oxford. The lower one or cellar[4] he meant to be used for the meetings of the Congregation of the University; the solar,[5] or upper room, was to be an oratory, where two chaplains should say Mass annually for his soul. Cobham died in 1327, and left his stock of books with directions that they were to be chained[6] in the solar, and used within certain

[1] FITZRALPH, in GRAES, II., 474. [2] For King's Hall, Cambridge (1394), see Vol. III., p. 408. For 84 books given to Trinity Hall by Bishop Bateman in 1350, see WILLIS AND CLARK, III., 402; Peterhouse, 302 vols. (1418), *ibid.*, 403; C. C. C. Cambridge (1439), 76 vols. priced at £104 12s. 3d., CAMB. ANTIQ. SOC. PROCEEDINGS, II., XIV., 3. [3] Viz., in 1320.—C. R. L. FLETCHER, I., 62; A. WOOD, II., 48; GODWIN, II., 43; MACRAY, BODL., 5; HUBER, I., 344; ARCHÆOL. JOURN., VIII., 132; WILLIS AND CLARK, III., 405; MERRYWEATHER, 131; MULLINGER, I., 203; LYTE, 99, 181, 305; SKELTON, I., PLATE 57; GOTTLIEB, 328; A. CLARK, 35, 95, 100. [4] Vol. III., p. 423. [5] Vol. I., p. 370, note 1; WYCL. (M.), 380; CHAUC., REEVE, 3988; DENTON, 44; LIB. ALB., I., XXXI.; HOLT, 59; BESANT, 72, 131; cf. Vol. III., p. 409. For English house, see FIFTY WILLS, 18; DENTON, 44. [6] Accounts of library adjoining the cloister in Exeter Cathedral (1412), include 4s. 6d. for chains, 18s. 8d. for 28 chains for books, &c.—G. OLIVER, BISHOPS, 388; cf. Extract from Will of Canon Langton (Jan. 9th, 1414), who leaves a Corpus Juris Civilis (5 vols.), ponendum et cathenandum in libraria Ecclesiæ Exoniensis.—OLIVER, MONAST., 456. For "a booke of seint hugh life cheyned" in Lincoln Cathedral, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 12.

hours of daylight by any scholar who chose to come in. Wet cloths, pens and ink, and knives were forbidden,[1] and one of the chaplains was always to be present to see that the books were fairly used. The Bishop meant to leave 350 marks to cover all costs and charges, but when the general expenses of his funeral were totalled up, it was found that there was nothing left, and even the books had to be pledged to raise money for present necessities. Just at this time, Adam Brom, the Rector of St. Mary's, was founding his Scholars'-house of the Blessed Mary of Oxford, afterwards known as the King's Hall, or Oriel College.[2] Cobham's executors came to him and offered him the books for £50, on the understanding that his scholars should say the prayers for the Bishop's soul. Brom paid the money and had the books brought to Oxford, and so the bargain stood for about 10 years. But, in the autumn of 1337, the Proctor and a great crowd carried off the books in the name of the University, and locked them up in two chests.

The solar had never been finished; it had no glass in the windows, and no tables for the readers. As the church had been appropriated to Oriel College,[3] by Edward II., the Fellows claimed possession of the room, and locked it up; but the Chancellor and the Regents broke open the door and took off the locks. Having thus established their right, they sold the best of the books for £40,[4] and with the money thus raised got together enough to pay £3 a year to a chaplain, who attended daily to see that those who used the books did not scar them or soil them or tear out the sheets.

At length, in 1410,[5] Archbishop Arundel paid 50 marks to

[1] For similar rules at Ottery St. Mary, see OLIVER, MONAST., 270. [2] Vol. III., p. 409, note 7. [3] ARCHÆOL. JOURN., VIII., 127; WILLIS AND CLARK, III., 489; RYM., IV., 455; LYTE, 143, from LANSDOWNE MS., 386, 9 b. [4] MUN. ACAD., 227. [5] AYLIFFE, II., LXXXVI.

Oriel College to quit their claim; the library became the recognized common property of the University, and Chancellor Courtenay used his influence with the King to get it put upon a better footing. The chaplain's salary was raised to £5 per annum, and regulations were made for the proper government of the little institution. Catalogues of the books were drawn up and deposited in the Proctor's chest,[1] and the titles of any new ones, together with the names of the donors, were posted on a board which was hung in the room itself. No list of these books has come down to us, and, after 30 years, they were merged with Duke Humphrey's gift,[2] and no trace of them is now to be found.

But though King Henry had given many proofs of his good-will towards the University, he was now too much under the Archbishop's hand to listen to any insubordination in religion. His indignation was "gravely kindled,"[3] and, but for the intervention of the Prince of Wales, it would have gone hard with the Chancellor and the Proctors. On Sept. 17th, 1411, the King gave his decision, which was altogether in favour of the Archbishop's claims, establishing his right to visit and control the University, and imposing a penalty of £1000 upon all who should resist his authority.[4] The Chancellor was deposed, the Proctors were imprisoned in the Tower, and some of the scholars were flogged as truants. Delegates from the Archbishop appeared in St. Mary's Church, when the members of the University begged for pardon if they had not been strict enough in disclaiming the Lollards.[5] They now submitted

[1] MUN. ACAD., 228, 267, 375. For priced list of books used by scholars in Paris at the end of the 13th century, see DENIFLE, 644. [2] A. WOOD, II., 49. [3] MUN. ACAD., 251. [4] An exception was made in the case of the Queen Hall, which was under the control of the Archbishop of York.—RYM., VIII., 675. [5] A. WOOD, I., 205.

body and soul, and on November 22nd, 1411,[1] addressed a letter to the Archbishop deprecating his righteous indignation, and promising to receive their ordinary, the Bishop of Lincoln, as visitor.[2] It was not for his honour, they said, to pursue a dead dog or a quick flea, and they would give up not only their cloak but their coat also, if he would not press the case against them before a foreign court.

But the Archbishop had matters already well in train. As soon as the censors had reported on the dangerous passages in Wycliffe's books, he assembled a synod of Bishops and Doctors in St. Paul's, who condemned[3] the whole of the 267 extracts *en bloc*, and sent them to Rome, with a request[4] that Pope John XXIII. would support his view and allow him to ungrave the bones of the arch-heretic and fling them on a dung-heap. The Pope granted his request; and on Nov. 20th, 1411,[5] a bull was issued from Rome, authorizing the Archbishop to exercise full metropolitical jurisdiction over Oxford. On March 12th, 1412,[6] the Masters of the University, both regents and non-regents, representing the faculties of Arts, Decrees, Civil Law and Theology, met in Congregation,[7] in St. Mary's Church, and decreed that a copy of the condemned articles should be kept in the Common Library above, so that they might be known and avoided by all, under penalty of imprisonment and

[1] REG. ARUNDEL, 91, 92. [2] BEKYNTON, I., 276; DICT. NAT. BIOG., XIX., 283; C. R. L. FLETCHER, I., 55, from LAMBETH MS., 580, p. 136. [3] MUN. ACAD., 269, 376. He notified his decision to the University of Oxford in a letter dated from Girnkner, May 8th, 1411.—GASC., 116. [4] CONC., III., 350. For a letter of Archbishop Arundel to John XXIII., dated Aug. 20th (? 1410), in TWYNE MS., II., 229, see LITTLE, 85. [5] C. R. L. FLETCHER, I., 55; A. WOOD, I., 205; FULLER, CH. HIST., IV., 164. [6] MUN. ACAD., 250; LYTE, 284. [7] For the lites, jurgia, brigæ, dissensiones, rixæ et clamores inordinati that often took place in the Congregations in Paris, see DENIFLE, PROC., I., XXXIII., 361. For the case of Hy. Poelman, in 1382, who would not go out, and said that the meeting was stupid (*fatue deliberasse*), see *ibid.*, 621.

excommunication, and that masses should be sung every year for the King and the Prince as benefactors, in gratitude for their reconciliation with the Archbishop.

On Feb. 10th, 1413, as we have already seen,[1] the Dialogue, the Trialogue,[2] and other of Wycliffe's books,[3] were publicly burnt at Rome, and it was proposed to consider the question of his dead bones after nine months had elapsed;[4] but before that time came, the Pope was again a fugitive, and for 15 years more Wycliffe's bones lay undisturbed in the chancel of Lutterworth church.

The books were burned at Carfax,[5] and English Lollardry seemed crushed; but Oxford was only a shadow of her former self, and in 1413 contained but 71 resident graduates all told.[6]

[1] Vol. III., p. 398. For request of the clergy of Prague (circ. June, 1412), to have Wycliffe's books burnt, see PALACKY, Doc., 466. [2] For translation and analysis, see VAUGHAN, TRACTS, 108-216. [3] For list of them, see A. WOOD, I., 206. [4] HOOK (IV., 498) thinks that the Pope deferred his decision because he was not willing to add fuel to a fire already too hot. But this is only guess-work. [5] In quadrivio.—GASC., 116. [6] Viz., 9 D.D.'s, 5 LL.D.'s, 1 M.D. (a foreigner), 10 B.D.'s, 12 M.A.'s (regent), 18 M.A.'s (non-regent), 4 LL.B.'s, and 12 scholars in Divinity. LYTE, 295, from TWINE, II., 13, quoting REPINGDON REG., 136. In 1352, there were 55 Masters in Paris in the Natio Anglicana alone. —DENIFLE, PROC., I., XXXII., though in 1381 they had not sufficient regents to supply their schools.—*Ibid.*, 611. The minimum requirement for recognition by the University of Paris as an efficient school was that it should contain at least 12 magistri regentes.—*Ibid.*, XXX., 701.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

PRAGUE.

BUT though the Pope's long foot could trample out the embers of heresy in its cradle at Oxford, he had still his work to do to strangle the goose[1] that was cackling:—"Wiclif, Wiclif, that many heads tickleth!"[2] to thousands of eager listeners in the Bethlehem Chapel at Prague.

When the Emperor Charles IV (son of the blind King John who was killed at Crécy, and father of Wenzel and Sigismund) determined to make a Rome or Constantinople of his Bohemian capital,[3] he founded a University at Prague (1348),[4] to be a River of Eden that should go out and water the whole land.[5] Here he built his Caroline College,[6] and presented to

[1] For "Husk," = auca (anser), see PALACKY, DOC., 39, 55, 726; HUS, MON., I., XCIV. b, XCVI. b; KRUMMEL, 300; LENFANT, CONSTANCE, 20; NEANDER, IX., 368, 423, 427; DENIS, 64; WYCL., LAT. SERM., I., XXVII.; ÆN. SYLV., 103; HÖFLER, HUS, 244; ALZOG, II., 952; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 308.

Cf. O Husska care, noli nimis alta volare,
En nimis alte volas poteris comburere pennas.—DOLEIN, 371.
Huska magister sic in altis volitans.—*Ibid.*, 381, 391, 423; cf. Dialogus volatilis inter aucam et passerem.—*Ibid.*, 421. [2] Cf. Vol. III., p. 424. [3] DIESSENHOVEN, quoted in HÖFLER, DIE AVIGNONISCHEN PAEPSTE, 55; CREIGHTON, I., 308; VERGERIO, 238; RENIERI, 70. [4] ÆN. SYLV., 101; PALACKY, II., II., 291; III., I., 160; DOC., 281, 350; SCHWAB, 546; KRUMMEL, 24; CREIGHTON, I., 311; MULLINGER, I., 215; FASCIC. ZIZAN., LI.; HÖFLER, HUS, 94, 108; LOSERTH, 91; DENIS, 6; MILMAN, VI., 9; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 313. For life at Prague with poulz, puces, puour and pourceaux, see DESCHAMPS, VII., 88, 90. [5] PALACKY, DOC., 692. [6] WATTENBACH, 516.

it a library of 114 books, for which he paid 100 marks (1370).[1] This was the Golden Age[2] of Universities, and at Charles' death in 1378, Prague contained 7000 students,[3] of whom only about one-tenth were Bohemians.[4] Before long the University of Prague was reckoned as one of the world's greatest gems,[5] and the number of students is said to have risen to 30,000,[6] before the split of 1409, in which year, according to a contemporary account, 20,000[7] Germans and others left Prague rather than submit to the domination of the Bohemian minority. As in Paris, the students at Prague were grouped in four nations,[8] the Bohemian, Bavarian, Polish,[9] and Saxon,[10] and we know that large numbers of Swedish,[11] English, Irish, and other students from Northern Europe[12] flocked thither every year to swell the rising throng.

The fledgeling was not likely to be bound by the staid tra-

[1] PALACKY, II., ii., 293; III., i., 185. [2] HALLAM, iii., 526; ALZOG, ii., 1064. For Vienna, Heidelberg, Cologne, Erfurt, Cracow, Leipzig, Rostock, Louvain, and St. Andrews, see DENIFLE, PROC., I., XLI.-XLV. [3] PALACKY, II., ii., 294; WÜRDIGUNG, 288; HÖFLER, ANNA, 35. The population of Prague at the beginning of the 15th century is calculated at over 100,000.—DENIS, 38, 491, from TOMEK. [4] HÖFLER, RUPR., 429. [5] HARDT, IV., 1079; PALACKY, III., i., 237. [6] *Ibid.*, 153; DENIS, 47, gives 11,000 in 1389, from TOMEK. [7] PALACKY, III., i., 236; HÖFLER, HUS, 247; RUPR., 430, gives 26,000 to 30,000. For 36,000, see HÖFLER, HUS, 249. For 44,000, see KRUMMEL, 204; DENIS, 88; NEANDER, IX., 344; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 316, inclines to 7000; CHRON. DES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE, III., 346, gives 5000. CREIGHTON (I., 318) thinks that the number of students never exceeded 4000; cf. Vol. III., p. 412, note 14. [8] HARDT, IV., 312, 757; RATISBON, 2127; PALACKY, II., ii., 292; DOC., 350; RAYNALDI, XVII., 396; DENIS, 49; HÖFLER, HUS, 99, 230; RUPR., 428; KRUMMEL, 198. For the Gallican, Picard, Norman, and English nations at Paris, see DENIFLE, PROC., I., IX., XVI. [9] For Polish students at Prague, see CARO, III., 295. [10] DENIFLE, PROC., I., XIX. [11] FANT, III., 16; HÖFLER, HUS, 113; RUPR., 428. In 1354, Swedish students had begun to desert the University of Paris, and two houses for Upsala scholars were given up. In 1392, two more reserved for Swedes were empty and abandoned, viz., the Stag's Horn (or Linköping College), and the Image of our Lady (or Skara College), DENIFLE, PROC., I., XIX., LXIV., LXV., 661, 895. In the same year the Denmark House had only 1 occupant. [12] POSILJE, 35.

ditions of her older sisters. The new University was launched in an age of religious ferment,[1] and from the outset had been dominated by a succession of preachers of radical reform. One of its earliest statutes[2] permitted the Masters and Bachelors of Prague to read (or, as we should say, to lecture on) the writings of any eminent Masters of Paris or Oxford; and Wycliffe's Latin treatises were not long in finding their way across.[3] In 1388, a canon of Prague Cathedral,[4] who had himself studied at Oxford, left money to be used in founding bursaries, to enable his countrymen to spend a year at the great University in England.[5] Intercourse developed between the two peoples, and when in 1381[6] the Emperor's daughter Anne[7] came over from Prague to become the wife of Richard II., and brought with her the horned or mitred cap,[8] the train, the peaked

[1] HÖFLER (HUS, 86) calls Bohemia the "El Dorado der Waldenser." Cf. DENIS, 27; VAUGHAN, I., 145; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 302. For Waldenses, see ALZOG, II., 658. [2] PALACKY, III., I., 188; NEANDER, IX., 337; DENIS, 48; LOSERTH, 69; BEZIEHUNGEN, 255. [3] HUS, MON., I., 108; SCHWAB, 551; HÖFLER, HUS, 159; not "surreptitiously," as ALZOG, II., 953. It is, of course, a complete misconception to suppose that Peter Payne first "carried over to Bohemia the doctrines of Wycliffe," as stated in ACADEMY, 27/10/94, p. 324, reviewing J. BAKER'S "Pictures from Bohemia." Cf. supervenit quidam ex Angliâ portans secum libros Joannis Wiclef.—CHRON. DES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE, III., 345. [4] *I.e.*, Adalbert Ranconis.—LOSERTH, 40; BEZIEHUNGEN, 255; DENIFLE, PROC., I., XXX. [5] LOSERTH, 70. [6] DEVON, 219; HÖFLER, ANNA, 48; PAULI, IV., 539; KRUMMEL, 111; STRICKLAND, I., 413; LINDNER, I., 119; LOSERTH, BEZIEHUNGEN, 154; PASTOR, I., 126. [7] For picture of her coronation from LIBER REGALIS at Westminster, see STRUTT, ANTIQ., 35. For figure of her on her tomb at Westminster, see GARDINER, 267. For portrait of her as St. Katherine in DOMIT., A., XVII., see HOLT, 45. For a letter from her to Richard II., asking him to grant letters patent to Queen's College at Oxford, now in the muniment room of the college, see A. CLARK, 124. [8] GASC., 12; BLOXAM, 156; HÖFLER, ANNA, 46, 138; LYDGATE, 46; CHRON. LOND., 270; STRICKLAND, I., 415; MASSON, 241; HOLT, 77. Cornes portez comme font les lymas.—DESCHAMPS, VI., 200; cornes ont trop plus longues que bestes.—*Ibid.*, 201. For specimens, see MACKLIN, 69; HAINES, 108. (Brass of Margaret Cheyne at Hever, Kent, 1419.)—*Ibid.*, 109; BOUTELL, BRASSES, 49. (Isabel, wife of Nicholas Carew, 1432, Beddington, Surrey.)—HAINES, 110; BOUTELL, BRASSES, 44.

shoes[1] (which the English called cracows,[2] or pikes), the side-saddle,[3] and the pin,[4] the ease with which the Bohemian get[5] became the vogue in England is an evidence of kinship and sympathy in the character of the two nations. Anne brought with her, moreover, a Latin copy of the Gospels, with German and Czeck translations,[6] and as she made progress in the language of her adopted country, she studied them with the doctors and

(Wife of John Martyn, 1436, Graveney, Kent.)—HAINES, Edition 1861, CXCIII., CCX. (Four daughters of John Dengayn, 1460, Quy, Cambridge.) —BOUTELL, BRASSES, 40. (Joyce, wife of Sir Hugh Halsham, 1441, West Grinstead; and Agnes, wife of Sir Robert Staunton, and three daughters, Castle Donington.)—BOUTELL, 48. (Philippa Bischoppesdon, 1414, Broughton, Oxfordshire; and wife and child of Thomas Stokes, 1416, Ashley Ledgers.)—*Ibid.*, 50; LYSONS, ENVIRONS, I., 244. (Wife of Robert Skerne, 1437, Kingston-on-Thames.)—BOUTELL, 51; GOUGH, III., 136. (Joyce, Lady Tiptoft, 1446, Enfield.)—BOUTELL, 52. (Christina, wife of Matthew Phelip, 1470, Herne.) The earliest known instance occurs on a brass at South Kelsey, Lincs., circ. 1410; BOUTELL, 37; see also NICHOLLS AND TAYLOR, I., 188, 203, 298. For example on a mediæval spoon in possession of Mr. R. Drane of Cardiff, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 131.

[1] EVESH., 126; SHAW, DRESSES; HOLT, 76; *Ibid.*, LANGLEY, 175. Cf. "pikede shoes."—P. PLO., XXIII., 219. "Pikes of schoone."—WYCL. (A.), III., 214. For an early mention of them in 1362, see FABR. ROLLS, 242. They were greatly in vogue in France.—ST. DENYS, II., 496.

Cf. Tels solers comme on trouvera
Qui une aulne ont de bec anté.
—DESCHAMPS, III., 195.

[2] Cf. "Poulaines," *i.e.*, Pologne, Vol. I., p. 162; MÉRAY, II., 176. On porte une aulne de poulaine.—DESCHAMPS, V., 274; VIII., 22. [3] APPLEYARD, III., 54, from STOW, 142 (tournament of 1390); LYNCH, II., 151; HOLT, 174. For previous a-stride position, see JUSSERAND, 104. [4] For "espingles," "espingliers," see DESCHAMPS, VI., 200, 201, 239; VIII., 16. [5] Vol. I., p. 162; COV. MYST., 242, 325; RICH. REDELES, III., 159; SKELTON, GARLAND OF LAWRELL, in COLLIER, II., 241; FAIRHOLT, 175; PLANCHÉ, I., 206.

Cf. Yit a poynte of the new gett to telle wille I not blyn
Of prankyd gownes and shulders upset mos and flekkys sewyd wythin.
—TOWNELEY, 312.

[6] HUS, MON., 168; WYCL., POLEM., I., 168; HÖFLER, ANNA, 46, 90; KRUMMEL, 37; STRICKLAND, I., 416; LOSERTH, 136, 261; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 307. "Frenshemen Beemers and Britons have the Bible translatid in here modir tongue."—PURVEY, PROL., 59; LEWIS, 67, She showed her copy to Archbishop Arundel, who examined it and pronounced it to be good and true.—FOX, 1st Edition, p. 454.

the glosses in Wycliffe's English also.[1] One of her suite, a lawyer named Roger Siglem,[2] was constantly employed by the English on diplomatic business with Germany. At the time of his marriage, Richard II. lent Wenzel £1114,[3] and both kings knew how to extort money from their subjects, by means of blankets or *cartes blanches*,[4] except that one called them "ragmans,"[5] and the other "membranes,"[6] which probably both mean the same thing.

In 1403,[7] a Convocation of the University of Prague condemned as heretical the 45 propositions extracted from Wycliffe's works, which had previously been condemned at Oxford, and forbade any member of their University to hold them, teach them, or defend them; but the order remained a dead letter. In the same year,[8] Zbinck Zazic (or Zbinco), of Hasenburg, was appointed Archbishop of Prague; and, in 1406,[9] he threatened all offenders with punishment. Still the condemned books found ready circulation, and large sums[10]

[1] USHER, DE SCRIPT., 161; LEWIS, XXIII., 198; VAUGHAN, II., 131; STRICKLAND, I., 426; SMITH'S DICT. OF BIBLE, III., 1666. [2] Vol. I., p. 165; LAPPENBERG, I., 66; called "Sigleam" in FR. ROLL, 8 H. IV., 8, May 1st, 1407. For his instructions "chiefly respecting a marriage," dated Feb. 21st, 1400, see COTTON MS., GALBA, B, I., 87. [3] DEVON, 218. [4] Cartas albas.—POL. SONGS, I., 461; SHARPE, LONDON, I., 244. For specimens temp. Richard II., in TREAS. OF RECEIPT MISC., $\frac{1}{7}$, see RAMSAY, I., XLVI. For blaunche ferme, see ROT. PARL., III., 660. [5] *I.e.*, probably "pergaments," see WYNTOWN, GLOSSARY, Vol. I., s. v.; GOWER, CONF., 436. For various suggestions as to the origin of the word, see JAMIESON, II., 603; SCOTICHRON., II., 438: TOWNELEY, 311; CAL. OF DOC. RELATING TO SCOTLAND (24 Ed. I.), II., 193; PIERS PLOWMAN, C, XIX., 122; notes, p. 378; SIMS, 407; ACADEMY, 18/1/90, p. 47. [6] RTA., III., 23; IV., 409, 475; TRITHEIM, CHRON., II., 308. [7] HARDT, IV., 8., 652; HÖFLER, HUS, 156; PALACKY, DOC., 327, 730; do., HUSSITENTHUM, 12; LOSERTH, 97; CREIGHTON, I., 315; DENIS, 73; KRUMMEL, 153. [8] Viz., Oct. 7th, 1403.—PALACKY, III., I., 195; HÖFLER, HUS, 153, 155, 164; LOSERTH, 89, 97; KRUMMEL, 158. Called Subinco Lepus by BALE in HARL. MISCELL., II., 254. [9] PALACKY, III., I., 313; do., DOC., 335, 730; DOLEIN, 158; LOSERTH, 103; HÖFLER, HUS, 176, 183; KRUMMEL, 178; CREIGHTON, I., 316. [10] Magnis laboribus pecuniis et sumptibus per nos emptos et comparatos.—PALACKY, DOC., 389.

were paid for them; and a tract, written in 1408 by an indignant Carthusian in Moravia, declares that Wycliffe's[1] books had spread throughout the world in courts and colleges and schools, and that in Bohemia, where it used to be said that not a single heretic was to be found,[2] they were read, either in open or in secret, by every class, from men and women in the street to the monk in his solitary cell. Students, both German and Bohemian, copied[3] them in England, and brought them to Prague; and there is still preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna, a volume[4] containing three of Wycliffe's treatises, which were finally corrected in 1407, in the little villages of Braybrook, near Market Harborough, and Kemerton, near Tewkesbury.[5] The copyists were two Bohemian students at Oxford, named George of Kniehnicz,[6] and Nicholas Faulfiss,[7] the latter of whom had such a veneration for the Oxford Reformer, that he not only wrote out[8] many of his tracts, but carried home a chip of stone from his grave at Lutterworth,[9] to be shown as a relic to his friends at Prague.

Chief among these was the great preacher John Hus, who

[1] DOLEIN, 158; HÖFLER, HUS, 184, 193; NEANDER, IX., 341; KRUMMEL, 169; DENIS, 101; LOSERTH, 78; GIESELER, V., 105. [2] HUS, MON., I., CV., CCCXXXII.; RTA., VI., 577; RATISBON, 2128; DOLEIN, 385; PALACKY, DOC., 189, 233, 280, 478; do., GESCHICHTE, III., I., 224; HÖFLER, RUPR., 421; do., HUS, 172, 210, 215, 259; DENIS, 5, 80; LOSERTH, 81, 310; HEFELE, VI., 927; KRUMMEL, 181, 185; CREIGHTON, I., 316. Cf. Et gens devoz dont je les prise.—DESCHAMPS, VII., 93. [3] GASC., 9. For MSS. at Vienna, Prague, and Olmutz, see WYCLIFFE, POLEM. WORKS, I., XXVIII., LVII.,; DE ECCL., XXI. [4] *I.e.*, COD. PAL. VINDOBONIENSIS, 1294. For facsimile specimens and acct. of the MS., see WYCLIFFE, DE ECCLESIA, XVII. [5] WYCLIFFE, DE ECCL., 47. [6] WYCLIFFE, DE ECCL., XVII.; DE CIVILI DOMINIO, I., IX., XI.; DE DOM. DIV., X.; FASCIC., LXXXII.; LOSERTH, 101; do., BEZIEHUNGEN, 259. [7] Not Jerome, as J. BAKER, 139, 152; neither was he a Count or Chevalier, as NEANDER, IX., 331, 333; ALZOG, II., 953. [8] ÆN. SYLV., 103; PALACKY, DOC., 313; WYCLIFFE, DE ECCLESIA, XVIII. [9] PALACKY, III., I., 193.

was not yet 40 years of age[1]—a lean, spare man, in mean attire[2]—but, as confessor to Wenzel's queen Sophia,[3] he was a power in the Bohemian Court. As past Rector of the University,[4] he voiced the thoughts of its Bohemian students, and as Chaplain[5] at the newly built Bethlehem Chapel,[6] where he was bound to preach in the Czeck language, he had obtained immense influence over the Bohemian populace, both men and women,[7] who "held him for holy and righteous in all his ways."[8] Here he proclaimed with impunity, in his native tongue, the very doctrines for which the humblest Lollard would have been burnt in England. He said himself that he had learned from Wycliffe's books much that was good;[9] that he was drawn to Wycliffe because his writings sought to bring men back to the law of Christ;[10] but that he held Wycliffe's beliefs, not because they were Wycliffe's, but because Scripture and reason told him that they were true;[11]

[1] He was born in 1369, at Husinec, on the Bavarian frontier.—PALACKY, III., I., 191; SCHWAB, 549; KRUMMEL, 101; HÖFLER, HUS, 131; RUPR., 418; DENIS, 65; LOSERTH, 66; CREIGHTON, I., 314; ALZOG, II., 953. [2] MILMAN, VI., 6. [3] Called Offney or Offka by the Bohemians.—LINDNER, II., 174. Cf. HÖFLER, HUS, 251; KRUMMEL, 142, 208; MAURICE (p. 36), seems to have thought that she was an Englishwoman, and that she brought Wycliffe's doctrines into Bohemia. [4] He was Rector in 1402 and 1409.—KRUMMEL, 153, 209; DENIS, 88; HÖFLER, HUS, 276; CREIGHTON, I., 319. [5] He was appointed Mar. 14th, 1402.—HÖFLER, HUS, 146. [6] It was built in 1391.—PALACKY, III., I., 192; DOC., 340, 724; HUS, MON., I., XCI. b; GIESELER, V., 103; NEANDER, IX., 320; SCHWAB, 549; HÖFLER, HUS, 131, 141; LOSERTH, 40, 68; CREIGHTON, I., 314; KRUMMEL, 124. DOLEIN (373), calls it Wiclefistarum insidiosam speluncam. It was destroyed in 1786. For a description of it with Hus' pulpit and dwelling chamber by THEOBALD, in 1750, see KRUMMEL, 135. [7] NEANDER, IX., 391, 398. [8] Das gemeyne Volk yn hildin vor heilig und gerecht yn allin synen sachin.—POSILJE, 352. [9] In eis profiteor multa bona didicisse.—LOSERTH, 81, from RECOMMENDATIO ARTIUM LIBERALIUM, written in 1409.—KRUMMEL, 201; HÖFLER, HUS, 259. [10] HUS, MON., I., CIX.; NEANDER, IX., 329; LOSERTH, 93. [11] Non quia Vingleff dicit, sed quia scriptura vel ratio infallibilis dicit.—HUS, MON., I., CCLXIII.; DOLEIN, 365.

and he prayed that, when he died, his soul might go where Wycliffe's had gone,[1] for he held him for a good man and a saint,[2] and worthy of a place in Heaven. He had copied Wycliffe's most distinctive works, and translated them into Czeck.[3] He has been credited with great erudition,[4] on the strength of his numerous quotations from the Fathers and the classics; but they are mostly Wycliffe's quotations after all, including even his mistakes,[5] and many of his sermons are only Wycliffe's sermons slightly altered. His enemies called him the only-begotten son of Wycliffe,[6] and taunted[7] him that the doctrines which he preached were Wycliffe's, and not his own. Indeed, it is now conclusively proved that, in strictness, there is no "Hussite system of doctrine"[8] at all; but that the very treatise[9] on the Church, which has been supposed[10] to be peculiarly the work of Hus,[11] is nothing but Wiclifry[12] transplanted word for word into Bohemia; and the case of plagiarism is so strong, that a modern inquirer has declared that, "with the exception of the Bible, and some few of the

[1] PALACKY, III., i., 246; HUSSITENTHUM, 113; Doc., 154, 161, 168; HARDT, IV., 311; ÆN. SYLV., 103; HÖFLER, HUS, 149, 158, 186, 198; KRUMMEL, 110, 180; LOSERTH, 102; NEANDER, IX., 351; DENIS, 78; WYCL., DE EUCHAR., XLIX. [2] Eundem (*i.e.*, Wycliffe) sanctiorem quibusdam sanctis et doctissimum diceretis præ doctis.—DOLEIN (371), who calls him no saint, but a muck-sack with a hole in it; non *sanctus* sed pertusus stercorum *saccus* (190, 267); cf. Et tu, sacce Wicleff, ora pro tuis (426); pertusa saccitate (381); non doctor sed coctor (214); cf. Vol. III., p. 31, note 5. [3] LOSERTH, 95. For five of Wycliffe's treatises in Hus' handwriting (1398), now at Stockholm, see DENIS, 72; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 309; CREIGHTON, I., 314, quoting DUDIK, SCHWEDISCHE REISE, p. 198. [4] KRUMMEL, 174, and Chap. VI., *passim*; DENIS, 67. [5] Cf. WYCL., DE ECCL., 296, with HUS, MON., I., CXXI. b; CXCIV. a; LOSERTH, 226. [6] DOLEIN, in LOSERTH, 78. [7] STOKES, in PALACKY, Doc., 308; LOSERTH, 86. [8] LOSERTH, XXX., 111. [9] Cf. HUS, MON., I., CXCVII., with WYCLIFFE, DE ECCLESIA, and LOSERTH, 181-224, &c. [10] D'AILLY, in GERSON, II., 901; FINKE, 269; KRUMMEL, 336; LOSERTH, 181. [11] LOSERTH, 182-224, 279, 280; WYCLIFFE, POLEM. WORKS, I., XIII.; DE ECCLESIA, XXVI.; LAT. SERMONS, I., XXII.; IV., 24. [12] "Wiclevia," "Wiclefie."—LOSERTH, XXXI., XLIV.

Fathers, Hus consulted no other sources than those of Wycliffe only";[1] and that even when he seems to stand alone, he is really "resting on Wycliffe's shoulders."[2] His zeal, his eloquence, his piety, his purity of life, and his devotion to truth, are amply proved alike by the testimony[3] of friends and foes; but the truths that he preached, and the doctrines for which he died, were the truths[4] and doctrines of the Reformer of Oxford.

When Faulfiss returned to Prague, he brought[5] with him a copy of the letter in which the University of Oxford declared its testimony that Wycliffe had never been condemned for heresy, and Hus[6] read it triumphantly to his congregation in the Bethlehem Chapel. On Dec. 20th, 1409,[7] Pope Alexander V. issued a bull from Pistoja authorizing Archbishop Zbinec to seize all books, tracts, and quires containing any of the 45 articles of Wycliffe's teaching, and to remove them out of the sight of the faithful; and that henceforth no preaching should be allowed except in parish churches, of which the Bethlehem Chapel[8] was not one. The bull was not published in Prague till March 9th, 1410.[9] Hus obeyed the first portion of the order, and handed over such books of Wycliffe's as he possessed, asking[10] that the Archbishop would mark the heresies in them, that he might publicly disclaim them. Many others did likewise, till at least 200 copies of Wycliffe's books, some of them

[1] LOSERTH, 281. [2] *Ibid.*, 289. [3] HUS, MON., I., III.; II., CCCLXII.; ÆN. SYLV., 103; KRUMMEL, 147. [4] PALACKY, HUSSITENTHUM, 113. [5] PALACKY, DOC., 313; HUS, MON., I., 109 b; KRUMMEL, 171; LOSERTH, 72, 101. J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 310, thinks that Peter Payne was with him; but see Vol. III., p. 425, note 6. [6] HARDT, IV., 644, shows that Jerome read it also. [7] RAYNALDI, XVII., 396; PALACKY, DOC., 374, 404, 724; HUS, MON., I., CCXXXV. b; SCHWAB, 553; CREIGHTON, I., 328; LOSERTH, 114. [8] DOLEIN, 395. [9] PALACKY, III., I., 248; DOC., 733; HÖFLER, HUS, 297; KRUMMEL, 213; DENIS, 94. [10] HARDT, IV., 310.

with gold [1] knobs and costly bindings, were handed up for examination by a commission of six experts in Theology; and on June 16th, 1410,[2] an order was issued that the books [3] should all be burned. But on the day before this order was issued (June 15th),[4] a Convocation of the University of Prague had protested against the Archbishop's action, and on June 25th,[5] Hus and seven others (one of them a master and the rest bachelors or students of the University) appealed against it to the judgment of the new Pope, John XXIII. Thus delay was dangerous; and on July 16th,[6] the order was carried into effect, and the books were publicly burnt in the court of the Archbishop's palace on the Hradschin [7] at Prague, in the presence of a large number of the clergy, who sang Te Deum in a loud voice, while the Cathedral bells tolled a funeral [8] knell, as if they were burying the dead. Two days later (July 18th),[9] the Archbishop pronounced sentence of excommunication against Hus and his fellows, who had appealed to the Pope, as rebellious and disobedient and impugners of the Catholic Faith.

But all Prague was on the side of Hus. The Bethlehem Chapel was not a parish church; yet, in defiance of the Archbishop's order, he continued [10] to preach there to immense [11]

[1] ÆN. SYLV., 104; TRITHEIM, II., 318. [2] PALACKY, Doc., 378, 390, 734; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 319; not 1408, as VAUGHAN, MONOGRAPH, 511. [3] For a list of them, see PALACKY, III., I., 249; HÖFLER, HUS, 299; LOSERTH, 115. [4] PALACKY, Doc., 386, 393, 734; HÖFLER, HUS, 303. [5] PALACKY, Doc., 387; HUS, MON., I., LXXXIX.; KRUMMEL, 215. [6] PALACKY, Doc., 734. [7] LOSERTH, 116. [8] Not "a joyous peal," as CREIGHTON, I., 321. [9] PALACKY, Doc., 397. [10] Prohibitus usque hodie (1412) prædicat.—DOLEIN, 367. [11] Populum in multitudine copiosâ ibidem congregatum.—PALACKY, Doc., 171, 405, The chapel would hold several thousand people, quæ tot millia hominum posset colligere.—*Ibid.*, 414. On one occasion we have a note of more than three thousand people there.—*Ibid.*, 169. On another the congregation is estimated at 10,000.—*Ibid.*, 12.

crowds. It was for the Gospel's[1] sake that he was called a heretic; but he stoutly maintained that, whatever the Archbishop might say, there was not a real heretic in all Bohemia. "Now," he cried out, "is the prophecy fulfilled, that in the year 1409, there should arise a man who would persecute the Gospel and the Faith of Christ. This is the Pope just dead—wherever he may be now, whether in heaven or in hell—Pope Alexander, who writes on asses' skins to burn the books of Master John Wycliffe, where many good things are to be found. But I have appealed against it, and still do appeal. Will you support me?" "We will!" shouted his hearers in the church. "Then know," said Hus, "that I am resolved that I ought to preach, and either be driven from the land or die in prison;—for Popes may lie, but God cannot. Be firm, then, ye who will support me! Fear not excommunication, for you are one with me in this appeal! So let us gird ourselves, and stand for the law of God!"

Soon came word from Bologna,[2] citing Hus to appear in person before the Papal Court, and urging the Archbishop to go forward with his work of repression, and, if need be, to call in the secular arm. But, at Prague, the secular arm struck out the other way. King,[3] queen, barons, and burghers, were all "for the Word of Jesus Christ." They protested, one and all, against the burning of the books and the attempt to silence the preachers, and prayed that Hus might state his case before the University at Prague; for outside[4] his own country his life would not be safe. Moreover, the great holocaust had not

[1] PALACKY, Doc., 16. [2] Dated Aug. 25th, 1410.—*Ibid.*, 401. [3] HUS, MON., I., CCCXXX. b; PALACKY, III., I., 258; Doc., 14, 408-415, 422-426; KRUMMEL, 223. [4] HUS, MON., I., 244 a, 331 b; PALACKY, Doc., 24, 32, 725; ALZOG, II., 955, calls this "shuffling about and evading the summons under various flimsy pretexts," &c.

crushed out the Wycliffe books. Plenty of them still remained [1] unburnt, and copies were searched out and multiplied to take the place of those that had gone. Immediately after his excommunication Hus announced [2] that on the following Sunday he would champion Wycliffe's treatise on the Trinity against its aggressors. Books [3] were meant to be read—not burnt; and he maintained [4] that the burning of these books had not taken a single sin from any man's heart, while it had destroyed writings containing many truths and fair and subtle sentences, and had multiplied disturbance, grudging, slander, hatred, and murder amongst the people. He would defend the truth that God had granted him to know; and, if the fear of death should seem to scare him, he hoped that God would give him firmness, and, if he had found grace in His sight, that He would grant him the martyr's crown. Four of his friends selected others of the condemned books, challenging all opponents to prove that there was any heresy to be found in them.

The discourses [5] uttered by these disputants are still preserved, and they show that the battle was fairly set. One of them is of special interest, as coming from Master Zdislaw [6] of Zwierzeticz, who must [7] at one time have been in England, as is proved by letters that passed between him and Sir John Oldcastle.

The news of recent events in Prague was soon carried to England by certain "friends of truth," and on Sep. 8th,

[1] Habemus enim adhuc plurimos et undique etiam requirimus alios ad rescribendum habituros.—DOLEIN, 386; NEANDER, IX., 356. [2] PALACKY, Doc., 399; KRUMMEL, 221; LOSERTH, 121. [3] HUS, MON., I., 102. [4] HUS, MON., I., 106; SCHWAB, 555; KRUMMEL, 238. [5] LOSERTH, 122-126, 308-336. [6] For an account of him, see LOSERTH, BEZIEHUNGEN, 264; KRUMMEL, 275. [7] See his statement as to the numbers at Oxford, as compared with Prague, in LOSERTH, 329.

1410,[1] Oldcastle addressed a letter from Cooling Castle to Woksa[2] of Waldstein, one of the leading burgesses of Prague, and Zdislaw of Zwierzeticz, his beloved brethren in Christ. In it he thanked God for having put it into their hearts to struggle for the justice of His law. His soul rejoices that the pomp of Antichrist has not affrighted them, and he prays that they may stand firm—even unto death. He is moved with indignation against the priests of Antichrist, who were strangling God's law. This was no time for the Friends of Truth to be spending their strength and passion upon fleshly sins and worldly cares. Let them think upon Phineas, and Daniel, and the Maccabees, and all who had a zeal for God. Why should they fear to lose an empty name and fleeting wealth, or boggle at a bug in the cause of Christ, who gave such great benefits to them? It was fear, pride, and worldly wealth that blinded their eyes. It was not enough to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ in the heart; they must confess Him openly with the lips. He was the Author of their salvation. He suffered cruel pains and death to noise abroad His law. Why should they fear the idle excommunications of man? Let all stand staunch for Truth. If they endured to the end, the Lord of Truth would never cheat them of their due answer. But, even if He deigned not the help they hoped, they must be minded never to draw back from Truth,[3] even unto death.

[1] Vol. III., p. 298, note 8. There is, likewise, a letter extant (LOSERTH, BEZIEHUNGEN, 268. For a copy of it I am indebted to Herr Joseph Müller of Herrnhut), written by Oldcastle to King Wenzel, dated from London, Sep. 7th, possibly in the year 1413. It proves that letters had passed between him and Hus, whom he calls "a priest of Christ." He rejoices that Wenzel has separated the tares from the wheat, and stablished the true priests of Christ in a state of Gospel poverty, wishes more power to him, and offers his service with that of all his friends and adherents for the work of God. [2] For his excommunication by Zbynek, May 2nd, 1411, see PALACKY, DOC., 430, 640; LOSERTH, BEZIEHUNGEN, 263. [3] Cf. "He is traitour and coward that dar not telle God's rizt for drede of losse of worldli goodis, or for losse of his bodi."—WYCL. (A)., II., 278.

On the same day in which Oldcastle wrote from Cooling, an English priest, Master Richard Wiche,[1] wrote a letter[2] in the same strain from London. He had worked with Wycliffe and suffered for his Lollardry. In 1400, being then a priest in the diocese of Hereford,[3] he had travelled into Northumberland with a companion named James, when he was summoned[4] to appear before Bishop Skirlaw.[5] Although he was suffering from a rupture, he obeyed; but, arriving at Chester-le-Street in great pain, he could walk no further, so he left his cloak, his purse, and his portos in pledge at the inn, and hired a hackney[6] to take him on to Auckland. On Dec. 7th, he came into the presence of the Bishop, who at once put him into prison till he should take an oath to obey the law of the Church. Wiche sent the horse back to Chester-le-Street, and some days afterwards he was again brought before the Bishop, who asked by whose authority he was preaching in his diocese. When he could produce none, the Bishop told him that he suspected that he was one of the sect of the Lollards who did not believe the truth about the Eucharist. Questioned upon this point he said that it was Christ's body in the form[7] of

[1] FASCIC. ZIZAN., 370, 501; LOSERTH, BEZIEHUNGEN, 260. He may have been connected with the Nantwich family, one of whom, Sir Hugh Wyche, was Mayor of London in 1461, and was buried in St. Margaret's, Lothbury.—STOW, LOND., 568; HALL, NANTWICH, 84. In SHORT CHRON., 63, he is called Sir Robert White. [2] HUS, MON., I., CI., where he is called Ricardus Vwychewitze. KRUMMEL, 239, calls him Wychovitze. LECHLER, II., 352, has Wichewitze. See also LOSERTH, BEZIEHUNGEN, 269; HÖFLER, GESCHICHTSCHREIBER, II., 212. In DENIS, 101; LOSERTH, 126, he is "Fitz." [3] FASCIC. ZIZAN., 501; called "Worcester" in ENG. HIST. REV., V., 535, 541. In 1399 he was placed in charge of the alien priory of Derehurst, near Stow-on-the-Wold, in Gloucestershire.—TRAIS., XXXIII. [4] For the bishop's "power of somonynge and cursynge," see WYCLIFFE (M., 31. [5] Reading "Walter" for "William" in FASCIC., 501; ENG. HIST. REV., V., 530. [6] Cf. Haquenées.—PISAN, II., 186. [7] Hooly chirche hath bileuyd this thousinde wynter and more to that this oost is Goddis body in fourme of breed.—WYCLIFFE (M.), 465; *Ibid.* (A.), II., 358, 386, 404; III., 403, 484, 500, 502.

bread; but they wanted him to say, not "form," but "appearance," and he was sent to prison again to be further cross-examined in private.

One day, a Master[1] from Newcastle visited him and spoke nicely to him, and told him that the Earl of Northumberland and the Bishop would give him some promotion if he would take the required oath. It did not matter whether his opinions were true or not, he ought to agree to what the majority said. The visitor offered to put[2] his own soul in his place, and to pray for him for a year in the Mass. "You will have all you can do to reckon[3] for yourself at Doomsday,"[4] said Wiche. "But if you don't do as you are told, you will be burnt," said the Master. "God's will be done!" said the heretic, and the Master withdrew. Three weeks later, Wiche was again before the Bishop; but they could make nothing of him, and he was put in prison again. After ten days, a knight came to treat with him in his cell, and he thought he would be a sensible[5] fellow. The knight sat down, while the Bishop's Chancellor and a notary stood beside him, and they got the heretic so far talked over that he agreed to take the oath without any remarks; for the Bishop was some-deal[6] heady to do with, and the pot must not put questions to the potter.

Next morning he was brought up, and having kneeled to the Bishop, who was sitting on the bench, and talked to

[1] ENG. HIST. REV., v., 533. [2] Cf. To be parsener of othere mennus synnes bi consent.—WYCL., 421, 443. [3] WYCL. (M.), 33, 375, 395; *Ibid.* (A.), I., 23, 38, 55. [4] WYCLIFFE (M.), 81, 96, 111, 129, 143, 151, 154, 181, 186, 207, 208, 238, 242, 258, 306, 314, 350, 351, 434, 446, 455, 468, 470, 474; *Ibid.* (A.), I., 6, 20, 30, 33, 42, 99, 184; PIERS PLO., VII., 347; GOWER, CONF. AM., 239. [5] Solidus homo.—ENG. HIST. REV., v., 534. [6] Quodammodo capitosus.—ENG. HIST. REV., v., 534; GOWER, CONF., 288, 292, 324, 343, 349, 353, 400. Sum deel.—WYCL. (A.), II., 44; III., 71, 436. For hedly (adv.), see WYCLIFFE, 100, 256; hardy, testif, strong, and chivalrous.—CHAUC. (S.). II., 382.

the knight, who stood on the rushes by the fire,[1] he kissed the book, and thought he had done enough. But now they required a further oath, which he declined, and was then sent back to prison again. Here for three days he was in great[2] tribulation and distress of mind. God, his Father, left him for a while, and the Father of Lies mixed false temptations hot for him; but he cried to the Father of Light, and his sweet Father, seeing his affliction, remembered him, and he rejoiced in the Lord.

The next time he came before the Bishop, they read him Purvey's recantation,[3] which he had made in London, on Mar. 6th, 1401; but he said that it was nothing to him. Back in his prison again, they gave him paper[4] and ink to put down his views on transubstantiation; but he would not be caught with this. On Feb. 7th, 1402, a Franciscan and a Carmelite attempted to instruct him on the Eucharist; but he held his ground, for he knew that every layman believed as he did. They told him that the Bishop had now legal power to judge him as a heretic. "Well! if he does," said Wiche, "I shall bear it." "Incorrigible!" said the Friar, "why should we wait?"—so they went to dinner, and I to prison.

Fifteen days later, he was brought again before the Bishop, who was too ill to do much more than preside. Wiche was then pronounced excommunicate, and condemned to be imprisoned till his degradation, and all his goods to be confiscated. He appealed to the Pope. "Too late!" they said. "God has shown greater goodness in judging thee a heretic than if a

[1] Cf. And stoden by the chimenee
Togider spekend alle thre.—GOWER, CONF., 390.
[2] ENG. HIST. REV., v., 536. [3] Vol. I., p. 180. [4] Papierum et incaustum. —ENG. HIST. REV., v., 538.

thousand poor had been fed." And so they put him back in prison, where he remained with enough to eat and drink, but in horrible pain;—for all of which he renders his thanks to God.

From his prison he wrote a long and touching letter to his friends in Newcastle, urging them to pray for him that he might persevere to the end, and to send him some sheets containing the Gospels in red ink, which might be got through to him by means of a priest named Henry Topcliffe, living near the church at Auckland St. Andrew.[1] This letter was got out in the strictest secrecy; but a copy of it found its way to Prague, and has quite recently been published,[2] after lying in obscurity for nearly 500 years. Fourteen [3] heretical propositions were urged against Wiche, and he defended all of them by quotations taken chiefly from the Scriptures. But his firmness could not hold out, and before long he had recanted [4] like many another good man, and had been made vicar of Deptford,[5] near Greenwich. Many years after, he was burnt on Tower Hill (Aug. 2nd, 1439),[6] and the Londoners made pilgrimages [7] to his tomb, as to that of a good, just, and holy man.

Wiche now wrote a letter to Hus, though he had never seen him in person, and to his comrade Jakobel [8] of Mies, one of the four Masters who had just undertaken the defence of Wycliffe's Decalogue at Prague.[9] In it he encouraged them to persevere, and rejoiced that they maintained Christ's word in Bohemia, in spite of prison, exile, and death.

[1] Aclude Sancti Andree.—ENG. HIST. REV., v. 543. [2] ENG. HIST. REV., v., 530-544. [3] FASCIC. ZIZAN., 370. [4] *Ibid.*, 501. [5] Not Dartford, as HASTED, I., 230; see CHRON. LOND., 125. In STOW, CHRON., 63, he is vicar of Harmondsworth, near Staines. [6] CHRON. R. II.—H. VI., 56; GREYFRIARS CHRON., 17; MON. FRANC., II., 171. [7] FOX, III., 703. [8] For account of him, see PALACKY, III., I., 194; KRUMMEL, 273; LOSERTH, WICLIF AND HUS, 82, 122, 144, 158. [9] LOSERTH, WICLIF AND HUS, 122, 308; PALACKY, DOC., 400.

When Hus received the letter, he told[1] a vast congregation, which he estimates at nearly 10,000 persons, that he took such comfort from it that he would gladly suffer death for Christ's Gospel, and his friends were so kindled by his words that they begged him to translate[2] the message for them. In his reply to Wiche he expressed his thanks that Bohemia had received such benefits from "blessed England," that his people who before had walked in darkness, now saw the great light, and that if England's holy people could take it in to the full, their heart would break for joy. He had himself just touched the tail of Behemoth, and the monster had opened its mouth to swallow him up. It was raging now, but did not dare to touch him, for the time had not yet come; and he finished with the assurance that the Church of Christ in Bohemia salutes the Church of Christ in England, praying to share with it the confession of the Holy Faith, in the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ.

By the same bearer came also letters from a Scottish squire named Quentin Folkhyrd,[3] or Folkart,[4] who had "started in the cause of God to ride through the land and preach in the mother tongue to all who reached a hand" to him; but beyond a statement of his Lollardry, there is no further evidence as to his suggested visit to Bohemia. We know, however, of at least one other such knight-errant, who was risking his life in distant travel, to spread the doctrines which had set all Bohemia in a blaze. Jerome of Prachatitz,[5] a rich young patrician of Prague,

[1] PALACKY, DOC., 12; HÖFLER, GESCHICHTSCHREIBER, II., 212. [2] The translation into Bohemian is now in the Library at Prague (III., G. 16).—LOSERTH, BEZIEHUNGEN, 261. [3] LOSERTH, BEZIEHUNGEN, 261. [4] REG. MAG. SIG. SCOT., I., 909. [5] GASC., 115; PALACKY, DOC., 506. For confusion of him with Faulfiss, see PALACKY, III., I., 192; KRUMMEL, 170; LOSERTH, 74; do., BEZIEHUNGEN, 259; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 313; J. BAKER, 139. SHIRLEY, in FASCIC., LXXXII., thinks that they were brothers; see also MILMAN, VI., 12; GIESELER, V., 105.

had visited Oxford as a youth, in his zeal for study, about the year 1400.[1] Here he had made copies of Wycliffe's Dialogue and Trialogue, and carried them[2] back to Prague, where he had a picture[3] painted in his room representing Wycliffe crowned as the King of Philosophers; and when Faulfiss brought the Oxford letter, he joined with Hus in reading[4] it in the Bethlehem Chapel. He had studied and disputed at Paris,[5] Heidelberg, and Cologne; and wherever he went his clever tongue[6] and winning voice wrought mischief to the old beliefs. The staid authorities[7] resented his uppishness; but his spirit was irrepressible, and he always managed to get clear away.

He led a restless life of travel and adventure. We find him at Jerusalem,[8] at Vienna, at Ofen,[9] and at Cracow.[10] When envoys from the Dukes of Brabant and Burgundy came to Prague to negotiate[11] for the hand of Wenzel's niece, in 1409, he approached[12] them with a view to obtain permission to preach in Burgundy and the Low Countries, but he met with no encouragement. He went a second time to Oxford;[13] but by this time Archbishop Arundel had triumphed, and he got charged with heresy; his own university, however, at Prague interceded for him, an English dignitary stood his friend, and he escaped once more with a whole skin. In 1410, when Hus

[1] HARDT, IV., 8, 634; LOSERTH, 75; do., BEZIEHUNGEN, 257. [2] About 1398, according to SCHWAB, 551; HÖFLER, HUS, 220; KRUMMEL, 110, 153, 171; or 1402, according to PALACKY, HUSSITENTHUM, 115, followed by DENIS, 72. [3] HARDT, IV., 751. [4] HARDT, IV., 644. [5] PALACKY, Doc., 408; HARDT, IV., 645, 681. His name does not occur in the Proctor's Book of the natio Anglicana; but this only proves that he did not stay there long enough to determine as a bachelor.—DENIFLE, PROC., I., XXX. [6] PALACKY, Doc., 624, 628. Multis suis blandis sermonibus infecit. —HARDT, IV., 643. Doctrinâ et facundiâ superior.—ÆN. SYLV., 105. [7] HUS, MON., II., CCCL.; HARDT, IV., 645; HÖFLER, HUS, 219. [8] HARDT, IV., 672; PALACKY, III., I., 192; Doc., 63; KRUMMEL, 171; SCHWAB, 565. [9] PALACKY, III., I., 301; KRUMMEL, 258. [10] PALACKY, Doc., 506. [11] DYNTER, III., 214. [12] HARDT, IV., 637. [13] PALACKY, Doc., 336.

was defying his Archbishop in Prague, Jerome was defending Wyclifry in Vienna.[1] The University cited him to appear, and excommunicated him; but he overhipped[2] like a sparrow[3] into Moravia, and wrote to them that the snare was broken and he was delivered. He travelled in Lettowe[4] and Russia, where he maintained that the adherents of the Greek Church were good Christians, and not schismatics. He grew a beard, preached in their churches, kissed their relics, and in every way conformed to their habits. In April, 1413,[5] he arrived at Cracow;[6] and, on the same day, he shaved his face, donned a red jacket and long cloak, with cap furred with gris, and other stylish finery, and presented his passport in courtly guise before the king and queen of Poland, and a crowd of Polish nobles. But, before he had been many days in the city, he stirred such commotion as had never been known there before. They brought him before the Bishop, who sent him back to plough his own land, as their soil was too dry for his seed, and plain Polish folk could not take in his philosophy.

In the spring of 1411, an embassy started from England to Sigismund at Ofen. It consisted, as we have seen,[7] of Hertonk Van Clux and a budding lawyer, John Stokes,[8] new licensed from the schools at Cambridge, where he had been Principal[9] of St. Edmund's Hostel in 1402. He was after-

[1] PALACKY, Doc., 417; HARDT, IV., 637; NEANDER, IX., 507. [2] GOWER, CONF. AM., 240. [3] Sicut passer.—PALACKY, Doc., 416; HARDT, IV., 653; KRUMMEL, 259. [4] HARDT, IV., 642, 677-680; KRUMMEL, 299. [5] PALACKY, III., I., 301; Doc., 506, 572. [6] For intercourse between Bohemia and Poland, see PALACKY, III., I., 302. [7] Vol. III., p. 402. [8] Not to be confounded with the Carmelite, Peter Stokes, who a generation before had called Wycliffe a fox (WYCLIFFE, SERMONS, III., 246), and was alarmed for his life in the disturbances at Oxford in 1382. —POL. SONGS, I., 261; FASCIC. ZIZAN., 275, 289-316; WYCLIFFE (M.), XXVIII. [9] W. STEVENSON, 5, 16.

wards often employed [1] in foreign diplomatic business during the reigns of Henry V and Henry VI.; but this appears to have been his first [2] important start. His name occurs as the holder of prebends [3] in connection with the Cathedrals of York, Lincoln, Hereford, and London. He became Rector of Stow-cum-Quy, near Cambridge, and Chancellor and Archdeacon [4] of Ely (1444), and he died in 1466.

The embassy to Sigismund consisted of many other English Masters and Doctors, and on their return from Hungary the whole party made a short stay at Prague, being probably the bearers of an official intimation from Archbishop Arundel that Wycliffe's books had been again condemned as heretical and publicly burnt at Oxford. The Rector of the University at Prague invited them to drink a *benevalete*,[5] but they thought it prudent to decline. Not to be put off, certain of the Prague Masters approached Stokes privately, and asked [6] the news from England as to Lollardry. He replied in presence of a notary that Wycliffe was now regarded in England as a heretic, that his books had been burnt, and his opinions condemned; and he added that he would advise whoever was reading the books to desist, for they would certainly lead him astray. Hereupon Hus challenged him to make good his words in debate, and fastened his challenge to the Cathedral door.

But Stokes was a diplomat. He had come on other business.

[1] RYM., IX., X., *passim*, and RTA., VII., VIII., *passim*; LENZ, SIGISMUND, 32; ELLIS, LETTERS, II., I., 80; III., I., 66, [2] Though LOSERTH, 134, thinks that he "had been repeatedly employed in diplomatic missions." He can hardly be the same as John Stokes, one of Henry's squires in 1390.—DERBY ACCTS., 8, 20, 295. [3] LE NEVE, I., 512; II., 129, 163, 643; III., 215; DUGDALE, ST. PAUL'S, 280; JONES, 330, 376, 399. [4] LE NEVE, I., 351. [5] HUS, MON., I., CVIII.; KRUMMEL, 240; LOSERTH, BEZIEHUNGEN, 264; cf. DENIFLE, PROC., I., LVIII., 277, 330, 720. [6] PALACKY, DOC., 448.

He declined the encounter in Prague, but offered to take it up in Paris, or at the Papal court, if Hus would follow him there. When the day came, Hus was at his post in the disputation room. He refused [1] to admit that Wycliffe was a heretic. The University of Oxford had said he was not; and he hoped he was not, for in his books he strove with all his might to bring men back to the law of Christ. If Wycliffe was a heretic, then John of Gaunt was a heretic for backing him; and if Stokes and his friends would go back to England and tell that to King Henry, his son, he would rather not have his share of what they would get for saying so. Besides, if Stokes' statement was true, all Oxford must be heretics, for they had been reading Wycliffe's books for the last 30 years. In such a cloud of banter Hus rode off an easy winner, but his opponent did not forget his bearing; and among the bitterest accusers [2] of Hus at Constance we shall meet the name of Stokes the Englishman.

In 1411,[3] the new Pope John XXIII. issued two bulls preaching a crusade against Ladislas, whom he had previously excommunicated [4] as a supporter of Gregory, and promising pardon [5] for all their sins, remission of pain and guilt [6] and a passage [7] for their souls straight [8] to heaven, without the pain

[1] SCHWAB, 555; KRUMMEL, 242. [2] PALACKY, DOC., 277, 308; HARDT, IV., 309. [3] HUS, MON., I., CLXXI. [4] Vol. III., p. 396. [5] In the Sion Indulgences it is called a plenary remission of all sins, a pleyner forgiveness, a clean remission.—AUNGIER, 421, 423. [6] WYCL. (A.), I., 136, 210; II., 100, 144, 175, 190; III., 243, 244, 256, 356, 362, 444; LOSERTH, WICLIF AND HUS, 242, 271; DESCHAMPS, VIII., 203. [7] Han pardon thorw purgatorie to passy ful lyghtliche.—PIERS PLO., X., 11; WYCL. (M.), 80, 82, 102, 464, 482, 491, 504, 535; *ibid.* (A.), I., 137, 222, 237, 354; II., 302, 417, 418; III., 113, 459. [8] To flee to hevene bifore the bodi be cold.—WYCL. (M.), 88. Passen to hevene withouten peyne.—WYCL. (A.), I., 421. Wendith strizt to hevene without ony peyne her or in purgatorie.—*Ibid.*, III., 246. APOLOGY, 8-11, and similar passages altogether disprove the supposition of ROCK, III., 72-80, that "those startling indulgences of so many thousand years were spurious and imaginary frauds, &c., that the Church had always blamed and for-

of purgatory, for all who would assist either in purse or person. The pardons were of course duly qualified with the usual words limiting them to those who were contrite [1] and shriven; but there can be no doubt that in practice they bleared men's eyes,[2] and were often regarded as selling [3] them leave to sin.

In May, 1412, Master Wenzel Tiem,[4] Dean of Passau, arrived in Prague to publish the papal bulls and collect the necessary funds in return for the stipulated indulgences. Hus boldly faced the pardoners. He preached [5] against them in the Bethlehem Chapel; he placarded the church doors and public buildings; and he offered to dispute before the University against the whole tenor of the bulls. He called the Pope the Antichrist [6] whose coming heralded the approaching end of

bidden." Cf. If the pope or bischop sende a letter for to resceyve a pardoner to disceyve the peple bi graunt of many thousand zeer to pardon.—WYCL. (M.), 150. Grauntynge mo zeris of pardon than comen bifore domes day.—*Ibid.*, 154. For the Pardoner, see A. W. WARD, 36.

[1] De quibus corde contriti et ore confessi fuerint.—HUS, MON., I., CLXXX.; WYCL. (A.), III., 378, 424; WRONG, 29. [2] PIERS PLO., I., 72; WYCLIFFE (M.), 316; *ibid.*, (A.), III., 420; CHAUCER, REVE'S PROLOGUE, 3863; CHAUCER (S.), I., 199; POL. SONGS, II., 173. [3] HARDT, I., 1082; NIEM, in MEIBOM, I., 7; WYCLIFFE (M.), 62, 82, 147, 238. Rudis populus ad peccandum paratior efficitur, peccata gravia leviter pensantur.—HUS, MON., I., CLXXXV.; HISTOR. TASCHENBUCH, IV., 141; VAUGHAN, II., 303. Be streyt covenaunt thei sellen tyme of synnyng.—WYCL. (A.), III., 166; CONC., III., 365; JUSSERAND, 434; SOMNER, I., APP., 10. For sixe pens er thai fayle Sle thi fadre and jape thi modre and thai wyl the assoile.—POL. SONGS, I., 270. Zeuen men leue to dwellen in synne fro zer to zer fro seuene zer to seuene zer and comunly al here lif, zif they by zere twenti shillyngis or more or lesse.—WYCL. (M.), 62; to helpe hem to bathe hem in here synne as swyn in the fen.—*Ibid.*, 156, 213. He adds that some English bishops are said to get 2000 or 3000 marks p.a. from this source. Synne myzt be bouzt for money as who byze an ox or a kowe.—*Ibid.*, 334. By these bullis riche men drede nout to synne.—WYCL. (A.), III., 460. Thei zeuen men license to dwelle in synne for annual rent as longe as hem likith.—WYCL. (M.), 72, 154, 237, 249, 276; (A.), III., 87, 288, 381. Norischyng of synne for annuel rente.—*Ibid.*, 296, 331. Annuel rentis of lordis cooferis.—*Ibid.*, 397. [4] PALACKY, DOC., 223. [5] HUS, MON., I., CLXXXIX., CCXXXVI. a; PALACKY, DOC., 246, 736. [6] PALACKY, DOC., 449. Summum Pontificem abominationem Antichristum publicè prædicas.—DOLEIN, 389.

the world, and who must be resisted as the great enemy of Jesus Christ. "Woe[1] is me," he cried, "if I should hold my peace! Better to die than not to face such wickedness, and so become a partner in the crime and in its hell." His bark[2] resounded through all Bohemia and Moravia and even into Hungary and Poland. Many who had hitherto fought side by side with him when the right of preaching was assailed, now went awkward and crabbed,[3] and declined to follow him further. The Doctors of Theology in the University of Prague put out a manifesto charging him with rebellion against the authority both of the Pope and the King. Nothing was now heard of the old subterfuge that the Pope took naught for the pardons, but only for the bull, or, as Wycliffe had said, "gave the goose in and charged the shilling for the garlic."[4] They urged outright that all Christendom had held for hundreds of years, that Popes[5] had power to grant full remission of all sins; that they could call upon the faithful to contribute for the defence of the Holy City or the Church; and that, therefore, they could put the two together and sell pardons for the Church's good.

Hus only treated their protest with contempt. Thirty years

[1] PALACKY, Doc., 31; WYCL. (M.), 297, 314, fr. ISAIAH, VI., 5 (væ mihi quia tacui). [2] PALACKY, Doc., 461. [3] Cancrisabant.—KRUMMEL, 269. Abierunt retro.—HUS, MON., I., CCLV. b. Retrocedens sicut cancer.—*Ibid.*, CCLXII. Cancrisantes.—*Ibid.*, CCLIX. b; NEANDER, IX., 333, 396; PROMPT. PARV., s.v., "awke" and "crabbyd." Cf. "Tho crabbis."—WYCL., (A.), III., 422. For "crabbedly" and "crabbede wikkednesse," see HOCCL., DE REG., 125, 126; LYDGATE, TEMPLE OF GLAS, 14; HOCCLEVE, in URRY'S CHAUCER, 536; MINOR POEMS, 4, 85. [4] WYCLIFFE (M.), 82. [5] DENIS, 109.

> Yut hathe ye pope power pardon to graunte
> To puple withoute penaunce to passen in to Joye
> As lettred men ous lereth and lawe of holy churche.
> —PIERS PLO., X., 324.

before, when rival Popes were preaching[1] crusades against each other, Wycliffe had cried out that pardons[2] should not go for worldly muck,[3] but to make peace and charity, not dissensions and wars for one Christian man to slay his brother.[4] Hus had now his chance, and stood by the teaching of his English master. His disputation[5] is still preserved. It is a tedious and wordy argument, with here and there a flash of wit or eloquence. He held no brief for Ladislas or Gregory; but Ladislas had not been convicted of heresy[6] and a crusade was therefore off the mark; and even if he had been, war was not what Christ had taught; therefore the bull must be disobeyed.[7] Let the Pope treat his enemies as Christ did, and pray—not slay.[8] "Pain and guilt," said the bull; but it meant "purse and pocket."[9] If pardons could be bought, the rich[10] alone would go straight to heaven, and the gift of God would be purchased with money.[11] What about those Popes who had granted pardons and been damned themselves? How could they defend their indulgences before God? Suppose a man should kill all the pardoners, and rob them of the money collected for this war, and then become penitent and confess his fault, the Pope would probably not absolve him

[1] WYCLIFFE (M.), 73; *ibid.* (A.), III., 246. [2] WYCLIFFE (M.), 82; WRONG, 41. [3] WYCL. (A.), III., 272, 450, 453, &c. For "stinking drit," see WYCL. (M.), 22, 70, 134, 182, 232, 242. Wynnyng of drit.—*Ibid.*, 102; roten drit.—103, 214. [4] Pardon to slee cristen men.—*Ibid.*, 8. Zif bullis bidden werre it is other not Goddis bidding or the folk is the fendis peple.—WYCL. (A.), I., 262. [5] HUS, MON., I., CLXXIV.; SCHWAB, 563. [6] HUS, MON., I., CLXXIX. [7] *Ibid.*, CLXXVII. [8] *Ibid.*, CLXXVIII.

Cf. And sondeth hem that sleeth suche as sholde save.
—P PLO., XXII., 431.

And fyndeth folke to fighte, and Cristene blod to spille.
—*Ibid.*, 447.

[9] A penâ et culpâ, id est a perâ et bursâ.—HUS, MON., I., CLXXXIX. b.; PALACKY, DOC., 58; KRUMMEL, 261; PIERS PLOWMAN, C., X., 3, 23, 186; ANGLURE, 13; DERBY ACCTS., 117. [10] WYCLIFFE (M.), 82. [11] HUS, MON., I., CLXXX.

unless he gave up the cash.[1] These pardoners[2] filched the widow's mite that she had tied up in her napkin.[3] Where is the good soldier of Christ that would not brave excommunication, or even death, rather than take such absolution? If Papal bulls[4] contain aught that is contrary to Christ's law, he must take his stand with Christ against them. By these indulgences the rich are bolstered up in a vain hope; God's law is despised; the grosser folk are made more apt for sin; grave sins are lightly thought of; and the people are despoiled. Let the Christian live an honest life and follow Christ, his Head, in patience and humility. Then, in God's time, he shall receive a full remission of his sins, and share Christ's pity and the glory of the Blessed.

One curious point about this disputation is the growing freedom with which Hus introduces long extracts from the works of Wycliffe. In the previous year, similar quotations occur in two of his sermons,[5] in one of which he quotes Wycliffe's treatise by name. He now sets out to prove eight propositions, seven of which are taken from Wycliffe's summary at the end[6] of his treatise on the Church,—a treatise which supplies him with whole[7] paragraphs of his argument. There are also long passages culled somewhat capriciously from three[8] other of Wycliffe's books, as well as an extract from an English Lollard tract,[9] whose author is as yet unknown; but in no case is there

[1] HUS, MON., I., CLXXXV. [2] JUSSERAND, 309-337, 428. [3] HUS, MON., I., CLXXXVI. [4] Cf. In bullis ben gabbingis thicke sowen.—WYCL. (A.), II., 144. [5] Viz., from WYCLIFFE, DE SIMONIA and TRIALOGUS.—LOSERTH, 137. [6] WYCLIFFE, DE ECCLESIA, XVI., 583. [7] *Ibid.*, pp. 569, 571. [8] Viz., QUÆSTIO DE ABSOLUTIONE A PENA ET A CULPA, DE CHRISTO ET SUO ADVERSARIO ANTICHRISTO (see WYCLIFFE, POLEMICAL WORKS, II., 678), and DIALOGUS, 21. All these are pointed out in LOSERTH, Ch. VI. [9] Cf. HUS, MON., I., CLXXXIV., with APOLOGY, p. 7:—a passage not noted in LOSERTH.

any indication that the words and thoughts are other than his own, and it has been left to the industry of a modern investigator[1] to trace the sources of his inspiration. It cannot have been that he feared to avow himself a disciple of the English heretic, for he does not scruple at times to name[2] him as his authority.

But whatever may have been his purpose in fighting from behind the lion's skin, it is certain that the disguise was soon detected, for the Prague doctors at once accused[3] him of attacking them from certain opinions of Wycliffe, which were opposed to the beliefs of the whole Church, and when, a few weeks later,[4] the theological faculty at Prague again condemned Wycliffe's 45 propositions as heretical, Hus[5] championed the chief of them, and challenged disproof on the ground of Scripture, reason, or authority, his arguments being often taken word for word from Wycliffe's books alone.[6]

Jerome followed with a fiery speech, and the conflict was carried to the streets. Surrounded by a band of students[7] Jerome attacked two pardoners at their traffic, and drove them out of the gates shouting: "Get out, you liars, with your lies! The Pope, your master, is a lying heretic and a usurer, and has no power to grant indulgences." The pardons were collected and heaped up in a cart,[8] in which sat two harlots with the Pope's bulls hung about their necks. The cart was then paraded through the streets by Woksa of Waldstein,[9] and the indulgences were publicly burnt. In one of the streets of Prague a Friar[10] was seated at a table with relics and a monstrance to

[1] LOSERTH, 139-141. [2] *E.g.*, HUS, MON., II., XLVII.; LOSERTH, 269. [3] PALACKY, Doc., 450. [4] July 10th, 1412.—PALACKY, Doc., 451. [5] HUS, MON., I., CXI.-CXXXIV.; KRUMMEL, 279, 308. [6] LOSERTH, 144. [7] HARDT, IV., 671. [8] *Ibid.*, 672. [9] PALACKY, Doc., 640; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 324. [10] DOLEIN, 382; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 325, connects this with the three martyrs.

raise funds to build a Carmelite Church. The mob seized him and beat him and kicked his table over, shouting: "Those are only dead bones; you are taking Christian people in!" On July 11th, 1412,[1] three youths were beheaded in the city ditch for shouting in a church that the indulgences were lies; and the very joy and courage with which they gave their necks to the block for Wycliffe's tenets was believed[2] to be a further condemnation of the heresies which had bewitched them. It was probably in this year[3] that Lannoy visited Prague. He reports that it was a very large and very rich city, with 40,000 inhabitants; he notes the old[4] and new town, the great tower, and the wonderful relics. He found all Bohemia divided[5] on account of "a preacher named Housse;" but, as he almost got knocked down in a crowd, he very soon voided.

Such scenes as these put Wenzel on the alert. Three years before, he had not scrupled to threaten[6] Hus with the stake for the trouble he was causing in his capital, and he now lent a ready ear to those who sought to silence him. In July, 1412,[7] Pope John XXIII. pronounced the "great curse"[8] against Hus,[9] proclaiming him a public

[1] PALACKY, Doc., 312, 726; HUS, MON., CCXLV. b. [2] DENIS, 118. [3] Not 1414, as LANNOY, 31.

[4] Cf. Il a a Prage trois citez
Et mainte grant et noble église.
—DESCHAMPS, VII., 93.

[5] Surgit gens contra gentem, filius contra patrem, filia contra matrem, sororem et fratrem, et in conventibus, in collegiis, in forensibus, in amicis inimicitiæ et grandia discidia contentiones et inaudita litigia ex semine diabolicæ prædicationis illius (*i.e.*, Wycliffe) hæretici pessimi flatu spiritus intumescunt.—DOLEIN, 384. [6] HARDT, IV., 312; PALACKY, Doc., 282. [7] PALACKY, III., I., 286. [8] For full text, see PALACKY, Doc., 461; cf. ALZOG, II., 411. For the "grete curs," see WYCLIFFE (M.), 70, 74; *ibid.* (A.), III., 268, 318; the "more curse," *ibid.*, III., 394, 450. For suspending, cursing and enterditing, see WYCLIFFE (M.), 79; (A.), III., 331, 361, 458. [9] HUS, MON., I. CCXLIX., CCCXXVIII.

sinner, cut off from the sacraments and from all intercourse [1] with Christian men, and calling upon the faithful to seize [2] him and deliver him up to the Archbishop of Prague, and to raze the Bethlehem Chapel to the ground to stop the heretics from nesting again.

Hus had before appealed from the Archbishop to the Pope, but it was useless to approach the Roman stool, that took no sheep without the wool.[3] He now appealed [4] from the Pope to God, in the person of Jesus Christ, as the Head of the Church, who cannot err or refuse justice to him who duly seeks it:—*i.e.*, he resolved to stand his ground, and brave the whole fury of the Church until another General Council should meet.[5] He defied [6] the curse and told his people not to heed it, and to put their trust,[7] not in Pope, or Church, or Saints, but in God alone.

But after some months, when the Bethlehem Chapel [8] seemed likely to become a scene of bloodshed, he wavered in his purpose. Prague was laid under interdict;[9] Hours,[10] Masses, and offices were all stopped; and the people dared [11] not do without religion, which meant burying their dead wherever they could, and baptizing their children themselves. Hus feared to be looked on as a hireling if he fled when the wolf appeared;

[1] Cursen hem seuene fote above the erthe and seuene foot withinne the herthe and seven fote on eche side.—WYCLIFFE (M.), 146. [2] Thei techen lordis to enprisone the bodi after fourti daies a cursyng.—WYCL. (M.), 36, 74, 95, 236; (A.), III., 394; to curse hem and prisone hem and brenne hem.—WYCL. (M.), 259, 260, 277. [3] Curia Romana quæ non capit ovem sine lana.—HUS, MON., I., CCLVI. [4] PALACKY, Doc., 464, 725, 726; HUS, MON., I., CCXXXV. b; CCXLV. a; KRUMMEL, 283; NEANDER, IX., 400. MILMAN, VI., 12, places the appeal too early. [5] PALACKY, Doc., 192. [6] PALACKY, Doc., 203. Cf. Ne dreded curs.—WYCL. (M.), 29, 80, 288; this moveth many men to sette litil bi siche cursing.—*Ibid.*, 453. [7] HUS, MON., I., CLXIX. b. [8] PALACKY, Doc., 727. [9] PALACKY, Doc., 492. [10] *Ibid.*, 47; ALZOG, II., 408. [11] PALACKY, Doc., 727; SCHWAB, 566; KRUMMEL, 301; LOSERTH, 148.

but he remembered[1] that Christ had said: "When they persecute you in one city flee to another," and acting under pressure from Wenzel,[2] he left Prague before Christmas, 1412,[3] in order that some settlement might be secured in his absence. The goose,[4] he said, was weak and feeble, a tame fowl and a home bird; they scared it with a dummy hawk, and it broke the toils and flew away.

But all attempts at compromise soon failed. Nothing but absolute submission would satisfy the Church. Hus must stop preaching, and every man who favoured Wyclifry must be declared not only a dishonour to the Church but an enemy of the King.[5] On Feb. 10th, 1413,[6] Wycliffe's books were burnt at Rome, and Pope John XXIII. called upon any one who wished to defend Wycliffe's memory to appear before him within nine months, or he would pronounce him a heretic. A copy of this challenge was duly sent to Prague, and Hus was taunted[7] with having run away, but his mouth could not be stopped. He "pleaded the cause of God against the Pope,"[8] in highways[9] and hedges, in towns[10] and villages, and in the fields and woods and castles of Southern Bohemia; and if he did not always trudge afoot,[11] it was because the distance to be covered was too great. He wrote frequent letters to his flock at Bethlehem, urging them to be constant in the faith, and to the Rector of the University at Prague,

[1] PALACKY, Doc., 33, 46; WYCLIFFE (M.), 252. [2] Rege poscente.—PALACKY, Doc., 727; ALZOG, II., 95, thinks that he was expelled for burning the bull. [3] PALACKY, Doc., 203. [4] HUS, MON., I., XCVI.; PALACKY, Doc., 39; KRUMMEL, 300. [5] PALACKY, Doc., 479, 487, 502. [6] Vol. III., p. 398. [7] Asserunt me fugam dare.—PALACKY, Doc, 46; HUS, MON., I., XCVIII. b; cf. it is leveful to do thus if that circumstancis fallen bi which God moveth men to do thus.—WYCL. (A.), II., 110. [8] PALACKY, Doc., 727. [9] *Ibid.*, 728. [10] HUS, MON., I., c.; PALACKY, Doc., 43; ÆN. SYLV., 104. [11] PALACKY, Doc., 729.

exhorting him to be ready for the coming fight with Antichrist, when the goose[1] must flap its wings against Behemoth's wings[2] and tail. He hoped[3] soon again to face his slanderers in Prague, even if he should be burned[4] for it. Rather than be an enemy to Truth he was resolved to die. In such a fight, he wins who falls.[5] Better to die well than live ill. No fear of death should make us sin; and he felt that he had sinned in ceasing to preach to please the King.

He forced[6] the heretical works of Wycliffe more and more to the front. His wonderful fecundity of production during this year of exile has struck most modern historians.[7] Books, letters, pamphlets, postils, replies and rejoinders, follow one another with marvellous rapidity. The secret, however, is to be found in the fact that he carried with him from Prague some of Wycliffe's larger works, and used them with local touches both for attack and defence. In April, 1413,[8] his opponents at Prague had defined the Church as consisting of the Pope and his college of Cardinals, to whom alone belongs the verdict in matters Catholic. Hus was now hiding[9] in the Castle of Kozi-hrádek.[10] Before four months had elapsed, he had written his big book[11] on the Church, which Cardinal d'Ailly[12] declared to have impugned the authority of the Pope as keenly as the Koran attacks the Catholic Faith, and

[1] HUS, MON., I., XCIV. b; PALACKY, Doc., 55. [2] Contra *alas* (sic) Vehemot. In Wycliffe's Version, Behemoth is "an olifaunt that signifieth the devel." [3] PALACKY, Doc., 56. [4] Puto bene quod ignibus te subjicere potius sis paratus.—DOLEIN, 372. Traderes te potius flammis ultricibus concremandum.—*Ibid.*, 383. [5] Vincit qui occiditur.—PALACKY, III., I., 298; Doc., 62. [6] PALACKY, Doc., 203. [7] *E.g.*, DENIS, 126; CREIGHTON, I., 328. [8] PALACKY, Doc., 57, 507; WYCLIFFE (M.), 256. [9] Jam vagus et latitans.—DOLEIN, 373. [10] PALACKY, III., I., 297. [11] Magnum volumen.—FINKE, 270. "The most important of all his writings."—ALZOG, II., 956; J. C. ROBERTSON, VII., 328. [12] GERSON, II., 901; LOSERTH, 181.

on July 8th, 1413,[1] a copy of it was read in the Bethlehem Chapel, the main themes of some of his previous treatises being set out in large text upon the walls.

In 1379, Wycliffe had put together his book on the Church, consisting of various scattered tracts loosely strung together. Faulfiss had made a copy of the work at Oxford, in 1407; and this copy, together with a transcript, is now in the Imperial Library at Vienna. Another copy, which belonged to Peter Zepekow,[2] one of the Prague students who had been excommunicated[3] with Hus in 1410 for resisting the decree of Archbishop Zbinek for the burning of Wycliffe's books, is now in the University Library at Prague; and from these two copies an edition of the book has been quite recently printed for the first time. The treatise does not appear on the list of books condemned and burnt in 1410. Hus[4] drew largely upon it, as we have seen, for his battle against Indulgences, and also from its xvth chapter,[5] in upholding Wycliffe's position, that kings[6] can take away the Church's property, altering a word here and there to suit his purpose: *e.g.*, where Wycliffe[7] states that one-fourth of the land in England belonged to the clergy, Hus uses his actual words, except that for "England" he substitutes "Bohemia;" and where Wycliffe speaks of the King of England, he alters it to the King of Bohemia, or the Emperor, to cover the grants lately made by Charles IV

Hus, like Wycliffe, divided his book[8] on the Church into

[1] LOSERTH, 157; KRUMMEL, 306. [2] WYCLIFFE, DE ECCL., XXI. [3] PALACKY, DOC., 387, 398, 401. [4] Cf. WYCLIFFE, DE ECCL., Ch. XXIII., 549, 569, 571, 583, with HUS, MON., I., 175, 183, 184; LOSERTH, 236-244. [5] Not XVI., as LOSERTH, 225, 226. [6] Cf. WYCLIFFE, DE ECCL., 333-345, with HUS, MON., I., 121-123. [7] Cf. WYCLIFFE, DE ECCL, 338, with HUS, MON., I., 122 b; LOSERTH, 281. [8] For an abstract of its contents, see SCHWAB, 567-575; KRUMMEL, 336; GIESELER, V., 114; NEANDER, IX., 410-417.

23 chapters; and so saturated is it with Wyclifry, that a recent investigator asserts that "in its dogmatic portions there is hardly a line which does not proceed from Wycliffe,"[1] and that "only in his remarks on his Bohemian antagonists can Hus lay any claim to originality."[2] Hus claims to prove, as Wycliffe did, that Christ alone is the true Pope,[3] that the Church could do without either Pope or Cardinals,[4] that popes might err,[5] and that those who preached that popes could do whatever they liked were pleading for a lie.[6]

[1] LOSERTH, 156; PASTOR, I., 126. [2] WYCLIFFE, DE ECCL., XXVII. [3] HUS, MON., I., CCXVIII., b; WYCL. (A.), III., 342. [4] HUS, MON., I., CCXXIII. b. [5] *Ibid.*, CCXXXVI. Cf. Non est recurrendum in diffinicione fidei ad Romanum pontificem nisi notorie Deus dederit sibi supereminentem noticiam scripture.—WYCLIFFE, DE APOSTASIA, 173, 200. The Pope may sumtyme falle on the sothe ond sumtyme discorde therfro. —WYCL. (M.), 426; *Ibid.* (A.), III., 345, 424. Ever flee this heresie that thes fadirs mai not erre here.—WYCL. (A.), I., 232. NIEM (324), arguing for the supremacy of the Emperor, urges that Popes and cardinals possunt quandoque errare, peccare, decipere et decipi, et incautè et inconsultè et indiscretè et stultè et dolosè; also quisquis papa est, cum homo sit, faciliter errare potest.—MART., COLL., VII., 1139. [6] Rhetores mendacii.—HUS, MON., I., CCXXV. b.

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